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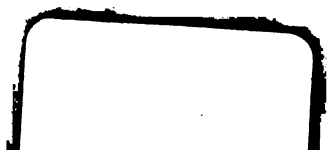
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Modern

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VOL. V.

No. 1.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

OF AMERICA

JANUARY-MARCH

BALTIMORE:

1890.

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
Modern Language Association of America

VOL. V.

1890.

No. I.

*ADDRESS OF WELCOME.**

BY CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL. D.,
PRESIDENT OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION: I bid you a very hearty welcome to Harvard University for this your convention, and I am sure that there is no seat of learning in America which can give you a more sympathetic welcome, and none which may more properly receive the honor of your presence.

It was in 1816 that the first professorship of Modern Languages in America was founded, and founded here,—the Smith Professorship of French and Spanish,—and this professorship at once took rank with all the other professorships of this institution. I think we shall agree that no other chair in America, no matter what the subject, has ever had such a series of incumbents as this chair of Modern Languages. It was first held by GEORGE TICKNOR, next by HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, and lastly by the President of the Association, who has just addressed you. From the moment that chair was founded, modern languages had an equal place with all subjects of teaching and research in this university.

In the later development of this institution, since the civil

*Delivered before the Seventh Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, held at Cambridge, Mass., December, 1889.

war, the modern languages have had their full share. Indeed, since they had not earlier received a development corresponding to that of Latin and Greek, Mathematics and the other ancient subjects of academic study, they have needed during the last twenty years a larger development than the traditional subjects. So we at once added a full professorship of French, soon a full professorship of German, and later a full professorship of Italian and Spanish. Our present staff in these subjects is large and vigorous.

One of the chief objects of your association has been the promotion of English. Now I do not know any other University in which a gentleman who was subsequently President of the United States held the chair of English; but the Boylston professorship of rhetoric and oratory in this University was first held by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS; later it was long held, by that eminent scholar Professor CHILTON, who was subsequently transferred to the chair of English when that additional chair was established. Our present staff in English consists of two professors, two assistant professors, seven instructors, and two assistants—almost enough to make the whole college faculty of twenty-five years ago—and when to these we add our staff in the other modern languages,—two professors, seven assistant professors, and one instructor—we justify the statement that the subjects in which you are interested—teaching and research in modern languages—are adequately represented here.

I observe that your association has taken great interest in the question of promoting the study of English and the other modern languages in the secondary schools; and there, I believe, we have deserved your approbation. It was in 1874 that we established, for the first time, an examination in English for admission to Harvard College; and that examination has since been adopted by all the other New England colleges, save one, and by some universities and colleges in other parts of the country. In the next year, 1875, we established, for the first

time with us, the examination for admission in French or German, which I am sure you consider a considerable step towards the proper recognition of French and German in the secondary schools. But it was only in 1887, that we took here a step which I trust may yet be taken by many American institutions; namely, the putting of advanced examinations in French and German upon a par with advanced examinations in Latin, Greek, Mathematics and all other subjects, at the admission examination. We require, for admission to Harvard College, besides a knowledge of certain elementary subjects, the passing of examinations in at least two advanced subjects. Now the advanced subjects used to be with us, as in most other American institutions, only Latin, Greek and Mathematics; but in 1887 we put French and German on a perfect equality with the ancient subjects; and now any candidate for admission may present as advanced subjects, French and German, if he chooses, as well as Latin and Greek, or Latin and Mathematics, or Mathematics and Science; and I submit to you that this is a considerable step towards the introduction of advanced teaching of these languages into the secondary schools. At our last examination for admission, eighty-four persons presented the advanced French for admission, and forty-three presented the advanced German; and as this institution is supplied with students from a very large number of schools scattered all over the country the presentation of advanced German and advanced French by so considerable a number of candidates proves that this instruction is already to be had in a fair number of schools in this country. I see with great pleasure that you are to discuss at this meeting, the means of still further spreading in American schools, thorough instruction in these languages.

I shall not detain you longer from the principal address of the evening; but let me say that I hope to have the pleasure of receiving all the members of the association tonight at my house, after the close of this meeting, and further, that on Friday and Saturday, the President and Fellows of Harvard College

invite all the members of the Association to lunch with them at Memorial Hall, a building which I am sure you will be interested to see. I trust also that during your stay in Cambridge you will not hesitate to ask for guidance to anything in or near the University you wish to examine.

I regret very much that our classes are not in session; but all our collections, our observatory and our library, are open to your inspection.

Let me say again, ladies and gentlemen, that you are most heartily welcome to Harvard University.

ADDRESS.

By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, D. C. L., LL. D.,
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Three years ago I was one of those who gathered in the Sanders Theatre to commemorate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of a college founded to perpetuate living learning chiefly by the help of three dead languages, the Hebrew, the Greek and the Latin. I have given them that order of precedence which they had in the minds of those our pious founders. The Hebrew came first because they believed that it had been spoken by God himself and that it would have been the common speech of mankind but for the judicial invention of the modern languages at Shinar. Greek came next because the New Testament was written in that tongue, and Latin last as the interpreter between scholars. Of the men who stood about that fateful cradle swung from bough of the primeval forest, there were probably few who believed that a book written in any living language could itself live.

For nearly two hundred years no modern language was continuously and systematically taught here. In the latter half of the last century a stray Frenchman was caught now and then and kept as long as he could endure the baiting of his pupils. After failing as a teacher of his mother-tongue, he commonly turned dancing-master, a calling which public opinion seems to have put on the same intellectual level with the other. Whatever haphazard teaching of French there may have been was, no doubt, for the benefit of those youth of the better classes who might go abroad after taking their degrees. By hook or by crook some enthusiasts managed to learn German¹ but there was no official teacher before DR. FOLLEN about sixty years ago. When at last a chair of French and Spanish was established here, it was rather with an eye to commerce than to culture. It indicates a very remarkable, and, I think, wholesome, change in our way of looking at things that I should now be addressing a numerous

1. MR. GEORGE BANCROFT told me that he learned German of PROFESSOR SYDNEY WILLARD, who, himself selftaught, had no notion of its pronunciation.

*Copyright, 1890, by JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Society composed wholly of men engaged in teaching thoroughly and scientifically the very languages once deemed unworthy to be taught at all except as a social accomplishment or as a commercial subsidiary. There are now I believe as many teachers in that single department of Harvard College as sufficed for the entire undergraduate course when I took my first degree. And this change has taken place within two generations.

Τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
ἔβιασθ'.

I make this familiar quotation for two reasons: because CHAPMAN translates *μερόπων* "divers languages," which is apt for our occasion, and because it enables me to make an easier transition to what I am about to say; namely, that I rise to address you not without a certain feeling of embarrassment. For every man is, more or less consciously, the prisoner of his date, and I must confess that I was a great while in emancipating myself from the formula which prescribed the Greek and Latin Classics as the canonical books of that infallible Church of Culture outside of which there could be no salvation, none, at least, that was orthodox. Indeed I am not sure that I have wholly emancipated myself even yet. The old phrases (for mere phrases they had mostly come to be) still ring in my ears with a pleasing if not a prevailing enchantment.

The traditions which had dictated this formula were of long standing and of eminent respectability. They dated back to the *exemplaria Græca* of HORACE. For centuries the languages which served men for all the occasions of private life were put under a ban, and the revival of learning extended this outlawry to the literature, such as it was, that had found vent through them. Even the authors of that literature tacitly admitted the justice of such condemnation when they used the word *Latin* as meaning language *par excellence*, just as the Newfoundlanders say *fish* when they mean cod. They could be witty, eloquent, pathetic, poetical, competent, in a word, to every demand of their daily lives, in their mother-tongue, as the Greeks and Romans had been in theirs, but all this would not do; what was so embalmed would not keep. All the prudent and forethoughtful among them accordingly were careful to put their thoughts and fancies, or what with them supplied the place of these commodities, into Latin as the one infallible pickle. They forgot the salt, to be sure, an ingredient which the author alone can furnish. For it

is not the language in which a man writes, but what he has been able to make that language say or sing, that resists decay. Yet men were naturally a great while in reaching this conviction. They thought it was not good form, as the phrase is, to be pleased with what, and what alone, really touched them home. The reproach—*at vestri proavi*—rang deterrent in their ears. The author of 'Partonopeus de Blois,' it is true, plucks up a proper spirit:

" Cil clerc dient que n'est pas sens
 Qu' escrive estoire d'antif tens,
 Quant je nes escriis en latin,
 Et que je perc mon tans enfin ;
 Cil le perdent qui ne font rien
 Moult plus que je ne fac le mien."

And the sarcasm of the last couplet was more biting even than the author thought it. Those moderns who wrote in Latin truly *ne faisoient rien* for I cannot recollect any work of the kind that has in any sense survived as literature unless it be the 'Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum' (whose Latin is a part of its humor) and a few short copies of verse, as they used, aptly enough, to be called.

You all remember DU BELLAY'S eloquent protest, "I cannot sufficiently blame the foolish arrogance and temerity of some of our nation, who, being least of all Greeks or Latins, depreciate and reject with a more than Stoic brow everything written in French, and I cannot sufficiently wonder at the strange opinion of some learned men who think our vernacular incapable of all good literature and erudition." When this was said, MONTAIGNE was already sixteen years old, and, not to speak of the great mass of verse and prose then dormant in manuscript, France had produced in RABELAIS a great humorist and strangely open-eyed thinker, and in VILLON a poet who had written at least one immortal poem which still touches us with that painless sense of the *lachrymae rerum* so consoling in poetry and the burthen of which

" Ou sont les neiges d'antan ?"

falters and fades away in the ear like the last stroke of Beauty's passing-bell. I must not let you forget that DU BELLAY had formed himself on the classics, and that he insists on the assiduous study of them. "Devour them," he says, "not in order to

imitate, but to turn them into blood and nutriment." And surely this always has been and always will be their true use.

It was not long before the living languages justified their right to exist by producing a living literature, but as the knowledge of Greek and Latin was the exclusive privilege of a class, that class naturally made an obstinate defence of its vested rights. Nor was it less natural that men like BACON, who felt that he was speaking to the civilized world, and lesser men who fancied themselves charged with a pressing message to it, should choose to utter themselves in the only tongue that was cosmopolitan. But already such books as had more than a provincial meaning though written in what the learned still looked on as *patois*, were beginning to be translated into the other European languages. The invention of printing had insensibly but surely enlarged the audience which genius addresses. That there were persons in England who had learned something of French, Italian, Spanish, and of High and Low Dutch three centuries ago is shown by the dramatists of the day, but the speech of the foreigner was still generally regarded as something noxious. Later generations shared the prejudice of sturdy ABBOT SAMSON who confirmed the manor of THORPE *cuidam* Anglico natione de cujus fidelitate plenius confidebat quia bonus agricola erat *et quia nesciebat loqui Gallice*. This was in 1182, but there is a still more amusing instance of the same prejudice so lately as 1668. "Erasmus hath also a notable story of a man of the same age, an Italian, that had never been in Germany, and yet he spake the German tongue most elegantly, being as one possessed of the Devil; notwithstanding was cured by a Physician that administered a medicine which expelled an infinite number of worms; whereby he was also freed of his knowledge of the German tongue."¹ DR. RAMESEY seems in doubt whether the vermin or the language were the greater deliverance.

Even after it could no longer be maintained that no masterpiece could be written in a modern language, it was affirmed, and on very plausible grounds, that no masterpiece of style could be so written unless after sedulous study of the ancient and especially of the Grecian models. This may have been partially, but was it entirely true? Were those elements of the human mind which tease it with the longing for perfection

1. From a treatise on worms by WILLIAM RAMESEY, physician in ordinary to Charles II, which contains some very direct hints of the modern germ-theory of disease.

in literary workmanship peculiar to the Greeks? Before the new birth of letters DANTE (though the general scheme of his great poem be rather mechanical than organic) had given proof of a style, which, where it is best, is so parsimonious in the number of its words, so goldenly sufficient in the value of them, that we must go back to TACITUS for a comparison, and perhaps not even to him for a parallel. But DANTE was a great genius, and language curtesys to its natural Kings. I will take a humbler instance, the *Chant-fable* of Aucassin and Nicolette, rippling into song, and subsiding from it unconsciously as a brook. Leaving out the episode of the King of Torelore, evidently thrust in for the groundlings, what is there like it for that unpremeditated charm which is beyond the reach of literary artifice and perhaps does not survive the early maidenhood of language? If this be not style, then there is something better than style. And is there anything so like the best epigrams of Meleager in grace of natural feeling, in the fine tact which says all and leaves it said unblurred by afterthought, as some little snatches of song by nameless French minstrels of five centuries ago?

It is instructive that, only fifty years after DU BELLAY wrote the passage I have quoted, BISHOP HALL was indirectly praising SIDNEY for having learned in France and brought back with him to England that very specialty of culture which we are told can only be got in ancient Greece or, at second hand, in ancient Rome. Speaking of some nameless rhymers, he says of him that

"He knows the grace of that new elegance
Which sweet Philisides fetched late from France."

And did not SPENSER (whose earliest essay in verse seems to have been translated from DU BELLAY) form himself on French and Italian models? Did not CHAUCER, and GOWER, the shapers of our tongue, draw from the same sources? Does not HIGGINS tell us in the 'Mirrour for Magistrates' that BUCKHURST, PHAER, TUBERVILLE, GOLDING, and GASCOYNE imitated MAROT? Did not MONTAIGNE prompt BACON to his Essays and BROWNE (unconsciously and indirectly it may be), to his 'Religio Medici'? Did not SKELTON borrow his so-called Skeltonian measure from France? Is not the verse of 'Paradise Lost' moulded on that of the 'Divina Commedia'? Did not DRYDEN's prose and POPE's verse profit by Parisian example? Nay, in our own time is it not whispered that more than one of our

masters of style in English; and they, too, among the chief apostles of classic culture, owe more of this mastery to Paris than to Athens or Rome? I am not going to renew the Battle of the Books, nor would I be understood as questioning the rightful place so long held by ancient and especially by Greek literature as an element of culture and that the most fruitful. But I hold this evening a brief for the Modern Languages and am bound to put their case in as fair a light as I conscientiously can. Your kindness has put me in a position where I am forced to reconsider my opinions and to discover, if I can, how far prejudice and tradition have had a hand in forming them.

I will not say with the Emperor Charles V that a man is as many men as he knows languages, and still less with LORD BURLEIGH that such polyglottism is but "to have one meat served in divers dishes." But I think that to know the literature of another language, whether dead or living matters not, gives us the prime benefits of foreign travel. It relieves us from what RICHARD LASSELS aptly calls, a "moral Excommunication;" it greatly widens the mind's range of view, and therefore of comparison, thus strengthening the judicial faculty; and it teaches us to consider the relations of things to each other and to some general scheme rather than to ourselves; above all it enlarges æsthetic charity. It has seemed to me also that a foreign language, quite as much as a dead one, has the advantage of putting whatever is written in it at just such a distance as is needed for a proper mental perspective. No doubt this strangeness, this novelty, adds much to the pleasure we feel in reading the literature of other languages than our own. It plays the part of poet for us by putting familiar things in an unaccustomed way so deftly that we feel as if we had gained another sense and had ourselves a share in the sorcery that is practised on us. The words of our mother-tongue have been worn smooth by so often rubbing against our lips or minds, while the alien word has all the subtle emphasis and beauty of some newminted coin of ancient Syracuse. In our critical estimates we should be on our guard against this charm.

In reading such books as chiefly deserve to be read in any foreign language it is wise to translate consciously and in words as we read. There is no such help to a fuller mastery of our vernacular. It compels us to such a choosing and testing, to so nice a discrimination of sound, propriety, position, and shade of

meaning, that we now first learn the secret of the words we have been using or misusing all our lives and are gradually made aware that to set forth even the plainest matter as it should be set forth is not only a very difficult thing calling for thought and practice, but an affair of conscience as well. Translating teaches us as nothing else can, not only that there is a best way, but that it is the only way. Those who have tried it know too well how easy it is to grasp the verbal meaning of a sentence or of a verse. That is the bird in the hand. The real meaning, the soul of it, that which makes it literature and not jargon, that is the bird in the bush which tantalizes and stimulates with the vanishing glimpses we catch of it as it flits from one to another lurking-place.

Et fugit ad salices et se cupit ante videri.

After all, I am driven back to my Virgil again, you see, for the happiest expression of what I was trying to say. It was these shy allurements and provocations of OMAR KHAYAM'S Persian which led FITZGERALD to many a peerless phrase and made an original poet of him in the very act of translating. I cite this instance merely by way of hint that as a spur to the mind, as an open-sesame to the treasures of our native vocabulary, the study of a living language (for literary, not linguistic, ends) may serve as well as that of any which we rather inaptly call dead.

We are told that perfection of form can be learned only of the Greeks, and it is certainly true that many among them attained to, or developed out of some hereditary germ of aptitude, a sense of proportion and of the helpful relation of parts to the whole organism which other races mostly grope after in vain. SPENSER, in the enthusiasm of his new Platonism tells us that "*Soul* is form, and doth the body make," and no doubt this is true of the highest artistic genius. Form without soul, the most obsequious observance of the unities, the most perfect *a priori* adjustment of parts, is a lifeless thing like those machines of perpetual motion admirable in every way but one—that they will not go. I believe that I understand and value form as much as I should, but I also believe that some of those who have insisted most strongly on its supreme worth as the shaping soul of a work of art have imprisoned the word soul in a single one of its many meanings and the soul itself in a single one of its many functions. For the soul is not only that

which gives form, but that which gives life, the mysterious and pervasive essence always in itself beautiful, not always so in the shapes which it informs, but even then full of infinite suggestion. In literature it is what we call genius, an insoluble ingredient which kindles, lights, inspires and transmits impulsion to other minds, wakens energies in them hitherto latent and makes them startlingly aware that they too may be parts of the controlling purpose of the world. A book may be great in other ways than as a lesson in form, and it may be for other qualities that it is most precious to us. Is it nothing, then, to have conversed with genius? GOETHE'S 'Iphigenie' is far more perfect in form than his 'Faust,' which is indeed but a succession of scenes strung together on a thread of moral or dramatic purpose, yet it is 'Faust' that we read and hold dear alike for its meaning and for the delight it gives us. And if we talk of classics; what, then, is a classic if it be not a book that forever delights, inspires and surprises?—in which, and in ourselves, by its help, we make new discoveries every day. What book has so warmly embosomed itself in the mind and memory of men as the 'Iliad'? And yet surely not by its perfection in form so much as by the stately simplicity of its style, by its pathetic truth to nature, for so loose and discursive is its plan as to have supplied plausible argument for a diversity of authorship. What work of classic antiquity has given the *bransle*, as he would have called it, to more fruitful thinking than the Essays of MONTAIGNE, the most planless of men who ever looked before and after, a chaos indeed, but a chaos swarming with germs of evolution? There have been men of genius, like EMERSON, richly seminate for other minds; like BROWNING, full of wholesome ferment for other minds, though wholly destitute of any proper sense of form. Yet perhaps those portions of their writings where their genius has precipitated itself in perfect, if detached and unrelated crystals flashing back the light of our common day tinged with the diviner hue of their own nature, are and will continue to be a more precious and fecund possession of mankind than many works more praiseworthy as wholes, but in which the vitality is less abounding, or seems so because more evenly distributed and therefore less capable of giving that electric shock which thrills through every fibre of the soul.

But SAMUEL DANIEL, an Elizabethan poet less valued now than many an inferior man, has said something to my purpose

far better than I could have said it. Nor is he a suspicious witness, for he is himself a master of style. He had studied the art of writing, and his diction has accordingly been less obscured by time than that of most of his contemporaries. He knew his classics, too, and his dullest work is the tragedy of 'Cleopatra' shaped on a classic model, presumably *SENECA*, certainly not the best. But he had modern instincts and a conviction that the later generations of men had also their rights, among others that of speaking their minds in such forms as were most congenial to them. In answer to some one who had denounced the use of rhyme as barbarous, he wrote his *Defence of Rhyme*, a monument of noble and yet impassioned prose. In this he says, "Suffer the world to enjoy that which it knows and what it likes, seeing whatsoever form of words doth move delight, and sway the affections of men, in what Scythian sort soever it be disposed and uttered, that is true number, measure, eloquence, and the perfection of speech." I think that *DANIEL*'s instinct guided him to a half-truth, which he as usual believed to include the other half also. For I have observed that truth is the only object of man's ardent pursuit of which every one is convinced that he and he alone has got the whole.

I am not sure that Form, which is the artistic sense of decorum controlling the coördination of parts and ensuring their harmonious subservience to a common end, can be learned at all, whether of the Greeks or elsewhere. I am not sure that even Style (a lower form of the same faculty or quality, whichever it be), which has to do with the perfection of the parts themselves, and whose triumph it is to produce the greatest effect with the least possible expenditure of material,—I am not sure that even this can be taught in any school. If *STERNE* had been asked where he got that style which, when he lets it alone, is as perfect as any that I know, if *GOLDSMITH* had been asked where he got his, so equable, so easy without being unduly familiar, might they not have answered with the maiden in the ballad,

"I gat it in my mither's wame,
Where ye'll get never the like?"

But even though the susceptibility of art must be inborn, yet skill in the practical application of it to use may be increased,—best by practice, and very far next best by example. Assuming, however, that either Form or Style is to be had without the intervention of our good fairy, we can get them, or at least a

wholesome misgiving that they exist and are of serious import, from the French, as Sir PHILIP SIDNEY and so many others have done, as not a few are doing now. It is for other and greater virtues that I would frequent the Greeks.

BROWNING, in the preface to his translation of the *Agamemnon*, says bluntly, as is his wont, "learning Greek teaches Greek and nothing else." One is sometimes tempted to think that it teaches some other language far harder than Greek when one tries to read his translation. MATTHEW ARNOLD, on the other hand, was never weary of insisting that the *grand style* could be best learned of the Greeks, if not of them only. I think it may be taught, or, at least, fruitfully suggested, in other ways. Thirty odd years ago I brought home with me from Nuremberg photographs of Peter Fischer's statuettes of the twelve apostles. These I used to show to my pupils and ask for a guess at their size. The invariable answer was "larger than life." They were really about eighteen inches high, and this grandiose effect was wrought by simplicity of treatment, dignity of pose, a large unfretted sweep of drapery. This object-lesson I found more telling than much argument and exhortation. I am glad that ARNOLD should have been so insistent, he said so many admirable things in maintaining his thesis. But I question the validity of single verses, or even of three or four, as examples of style, whether grand or other, and I think he would have made an opponent very uncomfortable who should have ventured to discuss HOMER with as little knowledge of Greek as he himself apparently had of Old French when he commented on the 'Chanson de Roland.' He cites a passage from the poem and gives in a note an English version of it which is translated, not from the original, but from the French rendering by GÉNIN who was himself on no very intimate terms with the archaisms of his mother-tongue. With what he says of the poem I have little fault to find. It is said with his usual urbane discretion and marked by his usual steadiness of insight. But I must protest when he quotes four lines, apt as they are for his purpose, as an adequate sample, and then compares them with a most musically pathetic passage from HOMER. Who is there that could escape undiminished from such a comparison? Nor do I think that he appreciated as he should one quality of the poem which is essentially Homeric, I mean its invigorating energy, the exhilaration of manhood and courage that exhales from it, the same

that SIDNEY felt in 'Chevy-Chese.' I believe we should judge a book rather by its total effect than by the adequacy of special parts, and is not this effect moral as well as æsthetic? If we speak of style, surely that is like good breeding, not fortuitous, but characteristic, the key which gives the pitch of the whole tune. If I should set some of the epithets with which Achilles lays Agamemnon about the ears in the first book of the *Iliad* in contrast with the dispute between Roland and Oliver about blowing the olifaunt, I am not sure that HOMER would win the prize of higher breeding. The '*Chanson de Roland*' is to me a very interesting and inspiring poem, certainly not to be named with the '*Iliad*,' for purely literary charm, but equipped with the same moral qualities that have made that poem dearer to mankind than any other. When I am "moved more than with a trumpet," I care not greatly whether it be blown by Greek or Norman breath.

And this brings me back to the application of what I quoted just now from DANIEL. There seems to be a tendency of late to value literature and even poetry for their usefulness as courses of moral philosophy or metaphysics, or as exercises to put and keep the mental muscles in training. Perhaps the highest praise of a book is that it sets us thinking, but surely the next highest praise is that it ransoms us from thought. MILTON tells us that he thought SPENSER "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas," but did he prize him less that he lectured in a garden of Alcina? To give pleasure merely is one, and not the lowest, function of whatever deserves to be called literature. Culture, which means the opening and refining of the faculties, is an excellent thing, perhaps the best, but there are other things to be had of the Muses which are also good in their kind. Refined pleasure is refining pleasure too, and teaches something in her way, though she be no proper schooldame. In my weaker moments I revert with a sigh, half deprecation, half relief, to the old notion of literature as holiday, as

"The world's sweet inn from care and wearisome turmoil."

Shall I make the ignominious confession that I relish SKELTON's Philip Sparowe, pet of SKELTON's Maystres Jane, or parts of it, inferior though it be in form, almost as much as that more fortunate pet of Lesbia? There is a wonderful joy in it to chase away what SKELTON calls odious Enui, though it may not thrill our intellectual sensibility like its Latin prototype.

And in this mood the Modern Languages add largely to our resources. It may be wrong to be happy unless in the grand style, but it is perilously agreeable. And shall we say that the literature of the last three centuries is incompetent to put a healthy strain upon the more strenuous faculties of the mind? That it does not appeal to and satisfy the mind's loftier desires? That DANTE, MACHIAVELLI, MONTAIGNE, BACON, SHAKESPEARE, CERVANTES, PASCAL, CALDERON, LESSING, and he of Weimar in whom CARLYLE and so many others have found their University, that none of these set our thinking gear in motion to as good purpose as any ancient of them all? Is it less instructive to study the growth of modern ideas than of ancient? Is the awakening of the modern world to consciousness and its first tentative, then fuller, then rapturous expression of it,

"Like the new-abashed nightingale
That slinteth first when he beginneth sing,"

"Till the fledged notes at length forsake their nests,
Fluttering in wanton shoals,"

less interesting or less instructive to us because it finds a readier way to our sympathy through a postern which we cannot help leaving sometimes on the latch than through the ceremonious portal of classical prescription? GOETHE went to the root of the matter when he said, "people are always talking of the study of the ancients; yet what does this mean but apply yourself to the actual world and seek to express it, since this is what the ancients also did when they were alive?" That "when they were *alive*" has an unconscious sarcasm in it. I am not ashamed to confess that the first stammerings of our English speech have a pathetic charm for me which I miss in the wiser and ampler utterances of a tongue, not only foreign to me as modern languages are foreign, but thickened in its more delicate articulations by the palsy touch of Time. And from the native woodnotes of many modern lands, from what it was once the fashion to call the rude beginnings of their literature, my fancy carries away, I find, something as precious as Greek or Latin could have made it. Where shall I find the piteous and irreparable poverty of the parvenu so poignantly typified as in the 'Lai de L'oiselet'? Where the secret password of all poetry with so haunting a memory as in Count Arnaldos,

"Yo no digo esta cancion
Sino a quien conmigo va."

It is always wise to eliminate the personal equation from our judgments of literature as of other things that nearly concern us. But what is so subtle, so elusive, so inapprehensible as this *folle du logis*? Are we to be suspicious of a book's good character in proportion as it appeals more vividly to our own private consciousness and experience? How are we to know to how many it may be making the same appeal? Is there no resource, then, but to go back humbly to the old *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, and to accept nothing as orthodox literature on which the elder centuries have not laid their consecrating hands? The truth is, perhaps, that in reading ancient literature many elements of false judgment, partly involved in the personal equation, are inoperative, or seem to be so, which, when we read a more nearly neighboring literature, it is wellnigh impossible to neutralize. Did not a part of MATTHEW ARNOLD's preference for the verses of HOMER, with the thunder-roll of which he sent poor old Thoroldus about his business, spring from a secret persuasion of their more noble harmony, their more ear-bewitching canorousness? And yet he no doubt recited those verses in a fashion which would have disqualified them as barbarously for the ear of an ancient Greek as if they had been borrowed of Thoroldus himself. Do we not see here the personal fallacy's eartip? I fancy if we could call up the old *jongleur* and bid him sing to us, accompanied by his *vielle*, we should find in his verses a plaintive and not unimpressive melody such as so strangely moves one in the untutored song of the Tuscan peasant heard afar across the sunsteeped fields with its prolonged fondling of the assonants. There is no question about what is supreme in literature. The difference between what is best and what is next best is immense; it is felt instinctively; it is a difference not of degree but of kind. And yet may we not without lese-majesty say of books what FERDINAND says of women,

"for several virtues

Have I liked several women; never any

With so full soul but some defect in her

Did quarrel with the noblest grace she owed

And put it to the foil?"

In growing old one grows less fanatically punctual in the practice of those austerities of taste which make too constant demands on our self-denial. The ages have made up their minds

about the ancients. While they are doing it about the moderns (and they are sometimes a little long about it, having the whole of time before them), may we not allow ourselves to take an honest pleasure in literature far from the highest, if you will, in point of form, not so far in point of substance, if it comply more kindly with our mood or quicken it with oppugnancy according to our need? There are books in all modern languages which fulfil these conditions as perfectly as any, however sacred by their antiquity, can do. Were the men of the middle ages so altogether wrong in preferring OVID because his sentiment was more in touch with their own, so that he seemed more neighborly? Or the earlier dramatists in overestimating SENECA for the same reason? Whether it be from natural predisposition or from some occult influence of the time, there are men who find in the literature of modern Europe a stimulus and a satisfaction which Athens and Rome deny them. If these books do not give so keen an intellectual delight as the more consummate art and more musical voice of Athens enabled her to give, yet they establish and maintain, I am more than half willing to believe, more intimate and confiding relations with us. They open new views, they liberalize us as only an acquaintance with the infinite diversity of mens' minds and judgments can do, they stimulate to thought or tease the fancy with suggestion, and in short do fairly well whatever a good book is expected to do, what ancient literature did at the Revival of Learning with an effect like that which the reading of CHAPMAN'S Homer had upon KEATS. And we must not forget that the best result of this study of the ancients was the begetting of the moderns, though DANTE somehow contrived to get born with no help from the Greek Hera and little more from the Roman Lucina.

As implements of education the modern books have some advantages of their own. I am told and I believe that there is a considerable number of not uningenuous youths, who, whether from natural inaptitude or want of hereditary predisposition, are honestly bored by Greek and Latin, and who yet would take a wholesome and vivifying interest in what was nearer to their habitual modes of thought and association. I would not take this for granted, I would give the horse a chance at the ancient springs before I came to the conclusion that he would not drink. No doubt, the greater difficulty of the ancient languages is believed by many to be a prime recommendation of them as

challenging the more strenuous qualities of the mind. I think there are grounds for this belief, and was accordingly pleased to learn the other day that my eldest grandson was taking kindly to his HOMER. I had rather he should choose Greek than any modern tongue, and I say this as a hint that I am making allowance for the personal equation. The wise gods have put difficulty between man and everything that is worth having. But where the mind is of softer fibre, and less eager of emprise, may it not be prudent to open and make easy every avenue that leads to literature, even though it may not directly lead to those summits that tax the mind and muscle only to reward the climber at last with the repose of a more ethereal air?

May we not conclude that modern literature and the modern languages as the way to it should have a more important place assigned to them in our courses of instruction, assigned to them moreover as equals in dignity, except so far as age may justly add to it, and no longer to be made to feel themselves inferior by being put below the salt? That must depend on the way they are taught, and this on the competence and conscience of those who teach them. Already a very great advance has been made. The modern languages have nothing more of which to complain. There are nearly as many professors and assistants employed in teaching them at Harvard now as there were students of them when I was in College. Students did I say? I meant boys who consented to spend an hour with the professor three times a week for the express purpose of evading study. Some of us learned so much that we could say "How do you do?" in several languages, and we learned little more. The real impediment was that we were kept forever in the elementary stage, that we had and could look forward to no literature that would have given significance to the languages and made them beneficent. It is very different now, and with the number of teachers the number of students has more than proportionally increased. And the reason is not far to seek. The study has been made more serious, more thorough, and therefore more inspiring. And it is getting to be understood that as a training of the faculties, the comparative philology, at least, of the modern languages may be made as serviceable as that of the ancient. The classical superstitions of the English race made them especially behindhand in this direction and it was long our shame that we must go to the Germans to be

taught the rudiments of our mother tongue. This is no longer true. Anglo-saxon, Gothic, Old High and Middle High German and Icelandic are all taught, not only here, but in all our chief centres of learning. When I first became interested in Old French I made a surprising discovery. If the books which I took from the College Library had been bound with gilt or yellow edges, those edges stuck together as, when so ornamented, they are wont to do till the leaves have been turned. No one had ever opened those books before.

"I was the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea."

Old French is now one of regular courses of instruction, and not only is the language taught, but its literature as well. Remembering what I remember, it seems to me a wonderful thing that I should have lived to see a poem in Old French edited by a young American scholar (present here this evening) and printed in the journal of this Society, a journal in every way creditable to the scholarship of the country. Nor, as an illustration of the same advance, in another language, should we forget Dr. FAY's admirable Concordance of the 'Divina Commedia.' But a more gratifying illustration than any is the existence and fruitful activity of this Association itself, and this select concourse before me which brings scholars together from all parts of the land, to stimulate them by personal commerce with men of kindred pursuits and to unite so many scattered energies in a single force controlled by a common and invigorated purpose.

We have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the progress the modern languages have made as well in academic as in popular consideration. They are now taught (as they could not formerly be taught) in a way that demands toil and thought of the student, as Greek and Latin, and they only, used to be taught, and they also open the way to higher intellectual joys, to pastures new and not the worse for being so, as Greek and Latin, and they only used to do. Surely manysideness is the very essence of culture, and it matters less what a man learns than how he learns it. The day will come, nay, it is dawning already, when it will be understood that the masterpieces of whatever language are not to be classed by an arbitrary standard, but stand on the same level in virtue of being masterpieces; that thought, imagination, and fancy may make even a *patois* acceptable to scholars; that the poets of all climes and of all ages "sing

to one clear harp in divers tones," and that the masters of prose and the masters of verse in all tongues teach the same lesson and exact the same fee.

I began by saying that I had no wish to renew the Battle of the Books. I cannot bring myself to look upon the literatures of the ancient and modern worlds as antagonists, but rather as friendly rivals in the effort to tear as many as may be from the barbarizing ploutolatry which seems to be so rapidly supplanting the worship of what alone is lovely and enduring. No, they are not antagonists, but by their points of disparity, of likeness, or contrast, they can be best understood, perhaps understood only through each other. The scholar must have them both, but may not he who has not leisure to be a scholar, find profit even in the lesser of the two if that only be attainable? Have I admitted that one is the lesser? *O matre pulchra filia pulchrior* is perhaps what I should say here.

If I did not rejoice in the wonderful advance made in the comparative philology of the modern languages, I should not have the face to be standing here. But neither should I if I shrank from saying what I believed to be the truth, whether here or elsewhere. I think that the purely linguistic side in the teaching of them seems in the way to get more than its fitting share. I insist only that in our College courses this should be a separate study, and that, good as it is in itself, it should, in the scheme of general instruction, be restrained to its own function as the guide to something better. And that something better is Literature. The blossoms of language have certainly as much value as its roots, for if the roots secrete food and thereby transmit life to the plant, yet the joyous consummation of that life is in the blossoms, which alone bear the seeds that distribute and renew it in other growths. Exercise is good for the muscles of mind and to keep it well in hand for work, but the true end of Culture is to give it play, a thing quite as needful.

What I would urge therefore is that no invidious distinction should be made between the Old Learning and the New, but that students, due regard being had to their temperaments and faculties, should be encouraged to take the course in modern languages as being quite as good in point of mental discipline as any other if pursued with the same thoroughness and to the same end. And that end is Literature, for there language first attains to a full consciousness of its powers and to the delighted

exercise of them. Literature has escaped that doom of Shinar which made our Association possible, and still everywhere speaks in the universal tongue of civilized man. And it is only through this record of Man's joys and sorrows, of his aspirations and failures, of his thought, his speculation and his dreams, that we can become complete men, and learn both what he is and what he may be, for it is the unconscious autobiography of mankind.—And has no page been added to it since the last ancient classic author laid down his pen?

Phonetics.

By ALEXANDER MELVILLE BELL, F.E.I.S., F.R.S.S.A.,
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I congratulate the Modern Language Association on the establishment of a section which is as indispensable to language as the character of the Prince of Denmark is to the play of Hamlet. Language lives in sound; and the study of modern languages is the study of the spoken tongues.

I was honored by appointment to the presidency of this section, not in virtue of any linguistic attainments, but simply in recognition of my long and minute study of practical phonetics. At this the first meeting of our Phonetic Section, a few words on that subject will not, I trust, be unwelcome.

We constantly hear of the difficulty in pronouncing a foreign language, and especially of the difficulty of our own language to foreigners; but the reason of the difficulty has not been sufficiently recognized; namely, that learners have no initiatory phonetic training. They try to imitate speech in the mass; and they fail, because, after our earliest years, the faculty of imitation is no longer an instinct, as it is in childhood. The child unflinchingly adjusts its organs of speech to the production of whatever sound it is accustomed to hear, and no difficulty is experienced in the process. The youth and the man cannot do so, however, because their organs are already set for the pronunciation of one class of sounds, and they cannot readily alter the adjustment to suit the production of other varieties; that is, they cannot form new sounds in the verbal combinations of speech, but (and this is the point I wish to bring out) they can, or they can be readily taught to, produce any sound by itself. This power is a pre-requisite for the certain result of facility in combining the new sound with others, as fluently as by a speaker "to the manner born"; for what is called combination is in reality merely rapid sequence.

I have known persons who had long been familiar with Welsh speakers, utterly unable to pronounce the sound of // in a word,

but they have been taught in a few seconds to give the element its true native effect, by itself, and, after brief exercise, to give it and an associated vowel the rapidity of sequence which is called combination. We all know speakers who cannot pronounce the English *w* in *we*; but we do not any of us know a single such speaker who cannot at once be made to pronounce the element by itself, and within a few minutes to give it and the succeeding vowel the necessary rapidity of sequence to convert *w-e* into *we*. On the same principle, the German *w*, which English imitators pronounce *v*, can be readily acquired as an elementary sound by any person, and then syllabically connected with vowels exactly as by native speakers.

The sound of *th* is another shibboleth to those who do not possess it in their vernacular. Habit and association have fixed the false method acquired in early undirected attempts, and the wretched mispronunciation is continued year after year. Yet this supposed difficult sound can be pronounced as an element almost at the first effort by any of these speakers, and its combination in syllables be afterwards mastered with certainty.

The only difficult part of English pronunciation is in the application of what is called "accent," which gives a definiteness and stress to some one out of any group of syllables and a feebleness and indefiniteness to all the other syllables in the group. Accent (or syllabic light and shade) is the most marked characteristic of English utterance, and generally the last to be acquired by a foreigner; yet there is no real difficulty in mastering even this accentual habit, by simply practising syllables in unison with taps of the fingers. The broken English of foreigners who have been long resident in our country is due entirely to phonetic neglect, and not to any inherent difficulty in the sounds of the language.

I can foresee that this statement will be called in question, because many teachers of languages have to be included among the speakers of broken English. Nevertheless, the fact remains, that such speakers labor under a disability which might have been prevented, and which may still be removed, by application of the principle that the separate formation of any element, in any given way, is feasible by any person, and that elementary combination is merely elementary sequence.

One result of this principle is to show the pre-eminent importance of the study of phonetic elements. Another result is to

show the necessity of some means of indicating these elements independently of ordinary letters, because the latter have already, in all our minds, fixed associations with certain sounds. We require some symbols for pure phonetic qualities,—analogous to the Arabic ciphers for numbers, the algebraic signs, and the notation for music. We want characters which have an absolute value in the mouth—in all mouths—to enable us to teach and discuss the sounds of our respective languages, and to express our exact meaning in regard to them. We do not want to apply such signs instead of letters and in substitution for alphabetic writing, but we want to use them in interpretation of letters. The attempt to interpret letters by other letters is never free from ambiguity.

The symbols which make up what I call 'Visible Speech' are precisely such as here described. They constitute a universal alphabet, because by means of them the sounds of any language are expressed with such directiveness that they can be reproduced from the writing by any expert in the system. But the main function of the symbols is fulfilled when they have taught the learner the phonetic value of ordinary letters. Our familiar *A B C*, the German alphabet, the Greek, the Arabic, and every other system of letters, may be preserved unchanged, while the symbols of 'Visible Speech' are available as a key to them all.

In one of the early experiments with the system, the Professor of Oriental languages in the University of Edinburgh dictated some peculiar East Indian words which were entirely new to me when I wrote them; and, when they were reproduced by the boys who were then the sole interpreters of the system, Professor REID declared that he could not get his students to pronounce the same words with similar accuracy, after six months' instruction.

In this case the young readers heard the words for the first time when they themselves pronounced them. The explanation is, that the symbolic writing exhibited to their initiated eye the organic mechanism of the sounds, and they had only to follow this, and the original effect was necessarily reproduced without thought of sound on their part, or of any thing but the organic positions.

Some very interesting and crucial tests were applied by Mr. ALEXANDER JOHN ELLIS,—the one man in England competent

to apply such tests, as he was the author of the most exact analysis of speech-sounds, and the most complete phonetic alphabet that had then been published. I quote Mr. ELLIS's own description of the experiments:—

"The mode of procedure was as follows: Mr. Bell sent his sons, who were to read the writing, out of the room,—it is interesting to know that the one who read all the words in this case had only had five weeks' instruction in the use of the alphabet,—and I dictated slowly and distinctly the words which I wished to be written. These consisted of a few words in Latin, pronounced first as at Eton, then as in Italy, and then according to some theoretical notions of how the Latins might have uttered them. Then came some English provincialisms and affected pronunciations; the words 'how odd' being given in several distinct ways. Suddenly German provincialisms were introduced; then discriminations of sounds often confused, in Polish, German, Dutch, and Swiss words; French and English words, and German and French words; some Arabic, some Cockney English, with an introduced Arabic guttural, some mispronounced Spanish, and a variety of shades of vowels and diphthongs. The result was perfectly satisfactory; that is, Mr. Bell wrote down my queer and purposely exaggerated pronunciations and mispronunciations, and delicate distinctions, in such a manner that his son, not having heard them, so uttered them as to surprise me by the extremely correct echo of my own voice. Accent, tone, drawl, brevity, indistinctness, were all reproduced with suprising accuracy. Being on the watch, I could, as it were, trace the alphabet in the lips as the reader. I think, then, that Mr. Bell is justified in the somewhat bold title which he has assumed for his mode of writing,—'Visible Speech.'"

Mr. ELLIS subsequently had the whole phonetic theory of the system, and the plan of symbolization, explained to him, when he had the magnanimity to write,—

"Mr. Melville Bell's scheme will, I believe and hope, thoroughly supersede one on which I have labored for many years, and expended much money."

I venture to say that the whole history of authorship does not exhibit a course of action more altruistic and honorable than that of ALEXANDER JOHN ELLIS in his reception of 'Visible Speech.'

Mr. ELLIS, of course, embodied the classifications of 'Visible

Speech' in his subsequent works. His system of 'Glossotype' or 'Glossic' was designed for the purpose of enabling all the new phonetic distinctions to be represented by Roman letters. This it accomplished by inversions and other arrangements of the letters, making up an alphabet, complete but arbitrary, and consequently difficult to use without constant reference to tables. 'Glossotype' is a translation of 'Visible Speech' into letters that are to be found in every printing-office. It, of course, entirely lacks the grand characteristic of 'Visible Speech;' namely, self-interpreting letters, which exhibit in their forms a symbolic record of what the mouth must do in order to pronounce their sounds. 'Glossotype' may be correctly described as "'Visible Speech' without its visibility."

My speaking to you here in Harvard reminds me that when I paid my first visit to America, in 1868, the then president of this university, Dr. THOMAS HILL, was, I found, much interested in 'Visible Speech,' and in phonetics generally. I had the honor of meeting in Dr. HILL'S drawing-room a gathering of professors and others, whom he had invited to receive some demonstrations of the system. To my surprise, Dr. HILL showed himself almost as well acquainted with my system as I was myself. I wrote on the blackboard for his interpretation, and he wrote for mine. Yet he had had no oral instruction in the method, but had studied it entirely from the written description.

I mention these facts simply to encourage those of you who may not have already entered on the study, to make practical investigation for yourselves. In this way you will, at all events, acquire a knowledge of the varieties of linguistic sound, and also see the organic formation of familiar elements, which you may possibly have been forming all your lives without knowing how you formed them; and the power of analyzing familiar sounds will ultimately become a guide to the formation of new and unfamiliar sounds.

We live in a busy world, and cannot afford to spend much time, even in the most interesting studies, unless they involve also our material interests. I may therefore point out, that a knowledge of the whole round of speech-actions can be acquired, under proper oral instruction, in a period so brief that the busiest student need not be deterred from undertaking the work. The study is in itself most interesting, and it is, besides, of important material benefit to those who master it. In primary schools, in

schools for the deaf, and in all the fields of teaching, there is an increasing demand for skilled phoneticians; and to you, members of the Modern Language Association, this demand naturally looks for supply.

I am most desirous, before I leave the world, to see the subject of phonetics added to the curriculum in universities and normal schools. I may add, that, in furtherance of this object, I have presented, through the Bureau of Education, and with the kind co-operation of the commissioner of education, a copy of my recent work on 'Vocal Physiology and Visible Speech,' to every university and normal school in the United States. The same presentation has also been extended to the universities and normal schools in Great Britain and the British Colonies. The opening of this Phonetic Section of the Modern Language Association may be taken as an indication of the growing interest in the subject, and an omen of its future prominence among educational studies.

You will, of course, have many aspects of phonetics presented to you in the contributions you will receive from year to year,—such as historical phonetics, or the order of past changes in pronunciation; national phonetics, or the tendencies of individual languages; formal phonetics, or the operation of definite laws; assimilative phonetics, or the influence of sound upon sound; and doubtless other varieties,—but all these should pre-imply a fundamental power in practical phonetics. Theorizing on sounds which you cannot illustrate is profitless.

Sounds have been described as long, short, acute, grave, flat, sharp; heavy, light, dull, obscure, hard, soft; harsh, smooth, open, shut, thick, thin; narrow, broad, fat, liquid, etc.; and organically as labial, lingual, palatal, guttural, nasal, dental, head sounds, throat sounds, chest sounds, even ventral sounds. The whole nomenclature has been indefinite and unscientific. Such names must be discarded for a terminology that shall express something which is uniformly intelligible to all who use it.

For example: certain mouth-actions are produced with, and certain others without, accompanying voice: these are clearly distinguished as "vocal" and "non-vocal." Certain actions are performed by the back of the tongue, others by the top of the tongue, others by the front of the tongue, others by the point of the tongue, others by the lips; and the resulting elements are unambiguously named "back," "top," "front," "point," "lip."

Some sounds are formed with the tongue in close approximation to the roof of the mouth, others with the tongue removed from it as far as possible, and others in an intermediate position: these varieties are clearly distinguished as "high," "low," "mid." Some sounds are formed with constriction of the organic aperture, and others with comparative looseness and expansion; and these are distinguished by the term "wide" applied to the latter class. Some sounds issue through a channel over the centre of the organ concerned, others through apertures formed at the sides, and some with the mouth-passage entirely closed: the last are descriptively named "shut;" and the side-aperture sounds, "divided." Some sounds are formed with the co-operation of two parts of the mouth, and these are called "mixed"; and some are emitted wholly or partly through the nose. The former are called "nasal;" the latter, "nasalized." Such definite nomenclatures as these are easily learned, readily remembered, and unambiguously understood.

One practical application of phonetics will probably come occasionally under the consideration of this section; namely, the removal of anomalies and irregularities in spelling. This association may well become the national authority and umpire in questions of what is called "spelling-reform." The established writing of our words is only partially phonetic; and the first point to be determined is—Can it be made wholly so? The answer is both yes and no,—no, if the condition be made to admit no new letters, and to maintain the present aspect of words; yes, if new letters be allowed, and the aspect of words be free to change, without regard to present usage. Written words become pictorial to the eye, and any change of the literal picture destroys for a time, the identity of the word. Thus, words are both combinations of sounds and combinations of letters. The sound is the original, the real word: the letters form a conventional pictorial word. Are we to retain both in mutual independence, with all the inconvenience which the present arrangement entails, or are we to alter the conventional so as to represent the real? If we agree to disturb the old word-picture, let us make the new one perfectly accord with the word-sound; but that would be to give up historical spelling altogether. If we decide to retain historical spelling, we should then agree on some initiatory scheme, by which the difficulty of learning to read may be importantly lessened, for the benefit of

children and of the nations which are acquiring the English tongue.

In an extended English alphabet recently published under the title of "World-English," a method is shown by which the writing of the language is rendered perfectly phonetic, while the aspect of words is changed in the least possible degree consistent with that result. The alphabet is designed only for initiatory use, and to facilitate the learning to read from common letters and common spelling. Some critics have failed to see this limitation of the scheme, and have looked on the proposition as a new attempt at spelling-reform; but, on the contrary, the reason for producing "World-English" was to demonstrate, that, so far as learners of the language are concerned, present orthography may remain altogether untouched; and that the literature of England and America need not be rendered foreign to the eye by any change in spelling.

Why cannot our legislatures rise to the importance of regulating school and official practice in the representation of our speech? Private efforts have cleared the way, and shown, in a variety of modes, what may be done. Official action now would be comparatively easy.

In the mean time, might not this association with advantage formulate some conclusions on the subject? Suppose the following questions to be discussed, and the answers promulgated for general information:—

1. Should our spelling be altered for the sake of facilitating the work of learning to read?
2. Can that object be attained without such alteration?
3. Can our spelling be partially phoneticized, by dropping silent letters and otherwise, without destroying the identity of words to the eye?
4. Can a purely phonetic method, in place of ordinary spelling, be made acceptable to the educated public?
5. Should we not recognize two independent forms of our written words,—one in common spelling, for use in literature; the other in phonetic spelling, for use in primary schools, and wherever else may be desired?

Definite answers to these or such questions would tend to concentrate effort in the approved direction, and to suspend futile effort in other directions.

The varieties of sound heard in dialectic and district pronun-

ciation prove that the necessities of intercourse do not depend on nice phonetic distinctions. In fact, one who is familiar with the words of a language can understand speech when only one unchanged vowel-sound is used; or writing, when a mere hyphen is substituted for all vowel-letters. One system of shorthand is based on this principle. The consonants are written small when no vowel-sound follows them; and in this way the relative size of these characters informs the eye where vowels do and do not occur; with the result, that, except in monosyllables, the writing is sufficiently free from ambiguity for practical stenography.

Extended intercourse is assimilating the pronunciation of districts which differed widely in their utterance before the days of steamboats and railways. The dialect of my native place is no longer what it was in my remembrance. The provinces of a nation, and the nations of the world, are rising gradually to one phonetic standard. But variety comes with refinement; shades of sound become associated with shades of meaning; and the ear itself becomes more appreciative of slight differences.

Early English pronunciation was very unlike what we hear now, chiefly because it lacked many shades of sound which we distinguish. The letter *r* had always its consonant sound which is now heard only before a vowel. *A* was always *ah*; *ai*, *ah-i*; *aw*, *ah-w*. *W* was always pronounced after a vowel, as *ew*, *eh-w*; *ow*, *oh-w*. *U*, as in *but* and *us*, was always pronounced *oo*; and our silent letters *gh* and *l*, as in *might* and *would*, were always sounded. I can fortunately illustrate the effect of the English of SHAKESPEARE'S time by repeating a short speech, the pronunciation of every word in which has been ingeniously recovered by Mr. ELLIS. This is Portia's speech on mercy, from the "Merchant of Venice," as pronounced on the Shakespearian stage.*

My object in this brief address has been simply to incite you to give increased attention to practical phonetics. Mastery of the mouth will give an advantage in all the other departments, and also in the teaching of modern languages. Without entering further into detail, which would make this a lesson instead of an address, I shall conclude by hoping that the deliberations of this Phonetic Section may advance the study of the art and

*For a phonetic transcription of this speech see next page.

science of speech, enhance both professional and popular interest in the subject, and be a continuous credit to the Modern Language Association.

SPECIMEN OF SHAKESPEARIAN PRONUNCIATION

(IN "WORLD-ENGLISH" TYPOGRAPHY.)

de kwálití òv mersj iz nót stráind ;
 it dròpet̃ áz de jentl ráin fróm hevn
 úpón de plás benād ; it iz twjs blest ;
 it bleset̃ him qāt givz ánd him qāt taks ;
 tiz m̃jctiest in de m̃jctiest ; it bekúnz
 de trūned mōnárk beter dān his krōūn :
 hiz septer seuz de fōrs òv tempōrál pōūr,
 de átribüt tü áú ánd mājesti,
 wārin düť sit de dred ánd fār òv kigz ;
 büt mersj iz ábūv qis septerd swái,
 it iz entrūned in de hárts óf kigz,
 it iz án átribüt tü gòd himself ;
 ánd erťlj pōūr düť den seú l̃kest gòdz,
 w̃en mersj s̃áznz jústis. qārřfōr, jeū,
 qóc jústis bē qj plā, kōnsider qis,
 qāt, in de kūrs òv jústis, nōn òv ús
 şuld, sē sálvásiūn : wē dü prái fōr mersj ;
 ánd qāt sām prair düť t̃q ús ául tü render
 de dēdz òv mersj.

NOTE: e, i,	as in	ell, ill
ā, ē, ĩ, ō, ū,	"	ale, eel, isle, old, rule
á, ó, ũ,	"	ask, ore, put
ā,	"	ah
ü,	"	German ü
er, r,	"	merit
c	"	German ch
q	"	ch, in teach
ř, ž,	"	sh, zh
ť, đ,	"	th, in thin, then
w,	"	wh, in when

VOL. V.

No. 2

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

OF AMERICA

APRIL-JUNE

BALTIMORE:

1890.

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At the Fifth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, held in Cincinnati, December, 1888, it was determined by the Executive Council to publish the Transactions of the Society in *quarterly* instalments; and, furthermore, to add other Papers that may not have been presented at the Convention, provided, in the judgment of the Editorial Committee, they are suitable to appear in the publications of the Association. The following contribution constitutes the second issue of volume v of this series, which will be pushed forward as rapidly as the material is furnished to the Secretary and as the funds of the Society permit. These PUBLICATIONS will be furnished to members gratis; to non-members, the price is \$3.50 per annum; single copies \$1.00. All communications relating to the PUBLICATIONS should be addressed to the Secretary of the Association, Professor A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
Modern Language Association of America

VOL. V.

1890.

No. 2.

Reading in Modern Language Study.

By EDWARD S. JOYNES, M. A., LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF MODERN LANGUAGES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH
CAROLINA.

It is with extreme diffidence that I offer to read a paper before this Association. My own teaching is done under conditions of such disadvantage—with students so poorly prepared, and with results so unsatisfactory—that I cannot but feel how presumptuous it would be in me to attempt here to teach those who themselves teach under so much happier conditions and to so much better purpose than I can do. My sole apology might be an experience which, covering now three decades of language teaching, has passed through many phases both of our professional activity at large and of my own individual work. But these phases, for myself personally, have been rather renewals of effort and of disappointment than landmarks of progress or of triumph; and this experience, if I could recount it, might serve rather as a warning than as an example. So that it is as a seeker rather than as a giver that I come, to share my counsel with my more favored brethren; in order that by the confession of my own shortcomings, and especially by the criticism and discussion which this paper may elicit, I may be helped—and so perchance may help others—to find “the better way.”

I am conscious, too, that my argument is addressed not so much to the members of this Association, who surely need no advice from me, as to a wider circle of humbler teachers who may be reached and perchance helped through this agency;—as from the mountain tops may be flashed beacon lights to those

who are laboring in the valleys below. I therefore recognize the fitness of the reference of this paper to the Pedagogical Section, which I hope may more and more engage hereafter the attention and sympathy of the Association.

In the stormier days of a controversy now happily abated, we have often heard the reproach made—some of us perhaps in our “fighting moods” have made it ourselves—against our brethren the classical teachers, that the great majority of graduates wholly forget their Greek and Latin in after life. Now it might be answered that so ungracious a charge carries with it its own refutation. What a man has not learned he cannot unlearn, nor can he forget what he has never got. And if, under any old-time method of classical teaching, students did not learn Greek and Latin, but only learned *about them*, it is not strange that they should not know, or use, or love these languages in later life. Yet after all and at the worst, this charge, if true, would not prove that the methods of even such classical study had failed to confer discipline and culture of life-long benefit, even when the Latin inflections, or the Greek alphabet itself, had been entirely forgotten. A far more serious matter it would be, however, if such a charge could be established against our modern languages. For, apart from all questions of method or of relative value in education, the modern languages, it seems, should at least be more *vital*—I mean in closer relation to our actual life; at least comparatively more for *use*, and less for discipline only; for the creation of new instruments of active power rather than for the mere training of faculty; for the manifold needs of a living present rather than for even the highest communion with the past:—and if, under all these advantages, a like charge could be sustained against our department, it would be a far more serious imputation upon the value of our work, or at least upon the methods of our teaching.

Now it is precisely this charge which I find myself compelled to make, against myself at least, if not against others. I am fully aware of the disadvantages of my own teaching, and of the shortcomings of my own effort and performance; yet I cannot believe my experience to be wholly exceptional. Let me ask you to do as I have done again and again, to my sorrow. Try your graduates of five, ten, fifteen years ago. Ask them, as you meet them at Commencement or elsewhere, how many, outside of professional scholars, “keep up” their French and Ger-

man? How many still read these languages? How many love to read them, or would not prefer even a poor translation? How many use them as instruments of research or information? Into how many lives have they entered as an abiding presence of sweetness and light—the perpetual heritage of a new birth of intellectual liberty and power? Or, by how many have they been disused, laid aside, forgotten; used only to read a chance quotation, and remembered only as associated with college tasks and the fading “dream of things that were”?

This is a hard question—here perhaps an ungracious, and for me, it may be, an impertinent one. But I have been asking it for many years, and without gratifying answer. I want my colleagues to ask it—if not of their graduates, at least to themselves; and to all who can answer “not guilty,” the argument of this paper does not apply. Yet, I regret to say, I fear that the great majority of all our graduates lay aside and forget their modern languages, after graduation, to a degree only less complete because these are perhaps less easy to forget, than do classical students lay aside and forget their Greek and Latin.

Now if this is true, even in any large degree, why is it true? The answer I believe is the same in both cases: because instead of teaching modern languages, we spend so much of the limited time allowed us *in teaching only about them*, or in the unprofitable pursuit of false objects by false methods; and thus, like the dog in the stream, snatching at the shadow, we lose the substance and the shadow too.

Whatever diverse views may be maintained as to the varied benefits of classical study, it will surely be admitted that the chief object of the study, say of French and German, is *to know French and German*; and that, for the vast majority of all our students, the chief object of knowing them is *to read them*.

I do not here include private instruction for special purposes or under special circumstances, but only such instruction as, seeking “the greatest good of the greatest number,” should be regularly offered in the organized classes of our higher institutions of learning. And of this, too, I speak only within what may be called strictly collegiate limits*—meaning thereby, in a

*Since reading the “Proposed Scheme of Requirements in French and German” for advanced admission to the Colleges of New England, as presented before this Association, I am almost disposed to add that my argument should apply rather to schools and the lower classes than to the advanced classes of colleges so highly favored. Yet I must be pardoned for the remark that that scheme is too abundant in *quantity* not to excite some suspicion (in the mind of an old examiner) on the score of *quality*. The worst of all cases is that in which the college has to revise and correct the work of the school:—it is more difficult to *unteach* than to teach.

word, such study as is *general*, for large classes within definite courses; and not including the higher special—or more strictly university—study, whose highest law is *liberty*.

Now it seems scarcely to need argument that for this “greatest number” of all our modern language students, in school or college, the “greatest good” that our teaching can confer is the *power to read*, with—so far as possible—the *love of reading*. I think this is sufficiently indicated in the definition adopted by this Association, of the “primary aims” of such instruction: first, “literary culture;” and then, “philological scholarship and linguistic discipline.” My contention is, that that which is here placed first is not only first, but is by far the most important and should have far more attention, relatively, than I believe it now usually receives.

What is the kind of reading which this “literary culture” implies? In the first place, it must be accurate reading; for without accuracy there can be no thorough intelligence and, of course, no genuine literary culture. And this accuracy implies sound grammatical knowledge, and precise, often minute, grammatical criticism. But beyond that, and far beyond that, it must be reading which, by practice, has grown to be not only intelligent, accurate, appreciative, but easy and pleasurable: it must be “Reading without Tears.” That literature which must be spelled out, with grammar and dictionary, is, for the nonce, not literature at all; and will surely not be read, after graduation, outside of professional circles. My point is: *we do not read enough*: it is not quality, but quantity; not depth, but range; not knowledge only, but the ease of practiced habit—that is left lacking in our results. Speaking not from my own unsatisfactory experience only, but judging so far as I can from the courses outlined in many of our foremost institutions, we do not read enough, not nearly enough, to secure that easy command of the foreign idiom and vocabulary—that comfortable at-home-ness in the foreign atmosphere—which is necessary for the appreciation of style, for the enjoyment of literature, or for the free and glad use of these languages as instruments of research, of culture, or of power, in after life. Hence it follows that in the modern languages as in Greek and Latin, yet with far more lamentable loss, reading is after graduation for the most part abandoned and forgotten; and French and German, begun in school and continued in college as *tasks*, are remembered and avoided as

tasks in after life. That reading, I repeat, which must be done as a task, or with any distinct consciousness of the difficulty of a foreign idiom, will not be done at all outside of professional objects. And so it is that the French and German literatures, with all their wealth—all their “promise and potency” of culture, of delight, of inspiration, of power—remain a dead letter in the lives of the vast majority of all our college graduates. If this is not true, I fain would be corrected; but I fear it is only too true.

If, then, this is true, the remedy is that we must read more, and give more prominence to reading, relatively, in our courses of study. And if this be recognized as the supremely important object to which all others are secondary, we must perforce, within our limited time, subordinate other objects to which large proportions of time and attention—though of course in varying degrees—are now habitually devoted. Among them I will briefly mention:

I. THE FORMAL STUDY OF GRAMMAR.

This cannot, of course, be wholly eliminated, but it should be reduced to a minimum. The grammar should be for the reading, not the reading for the grammar. Reading outside of grammar should be begun at the earliest possible day, with all needful helps; and the further accretion of grammatical knowledge should be made to crystalize gradually around easy, interesting, and pleasurable reading. The formal learning of paradigms and rules may thus, I believe, be wholly omitted, except in largest outlines. Nothing *vitalizes* language study like reading, even the simplest, outside of grammar rules. I remember a boy who, after a year of grammatical study of Latin on the old plan in school, came during vacation under the teaching of his sister, a bright Virginia girl, who knew nothing of the scholastic method: before the end of the first week he exclaimed, “Golly, sister! I believe this means something”—a commentary only too true upon much of our grammar grinding. If I might add a word of personal experience, it would be that year by year, though yet far from attaining my ideal, I am more and more impressed with the importance of *minimizing* formal grammar study. One month of indispensable introduction I believe to be quite sufficient. After that, so far as possible, the grammar, like the dictionary, should be used as a book of reference rather than of

formal study. (I might add, that the best grammars for this kind of work remain yet to be written.) The reading, thus early begun, should be pushed more and more; the formal grammar, more and more subordinated. I should not need to add that, at this stage, all points of technical learning—etymology, language-history, etc.—except for occasional *help*, should be wholly omitted. Yet right here lies our temptation. It is so easy to waste time in displaying our own erudition; so pleasant to astonish or amuse our pupils; so hard to forget ourselves for their sake:—so easy, in a word, to be a scholar, so hard to be a teacher!

II. EXERCISES IN SPEAKING.

On this point I shall say but little. I fear I shall in some quarters be deemed guilty of high treason if I express my conviction of the utter worthlessness of such exercises in our ordinary college work. Of course, along with the tongue, the ear must be trained to an accurate pronunciation, and to the appreciation of the beauty and rhythm of the original:—for without this there is no language—much less literature. It is important, also, to be able to understand what may be added, for illustration or explanation, in the original tongue. But as for learning to speak in the college class-room, the idea is futile, and all the time devoted thereto is almost utterly wasted. Given a class, say of twenty-five to thirty members, with three or four hours a week—that is five or ten minutes for each individual; and all, meanwhile, reading, writing, speaking, thinking, dreaming English, for all the remaining hours of day or night;—and their power of intelligent speech in French or German would be trivial and futile—less than “a younger brother’s revenue”—even if every moment of time throughout the college course could be devoted to such exercises, to the exclusion of all other instruction. The result would be to leave the student, in the language of Professor HEWITT, “the proud possessor of a few sentences, but without any literary knowledge;” or, as I have myself elsewhere said, “with one phrase on almost every subject and hardly two on any.” Whatever may be said for the so-called “natural method” with individual pupils, or in private classes taught under special conditions for special objects (and here its merits may be great) yet, for collegiate or even school work proper, it is “a delusion and a snare.” Who among us has not witnessed the helplessness of pupils trained by this

method for all literary or higher linguistic work? The conditions necessary for its usefulness are simply not practicable in the ordinary classes of the school or college.*

III. WRITTEN COMPOSITION.

Here the weight of prescription and of authority would seem to be so overwhelming as to render criticism at once impotent if not impertinent. Yet we should not forget that this prescription comes to us through the Latin, and from an age when the writing of Latin was the necessary accomplishment of every educated person; nor that it is now less than a generation since the like prescription in England still insisted upon the writing of Latin *verse*:—so hard it is to lay aside the leading-strings of a past culture, even after we have outgrown its infancy. I would not question the indispensableness of writing to the mastery, or indeed even to the accurate criticism, of language; still less would I claim that the highest scholarship in French or German could be attained without the ability to write, or even to speak, these languages. Yet for how many of us does this “highest scholarship” come within even the remotest horizon of our teaching? How many of all our pupils do we expect to learn, by our exercises, to write French and German with any true command of language, much less of style—or, indeed, with anything beyond the most barren grammatical correctness? But even within this limit, and far short of any real power of expression, all must admit the value of writing to confirm the knowledge and use of the grammatical forms, to teach the force of words, the value of position, structure, emphasis, etc.:—so that, even for thorough grammatical training, exercise in writing—I will not say *composition*—may fairly be claimed to be indispensable. This I do not deny; my protest is against the abuse, not the use, of this exercise. I insist, *first*, that it is begun too early. To set a pupil to writing Latin or German who knows nothing of reading is as unnatural and cruel as it is unprofitable. It reverses the natural order of acquisition, and makes the beginner's path, which should be lightened by every helpful device, literally a pathway of tears. Such exercise should be reserved until by actual use the student has acquired some con-

*Yet, strange to say, the “Scheme of Requirements,” etc., above referred to, included *conversation*. The manifest unwillingness, however, of the Committee to define, or even to fix the responsibility for, this particular requirement was the most amusing and to many, doubtless, the most gratifying feature of the discussion in the Association.

siderable knowledge of word-form, structure and idiom—or, at the very least, until a review, after the first study of the grammar. Then, as my boy said above, it may “mean something,” and so become really intelligent and helpful. *Secondly*, I contend that it is often made unduly difficult and burdensome, not only by being too early begun, but by being exaggerated beyond its proper importance, as though it were an end unto itself, instead of being regarded—what it really should be—as a help to easier and more accurate reading*. At present I think I do not exaggerate when I say that this exercise is generally made to occupy from one-third to one-half—often even more—of the time given to the study of language, ancient or modern; and that by unreasonable methods of instruction and of correction it is made also, to both pupil and teacher, by far the most painful and discouraging as well as unprofitable part of the work. It would be a great gain, for progress as well as for peace and comfort, if this exercise could be restricted within narrower limits of time, and placed in its due subordination to the higher objects of reading and criticism. To a very large extent, indeed, its purposes can be better accomplished, with less loss of time, by writing from *oral dictation*—which gives, besides, the needful training of the ear, as of the attention, for the understanding of the spoken language. The time that may here be saved, in my opinion without loss, should also be devoted to the supreme object of more and better reading. Indeed, I will go further and venture to add that, in courses which are necessarily elementary in scope, it would be a wise economy to omit composition altogether.

IV. SUBJECTS OF HIGHER, OR SPECIAL, STUDY.

The foregoing remarks include subjects and methods appropriate mainly to the school and the lower classes of the college. What I shall now briefly add concerns rather the higher or university study. I refer to those subjects which I suppose to be included by this Association in its definition: “philological scholarship and linguistic discipline,” in addition to “literary culture.” Under these heads may perhaps be roughly enumerated:

*I beg leave here to refer to the excellent essay of Professor HALE of Cornell on “The Art of Reading Latin” (Ginn & Co.), which, though intended for classical teachers only, may be almost equally helpful in the teaching of modern languages. I make this reference the more freely because I can not fully claim the weight of this high authority in favor of all the points of the present paragraph.

scientific grammar, phonetics, etymology, special and comparative, language-history, with study of older forms and kindred dialects, textual criticism, the details of literary history, and so forth. Let no one suppose that I undervalue the importance of these things, however much I may regret my own shortcomings in the learning or teaching of them. They are the crown of our discipline, giving to it the dignity of a many-sided and ample science, and touching at many points the highest intellectual and moral interests of man. My only contention is, that these should be mainly reserved for that higher study which should be made rather the privilege of the few than the task of the many:—for the higher classes only, in our collegiate work; more properly and more largely, for post-graduate or university students; best of all, for that *seminary* work so admirably outlined by Professor WHITE of Cornell at Philadelphia in 1887, yet which I do not believe to be practicable, or even desirable, within ordinary collegiate limits. The scope of the subjects here included is so large and so important that they press with overwhelming weight upon lower classes, not yet fully prepared for such study; and for this very reason there is danger lest they should prematurely usurp the lion's share of that limited and precious time now available for our courses. Such topics—of more distinctly scientific import, linguistic or philological—should, therefore, be mainly reserved for later study, or introduced into the earlier by glimpses only, for illumination and inspiration, rather than as an added burden of work. I make this plea, as I think, in the interest alike of the higher and of the lower study; to leave the latter free for the pursuit of its immediate and more important object, and to secure for the former the groundwork of an adequate preparation. The premature or excessive introduction of these topics into early study is one of the most dangerous temptations of our scholarship, and is, in my opinion, the chief reason why so many of our students leave college not only unable to read French and German with any intelligent appreciation or pleasure, but already wearied and alienated by such a mistaken study not of, but about them.* Such students are little likely to return to these languages with any zest in later life.

*It is certainly true, as urged by the *Nation* of January 9th in its review of President LOWELL's address before this Association, that literature and language are equally worthy objects of study, and indeed, in their highest conception, are *one*. But this does not touch the argument of the present paper, which concerns only the relative weight that

I claim then that, far more largely than is now usually the case, the chief work of our school and college courses in modern languages should be reading—large, intelligent, pleasurable, sympathetic reading (which must, of course, also be careful and accurate reading); and that our chief object should be, for this main body of our students, to endow them with the power so to read these languages that they shall love to read them, not as a task but as a privilege, and with the delight of literary insight and sympathy, for all the uses of culture and of service, as they would read their mother tongue. And in order to impart this power and, when possible, to kindle this love, I contend that, just so far as may be necessary, all other objects or methods should be subordinated. How far such subordination may be necessary is, of course, a question of circumstances and conditions, for which I should be the last to propose any unvarying rule. Such questions of practical pedagogy, like all other questions of intellectual or moral duty, are at last *personal* questions, which every man must decide for himself.

Finally, as to the method of this reading, believing that in details each man must make his own methods, I will only remark that it should be, first, *for translation*. It is vain to decry this exercise, which is one of the most valuable in the whole range of education. Translation—clear, accurate, simple, adequate yet idiomatic—is not only the best test of the knowledge of both idioms, but it is a work of art as well as of science (and, as our President has said, of *conscience* too), disciplining the highest powers of insight, skill and taste, both in thought and in expression. As a training in the mother tongue, it is superior to all the devices of rhetoric. President ELIOT has somewhere said, though in other and better words, that the power rightly to understand and to use the mother tongue is the consummate flower of all education; and we should not debar our study of modern languages from this high ministry, for which it is so conspicuously fitted. There is no other discipline incident to language study so valuable as translation rightly conceived;—yet there is nothing more harmful than those miserable verbal paraphrases which, under the utterly false name of “literal

should be assigned to each in the (purely preparatory) work of the great body of our students. It is also true, as stated in another column of the same issue of the *Nation*, that the great mass of college graduates do not keep up the reading even of good *English* literature—as, indeed, they do not keep up any branch of college study. But this is because they do not choose to do so, not because they cannot: they at least use English books for all needed purposes of help or information. I contend that they do not as a rule, even to this extent, use French or German—and because they *cannot*—at least except as a difficult and disagreeable task. The question here is, moreover, something more than one of degree only.

translation," are so often not only allowed but required.* Such method is false alike to the foreign and to the native language. Only *idiom* can translate *idiom*, or *style* translate *style*. And if it be urged that no translation can be fully adequate, I answer that no otherwise can this truth be so sharply taught, or so deeply felt, as by the effort to reproduce the perfect forms of a foreign literature in our own language:—it is only by doing *our best* that we can truly conceive the ideal and the unattainable. We must insist also that for this American people there is only one mother tongue, to which all other languages are alike foreign, and to be studied as such, by its norms and largely, too, for its sake. It were better that our students should never know other languages than use them to debauch their English. I insist, then, upon the prime necessity and value of good translation, within appropriate limits.

But, secondly, it is equally clear that our students should, finally, learn to read *without translation*. No one has ever truly *read* any foreign literature who has read it only through a translation—his own or any other. At best such reading is only at second hand, and, in the work of our students, is usually very imperfect. Translation is essential at first, as is the scaffolding to the building of a house; but no house is finished or sightly until the scaffolding is removed. So, no reading is adequate until it can be understood at first hand, and in the form of the original. In other words, the student must learn to think and to feel—if not productively, at least receptively—in and through the foreign language. Then only can he truly know or feel its literature. How this transformation shall be accomplished—at what stage begun, by what methods promoted—is one of the most important questions of our pedagogy† Suffice it to say, that it implies a new birth of intellectual power, and that without it the best results of language study are impossible.

What to read was twenty to thirty years ago a question of supply. Now, thanks to the intelligent zeal of our publishers, it is a question of selection. Such selection might, however, be much aided, for remote and less experienced teachers, if the

*Since the above was written, I have seen an amusing description of an old-time teacher who in the lines of HORACE, EPOD. II. 31,

"Aut trudit acres hinc et hinc multa cane
Apros in obstantes plagas"

insisted that *multa cane* should be rendered (literally!) *with much dog*. Some of my colleagues in the Association may be surprised to learn that this style is by no means yet confined to the "rural districts."

†Again I take the liberty of referring to Professor HALB's 'Essay on the Art of Reading Latin,' which I most gladly commend to all teachers of modern language.

publishers' catalogues gave generally, as is already done in some cases, a careful description of the *kind* of each edition; whether for primary, intermediate, or advanced work. Besides this there is only one remark of so general application as to justify mention here. This is, that beyond books intended for the very earliest use, editions with vocabularies—except such as are special or technological—are not to be commended. These vocabularies—unless very elaborate and, then, expensive—are apt to be incomplete, or at least limited in scope. But even the best is only a poor substitute for a good dictionary—the essential feature being, usually, that the student is helped to the required meaning, instead of having to select it for himself. Such spoon-diet is proper only as “milk for babes.” Beyond babyhood, the student should be trained to the right use of the dictionary, as well as of the grammar and other sources of information.—This remark has seemed to be justified here by the increasing number of such *labor-saving* editions “with vocabulary.”

And now, having detained you already too long, I ask to be indulged in a few words more. During more than twenty years of active work as a teacher of modern languages, I have seen our profession pass through many phases. At first we were fighting for a bare recognition in the scheme of liberal study. This victory won, we had then to witness the war of “methods,” until we are now, I trust, happily past that stage of our progress. As I review the scene of so much discussion and experiment, and look forward to the bright promise of the new day, which I have lived to welcome if not to enjoy, there seem to me to be two tendencies—two remaining perils—on which I may be permitted to add a word of experience and of warning. The first is the *bread and butter* theory. This, I hope, may be here briefly dismissed. Bread is indispensable, and butter, however thin, is to most of us a very acceptable addition. But these are not recognised by this Association, and should not be recognised by ourselves professionally, as among the primary and direct objects of our work. However the learning of modern languages may be made to serve this necessary and worthy purpose, in private classes, in summer schools, or under other arrangements for special objects, we must see to it that such views shall not usurp a leading place in our institutions of higher learning. In the purview of our teaching, the life must be more than

meat, and the body more than raiment. On this point, I am sure, it is not necessary here to insist.

The danger which I more fear, just now, comes from the opposite direction—from the excess of what I cannot better describe than as *erudition in the school-room*. I refer to the tendency—I fear the growing tendency—to obtrude the methods and requirements of erudite or special study into our elementary teaching and text-books. This may be at present only a wholesome reaction from former more trivial methods—the lustiness of a giant only lately liberated from chains; but it indicates a peril which, if not arrested by sound reason, will be hurtful alike to the thoroughness and to the modesty of true scholarship. The field of this danger lies less within the scope of this Association than in the lower schools; but the warning—if at all justified—is not the less appropriate here, because to the members of this Association the humbler teachers will naturally look for the standards as well as the instruments of their work. The time was, and not very long ago, when we made this reproach against the classicists. Yet now, by strange reaction, we see them seeking, more and more, better and more reasonable methods, and producing easier and more teachable text-books; while we, on our part, seem to be hastening to occupy the cloudy eminence which they are wisely trying to vacate. In this tendency I see a real danger to modern language study. In the pride of a triumphant scholarship we forget the requirements of a reasonable pedagogy;—or, from the standpoint of another native tongue, we forget or ignore the needs of the English pupil;—or we fail clearly to draw the line between the critical work of the advanced student and the wants of the untrained beginner. I see these indications in some of our modern books; and I must infer that they exist also in many of our class rooms. I do not by any means despise erudition, or critical scholarship, or critical teaching; but they have their place, as they have their value. We must draw the line, clearly and broadly, in our editing as well as in our teaching, between advanced and elementary work; or we shall soon have no good school books, and no good schools. If, by the premature and injudicious obtrusion of learned methods or results, we make the beginnings of modern language study harsh and repulsive, we shall undermine the foundations of our discipline, and shall then vainly attempt to build any worthy superstructure. Let us resist the

temptations of intellectual pride. Let us remember that in teaching, if anywhere, *ars est celare artem*;—that the highest triumph of erudition, in the school book or in the school room, is in the most masterful helpfulness;—and that he who would lead the children of knowledge, as of faith, must himself become as a little child.

*Influence of the Weakness of Accent-stress on Phonetic Change
in French.*

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The science of phonetics is still so new that it may seem premature to suggest the possibility of a partially deductive method of exposition, but if it is to be used in teaching beginners in a language how to pronounce, how much easier the task would be if we could begin by stating certain general characteristics which color the whole phonetic field of that language so that the peculiarities of every sound in it, and the rules of phonetic change might be largely explained by and remembered through them. That this will some day be done, I firmly believe, and I wish here to suggest how one such characteristic of French may be used in this way.

The most prominent distinguishing quality of a language considered as it were acoustically, merely as a series of sounds is what I should like to call the length and height of the speech wave; that is the frequency of occurrence and the more or less vigor of utterance of the stress or accent which may be called the sentence accent. Where the listener is at such a distance that the various sounds are blurred this speech wave is still perceptible and will tell a practised ear what language is being spoken.

Evenness of utterance and the weakness of the stress laid on the accented syllables are the most distinguishing features of French speech. It has a soft uniformity which is delightful music to a French ear, but which must seem flat and monotonous to those whose mother-tongue is one of the strongly accented languages.

If we divide French speech into sounds, we come upon another very marked peculiarity, the position of the word accent on the last syllable of the word, unless that last syllable contain a so-called mute *e* when that accent is on the penult. In making this statement, I know that I contradict SWEET who places the

French stress-accent on the first syllable of the word, but I believe the great majority of philologists are on my side, and that SWEET'S statement arises from a confusion of stress with the heightening of the pitch which is often heard in the first syllable of French words.

It has long seemed to me that these two phenomena, the weakness of the French accent and its position at the end of words, were connected, and that this connection is an instance where a peculiar phonetic characteristic of a language has determined a law of phonetic change in that language.

Any one who listens to the speech of the natives of France, Spain and Italy notices the very weak stress in French, the somewhat stronger stress in Spanish and the very much stronger stress in Italian. Now what is it that determines the force of this stress? Obviously the violence of the action exerted by the muscles of the chest. The stronger the action exerted upon the lungs, the more violent and the more prolonged is the consequent rush of air through the throat and mouth. But there will be a very important concomitant. The other muscles used in speech will also be exerted in proportion to the strength of the stress, just as in dealing a blow the fist is closed tightly in proportion to the violence of the effort exerted by the arm, or as the fencer tightens his grip on the sword as he lunges, so here all the muscles concerned in speech will be more forcibly exerted if the chest muscles are so exerted. The force of the stress on the accented syllable may be, therefore, said to measure the force of the muscular contraction expended in uttering that syllable and it is seen at once that this nexus must have a large influence on phonetic change.

As I said before, the different force of the so-called tonic accent in French, Spanish and Italian is very marked. The French accent is so slight that speech often seems to flow like an even stream; Spanish has a more distinctively perceptible accent, and Italian has a very strong and emphatic stress on the tonic corresponding to the violent gestures and excitable temperament of the speakers. In southern France we have a distinctly stronger stress than north of the Loire, forming, as it were, an intermediate stage between French proper and Spanish.

Now along with this varying intensity of accent-stress we find a corresponding variation in the post-tonic syllables. In Italian the one or two syllables following the tonic in the Latin word are

best preserved. Thus note Italian *croce, luce, specolo, popolo* and Spanish *cruz, luz, espéjo, pueblo*, and the strong tendency in Spanish to utter indistinctly or drop entirely the post-tonic syllables in rapid utterance.

In the south of France the so-called mute *e* is still distinctly pronounced and a Provençal can be at once detected by his way of saying *une petite fille*. Finally north of the Loire no post-tonic syllable is heard except after a combination of consonants which necessitates a slight vowel on the opening of the mouth as in *humble, simple* or when a slight *r* vowel occurs as in *vaincre, gendre*.

This coincidence between the strength of stress on the tonic and the importance of post-tonic syllables is one of the most striking facts in the acoustic make-up, so to speak, of the romance languages and a connection between the two phenomena seems *a priori* not improbable. But their relation is not clear and the two facts have been regarded as separate or at least no attempt has been made, to my knowledge, to go behind them in search of a common cause.

In considering the tonic stress-accent an important part of the function it performs is overlooked; it is solely considered as an element in speech, but it is at the same time a part of a most essential life process, that is of breathing.

Speech is accompanied by a continued expiration, the amount of air expelled during a given short interval of time varying with the strength of the muscular contraction of the chest, and the most natural way for one who hears words without understanding how to divide them, is to separate them, as it were, into waves of speech, determined by the separate expirations of the speaker. Consider now how this speech-wave will differ in languages with a strong or weak accent-stress. Where the stress is strong and the concomitant muscular contraction comparatively violent, the expiration will be more forcible and more prolonged; that is, a longer time will elapse after the accent-stress begins before the extra outward puffing of air will be over. This fact in the case of stress-accent which occurs at or near the end of every speech-wave must affect the post-tonic syllables. Whether the accent be strong or weak, it may be said that in natural unaffected speech the muscular contraction that goes with the last tonic accent of the speech-wave empties the lungs so far that any further expiration would be conscious and unnat-

ural. After the expiration which goes with the last tonic accent is spent, inspiration or breathing in immediately follows, and with the succeeding expiration a new speech-wave begins. As speech is impossible during inspiration, there will necessarily be a break in the utterance if any unaccented syllables occur in our first speech-wave after the last accent-stress is spent. But a break of this kind within a word would instinctively be shunned, and where, as in French, owing to the weakness of the accent-stress, the breath of the speech-wave ceased almost entirely at the close of the last tonic syllable, the tendency would be very strong to end the last word of the speech-wave with the syllable carrying the tonic accent, while where the stress accent was strong, one or two post-tonic syllables would be easily pronounced with the remnant of the puff of the tonic syllable, French is in a sense continued Latin; but it is Latin spoken by a people who acquired it first as a foreign language and would at once change the sounds and the accent stress in accordance with their inborn tendencies. From what we see in Italian, which is continued Latin spoken by the people among whom Latin originated, it is extremely probable that the stress-accent in Latin was a very strong one, the people of the northern half of Gaul, supposing their stress-accent to have been weak, would very soon shorten up the post-tonic syllables of any word occurring at the end of a speech-wave, and once the words were shortened in this position, the short form being doubtless in accord with the build of the words of their own native tongue would quickly prevail and become the only one.

We have abundant evidence that this shortening took place in the earliest period of the French language. In words accented on the ante-penult in Latin, the French from the earliest period of which we have any record dropped the penult leaving only a so-called mute *e* for the last syllable, even though the Latin penult was sometimes still written and though the final sometimes appears as an *a* or *o*.

Thus the only remnant of the Latin post-tonic vowels was the so-called mute *e*, which, as time went on, was less and less heard, until in modern French it is not heard at all in the vast majority of words in which it is still written. Even where a short post-tonic syllable is heard in correct French it is not audible in the speech of the common people. Thus the Paris workman says: *Qual sons, not' patron.*

If it does not seem too fanciful, I will mention in closing one or two other points where phonetic change may have been affected by the nature of the accent-stress. Does not the comparative emphasis of pronunciation which goes along with the strength of the accent-stress account for the double shut consonants in Italian *fatto, detto, tutto* as *abbate repubblica* compared with Spanish *hecho, dicho, todo* and for the persistence in the surd dental in Italian *nata* its softening in Spanish *nada* and its dropping in French *née*? Again the disappearance in modern French of the vowel immediately preceding the tonic as in *chance* from *cheance*, *rond* from *reond* might be due to the weakness, as it were, of French utterance.

Of course this explanation is not presented as a rigorous proof, but merely as a working theory which facilitates the grouping of facts.

*Dialektische Eigenthümlichkeiten in der Entwicklung des
mouillierten l im Altfranzösischen.*

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INTRODUCTION.

Das mouillierte *l* ist wohl oft in Einleitungen zu altfranzösischen Texten besprochen worden, ist aber nie zum Gegenstand einer Einzeluntersuchung gemacht worden. Als leitendes Princip bei der Untersuchung dienten mir die zwei von W. FÖRSTER, *Ausg. von 'Cliges,'* p. lxxix, gegebenen Regeln. 1. "Die Schicksale des *l* können je nach der Natur des vorausgehenden Vokals in ihrer Entwicklung überhaupt verschieden sein, und obendrein brauchen sie zeitlich nicht zusammenzufallen; 2. a priori ist anzunehmen, dass die einzelnen französischen Dialekte dieselbe Lautgruppe verschieden behandelt haben."

Die Feststellung der Aussprache des *l* ist mit grossen Schwierigkeiten verbunden. Nach SIEVERS, 'Grundzüge der Phonetik,' Leipzig 1885, p. 164, bedeutet Mouillierung¹ "die Veränderung welche ein beliebiger Consonant durch die Voraussetzung der Mundartikulation eines *i* oder *j* erfährt, d. h. durch eine dem *i* entsprechende dorsale Erhebung der Vorderzunge, und eventuell spaltförmige Erweiterung der Lippen, mögen nun die letzteren geöffnet oder geschlossen sein. Ein solcher mouillierter Consonant ist selbstverständlich ein ebenso einheitlicher Laut als jeder beliebige nicht mouillierte. . . . Aus den romanischen Sprachen fallen hierher das französische *gn*, ital. *gl*, *gn*, span. *ll*, *ñ*, port. *lh*, *nh*, (deren Mouillirung ich früher² fälschlich bezweifelte."

Die Aussprüche der Grammatiker des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts bei THUROT, 'De la Prononciation Française,' Paris 1883, ii pp. 292 ff., stimmen alle dahin überein, dass *l* wie dorsales *l* mit *i*

¹ Ich setze die Ausführungen von SIEVERS, l. c., pp. 164-166, als bekannt voraus, und führe hier nur, was absolut nothwendig ist, an.

² 'Lautphysiologie,' p. 195.

Nachklang ausgesprochen wurde. Ich führe einige an. PALS-GRAVE: "dans *illa, ille, illo*, on prononce un *i* brièvement et confusément entre la dernière *l* et la voyelle suivante, *gaillart, gailliart, couillon, couillion, fille, fillie, ardillon, ardillion*." BEZA: "*l* post *i* vocalem edit mollem quendam sonum proxime accedentem ad sonum syllabae *li* cum proxima vocali coalescentis, quam Itali quidem per *gl* scribunt. . . . Hispani vero duplex // initio quoque vocabulorum notant." Bei Weitem die Mehrzahl der dort angeführten Grammatiker beschreiben die Aussprache des *l* als *li*. Die späteren scheinen jedoch bessere Phonetiker gewesen zu sein, und sei es mir vergönnt die drei interessantesten hier abzuschreiben. HINDRET (1687): "La lettre *l* qui devient mouillée se fait par un autre mouvement de la langue, tout contraire à celui qu'elle fait, quand elle veut former le son de *l'* sèche: car au lieu de se redresser par le bout vers le palais, elle se recourbe vers les dents d'enbas, et s'élargit par le bout et vers le milieu, comme si elle voulait former un *i*, qui se trouve interrompu dans sa formation par le battement de la langue vers les dents d'enbas, d'ou il se fait de nécessité le son mouillé *del'* en mêlant le mouvement de la langue, qui forme le son de *l'i* avec celui qui fait le son de *l'.*" DOUCHET (1762) sagt dass in *bail, muraille* "où quelques auteurs croient entendre et trouver des diphthongues auriculaires, il n'y a qu'un son simple suivi d'une articulation simple. Un auteur moderne dit d'une manière positive qu'on entend distinctement le son de *l'i* dans les dernières syllabes des mots *travaille, travaillons, gagna, gagnons*, quoiqu'il n'y soit point écrit: c'est, ajoute-t-il, comme s'il y avait *travaill-ia, travaill-ions*. Mais ce n'est pas encore ici qu'une vaine imagination; il n'y a encore dans ces dernières syllabes qu'une articulation suivie d'un seul son. Les uns croient prononcer cet *i* devant l'articulation, comme ceux qui trouvent des diphthongues auriculaires dans *bail, fenouil, deuil*: d'autres croient le prononcer après, comme l'auteur, que nous venons de citer, ainsi que ceux qui écrivent *allieurs, melieurs, feulliet*." ROCHE (1777): "Le son de *l'* mouillée est à peu près le même que celui de la syllabe *li*, avec cette différence, que *l'* mouillée se prononce de la racine de la langue et ne forme qu'une seule articulation, au lieu que la syllabe *li* se prononce presque du bout de la langue, de manière qu'on fait entendre distinctement *l'* et *l'i*. On ne fait entendre que deux sons dans *rou-iller* et on en distingue trois dans *rou-li-er*." Wie sind diese so fundamental verschiedenen Aussprüche zu vereinbaren? VIETOR, 'Elemente der Phonetik,' 1887, §81, Anm. 4, nimmt an, dass *l* mouillé im Anfang des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts den Werth *li, l̃i* hatte, "zu Ende des

Jhs. lautete es als palatales *l* (*l* in der *i*-Stellung) wohl + *i* oder *j*. MAIGRET und RAMUS haben ein besonderes neues Zeichen wie für mouilliertes *n* so auch für mouilliertes *l*." Es scheint mir, dass die heutige Aussprache des mouillierten *n* zur Vergleichung herangezogen werden dürfte. Eine ausführliche Behandlung erfährt dieselbe von BEYER, 'Französische Phonetik,' pp. 43-49. Namentlich interessant sind die nach PASSY, *Phon. Stud.* i, p. 37 ff., citierten Stellen. Nach des letzteren Beobachtungen finden sich vier verschiedene Aussprachen dieses Lautes; viz., 1. Ziemlich hinteres, an der Grenze des harten und weichen Gaumens gebildetes \tilde{n} (SIEVERS \tilde{n}^2), ohne deutlichen *j*-Nachschlag. 2. Eigentlich palatales \tilde{n} am harten Gaumen gebildet, dem ital. *gn* und dem span. \tilde{n} gleich; folgt ein Selbstlaut, so kommt stets ein *j* dazwischen, und oft ist auch ein leiser *j*-Vorschlag zu hören, im Auslaut hört man gewöhnlich auch leises *j*. 3. Nasaliertes *j*. 4. *nj* mit schwach palatalisiertem *n*, wie immer vor *j*. Nach meinen Beobachtungen ist 1. jetzt ziemlich selten, wird nur vom Volke, und hauptsächlich auf dem Lande gehört; 2. ist wohl mustergiltig, wird aber mehr vom Volk als von den Gebildeten gebraucht; 3. ist kaum mehr als nachlässige Aussprache von 2. indem statt Mundverschluss nur Mundenge statt findet; 4. ist vielleicht die den Gebildeten gebräuchlichste Aussprache, obgleich sehr wenige es erkennen, dass sie z. B. keinen Unterschied zwischen *Mag-nier* und *manier* (beides=*mânje*) machen. Was SIEVERS, l. c., p. 165, von dem Gleiter vor und nach \tilde{l} sagt, wenn dasselbe nach oder vor anderen Vokalen als *i* steht, ist von der grössten Wichtigkeit. Es werden wohl immer wenigstens zwei Aussprachen von \tilde{l} nebeneinander bestanden haben: 1. Eigentlich palatales *l* wie oben bei $\tilde{n}^{(2)}$ und 2. *lj* mit schwach palatalisiertem *l*. Die erstere Aussprache war die gewöhnliche vor und nach Vokalen, und da machte sich oft ein *j*-Vor-oder Nachschlag hörbar. Namentlich aber war der *j*-Nachschlag hervorragend, und wurde von den damaligen Grammatikern als selbständiger Laut (dem *i* sehr nahe stehend) aufgefasst. Spätere, die feineres Gehör hatten, und besser analysierten, beschrieben den Laut richtiger. Vor Consonanten war die zweite Art der Aussprache die gewöhnliche, und gab so schon den Anlass zu der unten beschriebenen Vereinfachung zu *l*.

Der Unterschied der einzelnen Dialekte kann hier auch in Betracht kommen. Vor streng mouilliertem *l* sollte man erwarten, dass der vorhergehende Vokal beeinflusst werde, und dass scheint mir im Norm. Loth. und Champ. der Fall zu sein.

Französisches *l̃* entsteht, wie genügend bekannt ist, aus *l + i* (*e*) purum oder *c'l*, *g'l*, *f'l*, *t'l*³ (wenn es zu *c'l* wird) oder *l* vor oder nach betontem *i* Vgl. Schwan. 'Grammatik des Altfranzösischen.' § 207-2.

Nach dem Aussprache des PLINIUS hatte lateinisches *l* einen dreifachen Klang. PRISCIAN i, 38, bei CORSEN, 'Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der Lateinischen Sprache' (Leipzig, 1868) i, p. 218, "*l* triplicem, ut Plinio videtur, sonum habet: exilem, quando geminatur, secundo loco posita, ut 'IL-LE,' 'METEL-LUS,' plenum, quando finit nomina vel syllabas, et quando aliquam habet ante se eadem syllaba consonantem, ut 'SOL,' 'SILVA,' 'FLAVUS,' 'CLARUS,' medium in aliis ut 'LECTUM,' 'LECTUS.'" Deshalb sagt SEELMAN, 'Aussprache des Lateins,' Heilbronn, 1885, p. 325, dass die mustergültige Aussprache *flavus*, *clarus*, *soll*, *silva* gewesen sei. Dasselbe Zeugniß findet sich bei CONSENTIUS. "Er stellt die Regel auf: *l* klingt voller im Silbenauslaut, vor *b, c, f, g, m, p*, dünner im Wortauslaute oder als zweiter Theil einer Geminata." SEELMAN, l. c., p. 326. In der vulgärlateinischen Aussprache gab es nun gegen diese Regel mancherlei Verstöße, welche sich aber, wie SEELMAN p. 325 zeigt, alle auf den plosiven Klang nicht auf den Gleiter (*glide*) *l* erstrecken. Jener wurde ungebührlich verlängert oder gekürzt. Die Regeln der alten Grammatiker beziehen sich nur auf die Quantität der plosiva, nicht auf die Klangfarbe. Diese letztere wird durch den Gleiter gekennzeichnet, und dieser war vor dem *l* dem *u* nahe, nach dem *l*, dem *i*. In ähnlicher Weise spricht sich auch SCHUCHARDT aus. 'Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins,' ii, p. 486. Er sagt: "Zu Anfang einer Silbe hat *l* eine dünne,⁴ am Schlusse derselben eine breite Aussprache gehabt; dort tönte als vokalisches Element *i* nach, hier *u* vor. In der Verbindung *ll* hätten nach dieser Regel zwei verschiedene *l* zusammenstossen müssen; in der That siegte die Natur des zweiten: *ll* lautete dünn;" und weiter unten "die halbdünne Aussprache dieses (i. e. *ll*) wie des frei zwischen Vokalen stehenden *l* wird durch die romanischen Sprachen bestätigt, welche beide mehrfach, aber im Vergleich zu dem *l* als zweiten Theil einer Konsonantenverbindung nur selten durch mouilliertes *l* oder *j* darstellen." Die Erweichung von *l*

³ *l* *cui* *l* scheint das einzige Beispiel zu sein, wo *p'l* zu *l̃* geworden ist; *ecueil* scheint das einzige Beispiel zu sein, wo *p'l* zu *l̃* geworden ist hier wird man wohl mit WALDNER, 'Quellen des parasitischen *i* im Altfranzösischen,' p. 25 *SCOCULUM annehmen müssen.

⁴ 'Dünn' heisst hier nicht EXILIS, sowie auch 'breit' nicht PLENUS.

lässt sich ziemlich weit zurückverfolgen, vgl. die Beispiele bei SCHUCHARDT, l. c., ii, p. 489. Von *ll* > *lj* nur BELLIA, CASTELIUM, 789 A. D., aber eine ziemliche Anzahl wo *li* durch *ll* dargestellt wird; z. B. EXILLO. So findet sich auch früh der Fall dass in *lj* das *l* fällt. Beispiele bei SCHUCHARDT, l. c., p. 491. Für *cons.+l* nimmt er eine dünne Aussprache an, also *l* mit *i* Nachklang. Dieser entwickelte sich zu *j*, und *cl* wurde *clj*; man vergleiche die Tafel bei SCHUCHARDT, l. c., p. 488. AURIC'LA wurde also *oreclje* > *orelje* > *orele* > *oreile*; vgl. it. *oreglia*. Diese Entwicklung von *clj* > *lj* belegt er auf derselben Seite durch CRAMALIA Gloss. Cass.; BOTILIA, BOTILIARIO, Guelf. L. Sal.; QUAYLAS achtes Jahrh. n. Chr. (vgl. DIEZ, 'Altrom. Gloss.,' p. 38); VERMELIA 892 n. Chr. SEELMAN, l. c., p. 327, widerspricht dieser Ansicht nicht, sagt aber, "ob *l* nach Klapplauten, wie im Italienischen und anderwärts, durch die Mittelstufe der Mouillierung (*lj*) zu *i* **** bereits fortschreiten konnte, ist fraglich. Directe Zeugnisse seitens der alten Grammatiker sind uns dafür nicht bekannt," und weiter warnt er von einer einmaligen Schreibung *i* für *l* zu viel zu schliessen, weil die Nachlässigkeit der Steinmetzen oft bei einem L den unteren Strich wegliess. So findet sich FIHIA (also III für ILI) für FILIA.

Es folgten also das Französische und die anderen romanischen Sprachen nur einer Tendenz des Lateinischen, indem sie ein *l* intwickelten.

Bei der Untersuchung sind die folgenden Texte benutzt worden:

1. Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française, herausg. v. E. KOSCHWITZ. 4. Ausg. Heilbronn, 1886. (AELT. DENK.).

NORMANNISCH.

2. La vie de St. Alexis, herausg. v. G. PARIS. Paris, 1872. (AL.).
3. Reimpredigt, herausg. v. H. SUCHIER. Halle, 1879. (REIMP.).
4. La Chanson de Roland, herausg. v. TH. MÜLLER. Göttingen, 1878. (ROL.).
5. Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople, herausg. v. E. KOSCHWITZ. Heilbronn, 1880. (CHARL.).
6. Oxforder Psalter, herausg. v. FR. MICHEL. Oxford, 1860. (O. Ps.).
7. Les quatre livres des Rois, herausg. v. LEROUX DE LINCY. Paris, 1841. (Q. L. D. R.).

PIKARDISCH.

8. Li Romans de Carit et Miserere du Renclisé de Moiliens, herausg. v. A.-G. VAN HAMEL, 2 Bde. Paris, 1885. Die in Klammern stehenden Citate beim Mis. nach 'Li Miserere,' Pikardisches Gedicht aus dem xii Jahrhundert von Renclus de Mollens; herausg. v. A. MAYER, Landhut, Programm, 1881-1882. (CAR. MIS.).

9. Aucassin und Nicolette, herausg. v. H. SUCHIER, Paderborn, 1878. (AUC. NIC.).

10. Li dis dou vrai Aniel, herausg. v. A. TOBLER, Leipzig, 1884. (ANIEL).

WALLONISCH.

11. Poème Moral, herausg. v. W. CLOETTA, *Rom. Forsch.* iii, pp. 1-268. (P. MOR.).

12. Poésies Religieuses en dialecte Liégeois, herausg. v. P. MEYER, in *Rev. d. Soc. sav. série v*, vol. vi, pp. 241 ff. Citate in Klammern stammen von Ms. Lat. 1077, *ibid.* (POÉS. REL.).

13. Li Dialogue Gregoire lo Pape, herausg. v. W. FÖRSTER, Halle, 1876. erster Theil. (Der zweite Theil ist mir nicht zur Hand). (GREG.).

14. Sermo de Sapientia, *ibid.* pp. 282-298. (SERM. SAP.).

15. Moraliū in Job,⁵ herausg. v. LEROUX DE LINCY, Paris, 1841. (JOB.).

LOTHRINGISCH.

16. Die Predigten des heiligen Bernhard, herausg. v. W. FÖRSTER, Erlangen, 1885. (BERN.).

17. Dialogus anime conquerentis et rationis consolantis. Traduction en dialecte lorrain du xiiie siècle, herausg. v. BONNARDOT, *Rom.* v. pp. 269-333. (DIAL.).

Mit dem Lothringischen setze ich auch den

18. Lyoner Yzopet. Altfranzösische Uebersetzung des xiii Jahrhunderts in der Mundart der Franche-Comté, herausg. v. W. FÖRSTER, Heilbronn, 1882. (YZ.).

CHAMPAGNE.

19. Cliges von Christian von Troyes, herausg. v. W. FÖRSTER, Halle, 1884. (CLIG.).

Ferner sind folgende Schriften oft benutzt worden:

ANDRESEN, Ueber Einfluss von Metrum, Assonanz und Reim, Bonn, 1874.

F. APFELSTEDT, Lothringischer Psalter, Heilbronn, 1881.

⁵ Ich setze JOB zum Wallonischen, wie P. MEYER, *Rev. d. soc. sav. 5e série*, vol. vi, p. 240 behauptet. Dazu bewogen mich die Schreibart *ih* für *i*, *s* für *s* nach allen *i*, und Formen wie *finalhes* und *orgailhouse*: jedoch muss bemerkt werden dass dasselbe oft eine Mittelstufe zwischen dem Wall. und Loth. einzunehmen scheint.

CHABANEAU, Du *z* final en français et en langue d'oc. *Z. f. R. Ph.* vi, pp. 94 et seq.

GRÖBER, *Z. f. R. Ph.* vi, pp. 486. et seq.

ELLENBECK, Die Vortonvokale in französischen Texten bis zum Ende des xii Jahrhunderts. Bonn, 1884.

W. FÖRSTER, Schicksale des lateinischen *ø* im Französischen. *Rom. Stud.* iii, pp. 174 et seq.

HARSEIM, Vocalismus und Consonantismus im Oxforder Psalter. *Rom. Stud.* iv, pp. 273 et seq.

A. HORNING, Du *z* dans les mots mouillés en langue d'oïl. *Rom. Stud.* iv, pp. 627 et seq.

KNAUER, Zur altfranzösischen Lautlehre. (über 'Richard li Biaus'). Programm. Leipzig, 1876.

KOSCHWITZ, Ueberlieferung und Sprache der 'Chanson du voyage de Charlemagne.' Heilbronn, 1876.

LÜCKING, Die ältesten französischen Mundarten. Berlin, 1877.

METZKE, Dialect von Ile de France im xiii und xiv Jahrhundert. *Herr. Arch.* lxiv, pp. 385 et seq.; lxv, pp. 57 et seq.

NEUMANN, Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranzösischen. Heilbronn, 1878.

RAMBEAU, Ueber die Assonanzen der 'Chanson de Roland.' Halle, 1878.

G. RAYNAUD, Étude sur le dialecte picard dans le Ponthieu d'après les chartes des xiii^e et xiv^e siècles. (1254-1333). *Bibl. d. l'éc. d. chartes*, xxxvii, pp. 5-34, 317-357.

SCHLÖSSER, Die Lautverhältnisse der 'Quatre Livres des Rois.' Leipzig, 1887.

SCHUCHARDT, *lz-nz*. *Rom.* iii, pp. 279 et seq.

SCHUMANN, Vocalismus und Consonantismus des 'Cambridger Psalters.' *Frz. Stud.* iv, Heft iv.

SETTEGAST, 'Benolt de Saint-More.' Breslau, 1876.

STOCK, Die Phonetik des 'Roman de Troie' und der 'Chronique des Ducs de Normandie.' *Rom. Stud.* iii, pp. 442 et seq.

THOMSEN, Remarques sur la phonétique romane. *Mém. d. l. soc. d. ling. d. Paris.* iii, p. 119.

Wir betrachten zunächst die Orthographie. Es bestanden wie ja genügend bekannt ist, lokale Unterschiede in derselben, die sich in unseren Texten im allgemeinen mit den Dialecten decken. Das mouillierte *l* kann je nach der Lokalität durch *il*, *ill*, *ilh*, *li*, *lli*, *ll*, *lh*, *l* ausgedrückt werden.

AELT. DENK. Die EUL. schreibt *ll* in conselliers 5; (bellezour 2 hat wohl kein *l*; vgl. HAMMESFAR, 'Zur Comparation im Altfranzösischen,' p. 15. *ll*=*l* steht im Ganzen 6 mal in dem Gedicht. vgl. FAULDE, 'Ueber Geminatio im Altfranzösischen,' p. 8). Im FR. D. VAL. steht peril verso 1, 26. cilg recto 35, verso 15 kommt von einem *cily* (= *ci^l*), (vgl. NEUMANN, *Z. f. R. Ph.* viii, p. 264.) und wurde *cilg* gesprochen. In der PASS. steht *ll* in fillie 261, collit 468, asalit 373; *li* in gradilie 495; sonst noch palis 43(2); aurelia 160, 162 ist wohl ein Latinismus. LÉG. hat *il* in conseil 61 (consiel 69 ist wahrscheinlich ein Fehler des Schreibers); *li* in consilier, 68, 92, talier 157, talia 233; *l* in asalir 140, (die Hs. hat asalier). Also weder in der PASS. noch im LÉG. eine bestimmte Regel.

NORMANNISCH. AL. *ill* im Inlaut nur in baillir 72 a; voillent 116 d, 120 b; sonst steht immer *il* beides im In- und Auslaut. G. PARIS, AL. p. 102 hält, dass filie 93 e; palie 28 c; apostolie(s) 61 a, 62 a, 66 a, wie *fi^{lye}*, *pa^{lye}*, *apo^{stolye}* gesprochen wurden. Aehnliche Formen finden sich im CHARL. palie(s) 210, 273, 281, 301; batalie 29, 859, milie 96, 99. Es scheint mir dass KOSCHWITZ, 'Ueberl. und Sprache,' p. 26, das Richtige getroffen hat, wenn er *li* nur als Schreibart ansieht. Er sagt: "Bei *l* hat Attraction des *i* in die Tonsilbe im Afr. nie stattgefunden; *l* ist einfach zu dem Laut des italienischen *gli* mouilliert worden.⁶ Die verschiedene Orthographie der afr. Texte zum Ausdruck dieses Lautes (*li*, *il*, *ill*) kann demnach eine sprachliche Verschiedenheit nicht zur Voraussetzung haben." Es ist auch schwer zu verstehen warum FILIAM sein *l* später mouilliert haben sollte wie FILIUM, oder *saillent* CHARL. 399, eher wie *batalie*, CHARL. 29. Im Gegensatz zu dieser Ansicht hält SUCHIER, *Z. f. R. Ph.* iv, p. 413 jedoch, dass die Endung *-lie* eigentlich Lehnwörtern angehöre, und dass KOSCHWITZ hätte überall *-aille* schreiben sollen. Ein eigentliches Lehnwort mit *-alie* finde sich nicht; *palie* schwanke zwischen beiden Klassen. Als weitere Beispiele von hierhergehörenden Lehnwörtern giebt er *olie*, *uelie*, *milie*, *concilie* und *volatilie*. Die REIMP. schreibt immer *ill* im Inlaut, *il* im Auslaut; (nur milie findet sich mit *li*). Im ROL. ist *ill* die Regel beides im Inlaut und Auslaut. Die Ausnahmen sind soleil 1808, 2450, 2990, 3098, (aber soleill 2317); peril 2394; gentil 2599, (gentill 377). CHARL hat *ill* und *li* im Inlaut, *il* im Auslaut. *li* findet sich in batalie 29, 452, 859; milie 96, 99, 267, 272, 336; palie(s) 210, 268, 273, 281, 294, 301, 332, 706, 746; Im O. Ps. steht *ill* gewöhnlich im Inlaut, *il* im Auslaut. In folgenden Fällen steht *il* im Inlaut: travailai 6-6; repostaile(s) 9-30; 9-31; 16-13; 17-13; 26-9; 30-25; 80-7; bataile 17-37; 17-43; 23-8; 26-6; 75-3; travailent 22-6; 26-4; travailanz 26-18; travailleil 30-11; 33-18; travailez 37-8;

⁶ Ueber palie vgl. aber unten.

entrailes 50-11; entailleures 105-33; travaillé 106-19; 127-2; veilece 70-11; apareila(t) 7-9; 9-8; 22-6; merveilus(e)(s) 8-1; 15-2; 30-27; 40-41; veiles 8-7; merveiles 9-1; 25-30; oreile(s) 16-2; 16-7; 17-8; 17-48; 30-2; 33-15; 38-16; apareilera 20-12; esparpeilet 21-14; conseil-erent 30-17; merveilusement 75-4; esteiles 135-9; p. 248-4; voilanz 5-4; enorguillist 9-23; voilez 31-11; 74-4(2); 74-5; 94-7; 104-14(2); 145-2; voiles 36-1; 36-8; vuiles 36.7. Im Verhältniss zu der Menge der Beispiele mit *ill* nur eine geringe Anzahl. Die Q. L. D. R. schreiben immer *ill* im Inlaut, und *il* Auslaut; so auch nach SCHUMANN der 'Cambridge Psalter.'

PIKARDISCH. Das conselliers der EUL. 5 ist schon erwähnt worden. MIS. hat in der Regel *ill* im Inlaut nach *a*, *ε* und *o*, *ll* nach *o*. Die Belege finden sich unten an den betreffenden Plätzen. Die endungs- betonten Formen von *saillir*, *faillir* u. s. w. zeigen gewöhnlich nur *l*; vgl. unten. Nach *ε* findet sich *ill* in vieillars 219-1; 219-6; vieille 219-5; 219-8; 271-10; vieillart 224-1; (6 mal). *ll* in velle 70-7; 86-8; vielleche 86-9; (3 mal); doch steht in den ersteren Formen bei MAYER auch da *ll*. Im CAR steht nach *ε* *ill* 4 mal. In keinem von beiden lässt sich nach *ε* eine feste Regel geben. Im Auslaut steht in beiden *il* nach *a* (ausser in sal MIS. 17-4; wo MAYER sail schreibt) und *ε*; nach *o* (wenn man von CAR. viel, 5 mal, schliessen darf) und *o* steht *l* ausser in vueil CAR. 201-1; 236-1; und duell 134-6. Im AUC. NIC. findet sich die Schreibweise *ll* viel öfter. Die Mouillierung ist durch *i* ausgedrückt in bailies 10-63; touailles 12-13; maaille 24-64; aillons 27-12; bataille 30-17; travaillent 37-13; vaille 18-28; vaillans 15-1; vaillant 24-54; 24-55; orteil 14-21; merveilles 16-16; esveille 18-10; voil 6-35; 6-39; 10-53; acoilli 19-3; foilli 19-4; foille(s) 19-14; 20-3; *l* oder *ll* in asalent 10-27; asalirent 34-5; sali 41-11; viel 1-2; 6-27; velle 4-22; 12-11; 12-35; mellor 8-14; 24-29; 24-50; mervelleuse 2-2; 28-8; mervellex 23-5; mervelle 28-22; 32-1; esmervella 30-18; consel 7-5; 20-18; 20-20; 26-16; aparellies 9-6; vermelle 12-21; oisillons 20-24; 39-6; veul 14-20; 21-10; oiel 23-13; duel 24-31; dol 24-25; fuelles 26-14; recoulli 41-14; vout 40-17; moullier 3-11; mollier 8-28; genol 24-22. Es steht *ill* also gewöhnlich nach *a*; *ll* nach *ε*, mit einigen Ausnahmen nach *ε* immer nach *o* und nach *o* wenn es zu *ue* *ou* oder *eu* geworden ist. Im ANIEL ist die Mouillierung nur nach *a* ausgedrückt; metal 97; 304; vaillans 407; 413. Sonst steht immer *ll* im Inlaut, *l* im Auslaut; melleur 46; velle 376; recuellie 27; escuellie 28; recuellir 29; duel 180.

WALLONISCH. P. MOR. Im Inlaut steht *lh*, *ll*, und in einigen wenigen Fällen auch *li*, *ill*, *ilh*. *lh* in alhors 19-b; assalhe 57-b; 379-b; falhe 57-c; talhier 117-d; 401-c; travailhoit 142-a; travailhat 145-a; 195-a; salhir 250-c; 509-d; travailhier 279-c; 312-b; travailhir 515-a; talhet 329-d; batalhe 330-a; 379-c; talhe 334-c; travilha 369-d; travailhe 379-a; valhans 493-d; valhant 557-c; melhor(s) 19-d; 188-d; 303-d; 350-c; 451-b; 547-b; artilhos 62-a; filhe 97-b; 151-a; 182-a; 190-d; mervilhos 71-b; mervilhose 547-a; mervilhier 286-a; 286-d; estrilhir 118-a; consilhier 126-a; 561-c; conselhe 130-b; mervelhe(s)

151-b; 288-b; 358-b; perilhose 220-b; 249-a; milhier 321-d; vilhe 547-c; aparilhat 144-b; 145-a; ap(p)arilhie 173-c; 186-b; orguelhet 113-c; orguilhos 144-b; 505-b; orgalhose 430-a; vulhe 174-c; 425-a; vulhet 242-d; 266-c; molhier 562-a. // in bataille 54-d; 59-a; 404-b; 442-a; 459-c; 466-c; travalle 57-d; 236-a; travillier 59-c; falle 105-a; 236-d; 379-d; talle 236-b; valle 236-c; vallant 304-d; vallanz 334-a; sallanz 439-b; travallent 462-d; sallir 467-d; 474-a; 517-c; sallent 519-b; mellor(s) 43-b; 175-b; 193-c; 295-d(2); 296-a; 453-d; mervelle(s) 46-d; 50-d; 64-a; 71-b; 132-d; 151-c; 161-d; 169-a; 170-d; 288-b; 321-b; 391-b; 430-d; mervillit 52-b; conselle 58-b; consillier 75-b; 263-a; xviii; perillos(e) 112-d; 116-c; 125-d; 552 d; perillouse viii; xvi; esconsillier 242-b; milliers 323-a; consellera 442-c; mervilla 534-a; ap(p)arillie 9-c; 550-b; aparilliet 397-b; aparilla 533-a; orguillent vii; orgillos(e) 112-b; p. 224-iv; 469-a; orgillous p. 229-viii; orguillos 443-a. / in travilier 64-c; asalir 92-c; retalier 126-b; travilliez 310-d; travilier 457-c; voilier 60-b; 84-d; 246-b; 374-b; 465-a; 475-c; bolant 483-b. *il* (*ill*) in bataille 88-d; bailie 135-d; bailiz 156-c; paille 388-b; apariliet 544-c. *ilh* in ailhe 415-d; frailhe 428-a. Im Auslaut finden sich *lh*, *ilh*, *il*, und *l*. *lh* in travalh 485-b; ilh 32-a; 45-b; 54-a; 144-a; 553-a; orgulh 4-b; vulh 11-c; 109-a; 113-a; 189-b; 280-b; 399-b; uelh 133-d; 500-a. *ilh* in orguilh 110-b. *il* in travail 469-c; conseil 75-c; 131-b; 186-b; 187-b; 262-c; 269-d; 347-a; 555-d; p. 236-xiv; 559-d; 561-a; 562-c; desconseil 256-a; orguil 165-d; 204-d; 328-c; 525-b. / in travail 428-d; il 34-a; 150-b; 153-d; 230-b; 234-d(2). In den Poés. REL. steht im Inlaut *lh*, *l*, selten *il*, im Auslaut *lh*. *lh* in defalhe i-17; (I-17;) vilhece iii-4; (iii-4) vilhas ii-10; conquelhir vi-7; (konkelhir vi-7;) (filhe i-30). / in tuaile v-13; (tuale v-13); voilasent v-5; (voilaissent v-5). // nur in fille i-13. Im Auslaut immer *lh*. conselh i-17; i-18; (i-18;) cilh i-15; (ii-11;) ilh (ii-9; ii-12;) iii-6; (iii-6; iii-7;) iii-17; (iii-17; iii-18;) iv-24; (iv-24;) vii-7; (vii-4;) viii-11; viii-13; viii-17; icilh v-20; (v-20;) orguelh i-26; (i-26;) vulh viii-21. Im GREG. lässt sich schwer eine feste Regel geben. Die verschiedenen Vokale müssen einzeln behandelt werden. Im Inlaut steht nach *a* und *e* in der Regel *ilh*. Ausnahmen sind die folgenden: talhier 50-14; talheroit 67-12; talhievot 67-15; valhant 105-22; assalhit 115-7; salhit 122-7; talhat 131-2; assalhiz 265-22; raparelhier 27-2; apparelhiet 46-8; turbelhons 79-23; apparelhath 81-21; seelhioient 108-10; velhier 273-19; 278-15. *il* steht in bataille 153-8; // in entalliez 214-9; nur / in defalut 8-21; 30-12; 120-1; defalir 22-6; 51-18; 108-4; 151-18; 174-1; falit 26-8; 39-9; 181-3; salit 30-1; (sailhit 14-15;) balissemenz 118-1; defalement 132-23; (defailhement 263-13;) defalirent 169-8; defalant 196-12; defalanz 263-15; (defailhanz 278-14;) Nach *e* steht überhaupt nur *lh*; so natürlich auch nach *i*; *e* ausser in viles 162-18; 275-8; (vgl. SERM. SAP. vilhe 292-30.) Nach *o* steht scheinbar regellos *ilh*, oder *lh*. Die Beispiele finden sich unten. Im Auslaut ist *ilh* die Regel. Ausnahmen sind, travail 18-21; 24-1; 29-19; conselh 123-12; 123-23; nach *o* steht auch hier gewöhnlich *lh*.* vuelh 20-10; oelh 62-10;

*Auch hier gebe ich der Kürze wegen nur einen Beleg von jedem Worte. Die vollständige Liste der Beispiele findet sich unten.

orguelh 73-16; *ilh* steht in vuilh 14-13; *l* in vuel 113-14; duel 61-13; 70-17; 99-3; 275-5. Dasselbe gilt auch von SERM. SAP. Die Ausnahmen sind im Inlaut assalhit 294-12; (assailhit 294-13; 294-18;) enviehist 293-19; (meilhors 290-8;) exiliez 297-6; (exilh 296-42;). Im Auslaut conselh 285-4; und sonst in il 287-26 u. s. w. (ilh 286-26; nach *q* steht *ilh* in vuilh 187-30; orguilh 292-33. Im Job ist die Orthographie ziemlich regelmässig; *ilh* steht überall beides im In- und Auslaut. Der Ausnahmen sind sehr wenige, und sie kommen noch dazu nur in einer geringen Anzahl von Wörtern vor. finalhes 469-10; travailhet 501-25; travail 461-9; (travailh 454-18;) contrenail 488-14; exil 464-15; 470-9; 493-24; (exilh 453-21; 493-17;). Conseil 490-8; 493-12; 26; 27; 32; 34; 36; 497-36; 503-23; 504-4; (conseilh 494-9; 31;). fil 498-14; (filh 498-7;) vil 491-21; (vilhes 478-8; 490-13;) voillier 479-31; 481-9; esvoilliez 480-9; voilet 459-7; 480-11; 13; 501-23; voilanz 481-15; 515-17; esvoilet 493-5; voilent 500-5; (voilhiez 476-20; nur einmal) orguil 503-24; (orguilh 451-1;). Nach *q* wechseln auch hier *ilh* und *lh* im Auslaut regellos ab.

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN. hat immer *ill* im Inlaut, *il* im Auslaut. DIAL. hat *ill*, *ll*, *il*, *l* im Inlaut, *il*, *l* im Auslaut. *ill* steht in desfailent vii-3; xx-7; xxx-30; entrailles vii-5; vaille xxvii-94; vaille(s) xxx-32; vaillanz xxxi-10; travaille xxxii-5; conseille xxvii-80; soillant vi-17. *ll* in sallent vi-2; detallie vii-7; batallé xii-8; valles xiii-8; defallant xxxiii-5; aparellier ii-17; aparellent vi-5; aflavilliez vi-14; famillant vi-16; aparellet xi-2; famellos xxxi-2; aparilliz xxxii-13; affevillant xxxiii-6; aparalle xxxv-6; tollet viii-12; dollet ix-29; volles xiii-15; ergellit xxxii-21. *il* in repostailles xxix-25; vaile xxx-31; travaillez xxxii-4. *l* in trabuchales xii-27; esqualies xxv-5; defalant xxx-28; defalir xxxv-10; melors xiii-3; periliz ii-2; marvelier xxxiv-17; apareliz xxxv-11; apariliz xiii-1; aperiliz xxx-11; aparilai xviii-12; aperillie xxx-8; consillie xxvii-63; orguelous vi-3; orguilous xii-22; suillent xxiv-7. Im Auslaut *il* in travail vi-12; xxxii-3; 4; co(n)seil xii-4; xxxiv-17; voil v-8; 9; 17; doil xxvii-7; oil xxxi-13; orguil xxxii-19. *ll* nur in ill v-10. *l* in peril iv-14; ix-19; x-4; xxxi-23; xxxiv-15; consel v-1; 4(2); ix-9; 10; xxix-2; essil vi-9(3); 10; Im Yz. steht regelmässig im Inlaut *ill*, im Auslaut *il*; im LOTHRINGISCHEN PSALTER nach APFELSTEDT. § 81, *ill* (seltener *il*) im Auslaut.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIGES hat eine sehr regelmässige Schreibweise, *ill* im Inlaut, *il* im Auslaut; nach *q* (welches *ue* geworden ist) steht gewöhnlich *ll*. z. B. vuelle 77; 389; 1844; 3171; 6329; 6343; 6427; acuelle 391; 3172; 6344; acuellent 2400; orguelle 392; duellent 1877; duelle 6330; vuellent 1878; fuelle(s) 6116; 6351; 6428; sonst moille 4294; soille 4865; toille 4866; voille 5285; anfoillue (*infoliuta) 6403.

RÉSUMÉ. NORMANNISCH. \tilde{l} = *ill* im Inlaut, (AL. und CHARL. auch *li*, O. Ps. und AL. oft *il*), *il* im Auslaut (ROL. *ill*).

PIKARDISCH. \tilde{l} — anfangs *ill* im Inlaut, *il* im Auslaut. *ll* im Inlaut zeigt sich zuerst nach *q*, und *g*, im Auc. Nic. schon öfters nach *q* und im ANIEL steht *i* vor *l* überhaupt nur noch nach *a*.

WALLONISCH. \tilde{l} = *lh* oder *ll* im Inlaut, im Auslaut *lh* oder *il*. Ob

das in einigen Texten vor *lh* erscheinende *i* zum vorhergehenden Vokal oder zum *l̃* gehört, lässt sich nicht ohne Weiteres entscheiden.

LOTHRINGISCH. *l̃*= *ill* im Inlaut; *il̃* im Auslaut.

CHAMPAGNE. *l̃*= *ill* im Inlaut (nach *g*=(*ue*) steht *ll*). *il̃* im Auslaut.

II.

Wir schreiten jetzt zu einer Untersuchung der Vokale vor dem *l̃*, und wir betrachten dieselben in alphabetischer Reihenfolge. Wo es nicht nothwendig scheint alle Belege zu geben, gebe ich nur ein Beispiel jedes Wortes, was ich durch ein u. s. w. am Ende andeute.

A. a+*l̃*.

AELT. DENK. PASS. palis 43(2); asalit 373; LÉG. asalir 140; talier 157; talia 233. (Die EIDE, EUL. und das FR. D. VAL. bieten keine Beispiele.)

NORMANNISCH. AL.—1 *betont*: fraile(s) 2-d; 14-d;—2 *nebentonig*: vailanz 2-a; vailant 4-d; ailers 39-d; bailide 42-d; 108-c; baillir 74-a; baillissent 105-a.

REIMP.—1 *betont*: faille 94-d; 108-c; travaille 94-e; travail 94-f; bataille 108-f;—3 *unbetont*: travaillat 4-c; travailliez 80-d; travaillum 119-d; 126-a;

ROL.—1 *betont*: bataille 18; vaille 376; travaillent 380; grailles 700; assail 987; desmaillet 1270; curaille 1271; ventaille 1293; maille 1328; taitlet 1339; Grossaille 1648; assaillet 1659; vaillet 1666; cuntrevaillet 1984; ressailllet 2085; saillent 2469; amirail 2760; u. s. w.—2 *nebentonig*: baillie 94; baillit 453; vailanz 789; vaillant 1168; faillir 1866; desmaillez 2051; baillissent 2349; asaillit 2564; faillirent 2601; gaillard 2895; gaillardement 2959; gaillarz 3086; gaillart 3115; u. s. w.—3 *unbetont*: traveilliet 538; traveilliez 2525.

CHARL.—1 *betont*: batalie 29; saillent 399; esmail 429; amirail 432; mailles 537; faillet 697; u. s. w.—2 *nebentonig*: entailliee 179; vaillant 262; tailliees 381;—3 *unbetont*: travaillier 519;

O. Ps.—1 *betont*: travaillent 41-14; batailles 45-9; defaillent 67-2; almailles 67-4; bataille 77-12; almaille 103-27; quaille 104-38; repostaille 138-14; entrailles p. 253-11; repostailles 9-30; repostaille 9-31; bataile 17-37; travaillent 22-6; travail 24-19; travaillet 30-11; entrailles 50-11; u. s. w.—2 *nebentonig*: desfailli 38-14; desfaillit 54-11; desfaillirent 63-6; defaillirent 68-4; entailliedures 77-64; entailleures 96-7; coaillez 118-70; entailleures 105-33;—3 *unbetont*: travailliez 50-18; travaillai 68-4; travaillied 76-3; travaillanz 80-13; travaillirent 93-5; travaillé 101-2; travaillez 118-16; travaillié 118-48; cavaillers p. 238-22; travailai 6-6; travailanz 26-18; travaillez 37-8; travaillé 106-19; u. s. w.

Q. L. D. R.—1 *betont*: vitaille 2-23; paille 4-16; bataille 25-5; aille 32-6; almaille 50-2; travaille 60-2; faillent 85-5; repostailles 90-4; afublail 93-17; batailles 100-9; defaille 132-13; travail 205-12; entailles 247-19; entaille 247-20; almailles 301-10 (almarie 400-8); baillie 382-7; u. s. w.—2 *nebentonig*: aillurs 18-16; baillie 24-5; 51-18; 95-11; 168-1; 239-18; 241-16; 256-14; 264-13; 267-3; 278-8; 281-10; 285-12;

291-1; 318-5; 324-5; 336-5; 337-8-9; 399-9; 409-15; 423-6; baillies 266-2; vaillanz 28-14; 71-2; 124-17; 298-5; 320-6; 350-2; 380-6; 381-16; 391-15; 433-13; faillance 29-13; saillir 32-12; *bateillerurs* 60-9; a(s)saillid 61-1; 153-6; 161-17; baillad 69-12; saillid 81-10; 364-8; a(s)saillir 89-4; 182-12; asaillirent 114-2; 118-7; faillid 116-12; 272-3; 311-18; 352-8; vaillant 122-14; 182-8; taillurs 137-15; 245-2; 390-18; sailleit 141-4; saillant 141-10; saillur 142-2; *traveillerunt* 143-18; bailed 156-9; saillirent 166-6; 316-19; baillier 211-10; taillie 245-8; 267-7; taillèrent 245-10; entailliez 255-7; taillez 266-19; tailliez 267-13; travaillerai 280-15; travaillissiez 350-10; taillage 393-17; vaillantes 433-16;—3 *unbetont*: traveillez 19-12; 85-11; 241-15; 262-17; 281-16; traveilliez 155-13; travailliez 361-14; traveillont 60-20; 61-1; travaillad 74-11; 206-25; traveilled 75-5; 110-6; traveillied 241-18; travaillié 312-10; traveillée 358-16; baeillad 358-15.

PIKARDISCH. MIS.—1 *betont*: sal 17-4 (sail); tressaille 101-1; traille 101-2; 172-6; taille 101-4; mestaille 101-6; vaille 101-9; maaille 101-12; 225-5 (meaille); comenchaille 172-3 (commenchaille); bataille 172-7; rassaille 172-8 (raissaille); vilenaille 172-10 (villonnaille); aille 172-11; paille 176-9; 178-11; travail 187-7; (fraisle 193-3 (fraile)); faille 248-4;—2 *nebentonig*: salis 15-2; 17-3 (saillis); salir 19-12; baillie 59-3; 212-9; bailli 87-1; faillir 91-2; taillant 101-5; escaillier 102-6; espaillier 102-7; vaillans 164-9; contretailans 164-12; paillous(e) 178-12; 181-3; assalis 190-4 (assaillis); falis 190-9 (faillis); aillours 211-4; fal 205-6 (failli); maillente 226-7 (malente); 3 *unbetont*: travalla 57-2 (traveilla); travaillier 102-10; travaillans 164-5 (traveillans); travillies 263-4 (travaillie).

CAR.—1 *betont*: baille 65-1; bataille 65-2; paille(s) 65-4; 120-8-9; 129-3; 130-6-7; 143-7; 213-4; vaille(s) 65-5; 128-10; 143-11; saille 65-9; faille(s) 65-12; 128-6; 143-3; aille 128-3; defaille 128-7; travaille(s) 128-11; 143-10; resailles 143-6; rempailles 143-8; travail 233-12;—2 *nebentonig*: paillous 37-6; deffaillanche 41-5; (palist 52-3;) salist 52-6; valist 52-7; falist 52-10; assalist 52-11; aillours 60-4; salir 68-3; baillie 94-10; taillie 94-11; falie 130-3; balie 130-6; falis 143-4; salis 143-5; 143-7; rassalis 143-9; vaillande 237-9;—3 *unbetont*: travaillies 7-1; travillous 232-11.

AUC. NIC.—1 *betont*: asalent 10-27; touailles 12-13; vaille 18-28; maaille 24-64; bataille 30-17; travaillent 37-13;—2 *nebentonig*: taillies 2-11; bailies 10-63; vaillans 15-1; vaillant 24-54-55; aillons 27-12; asalirent 34-5; sali 41-11.

ANIEL.—1 *betont*: metail 97; 304; assalent 391; falent 392;—2 *nebentonig*: vaillans 407; 413;—3 *unbetont*: travillies 409.

WALLONISCH. P. MOR.—1 *betont*: batalle 54-d; assalhe 57-b; falhe 57-c; travaille 57-d; bataille 88-d; falle 105-a; talle 236-b; valle 236-c; travail 272-d; talhet 329-d; batalhe 330-a; talhe 334-c; travailhe 379-a; assalhe 379-b; ailhe 415-d; frailhe 428-a; travail 428-d; travaillad 462-d; travailh 485-b; sallent 519-b; u. s. w.—2 *nebentonig*: alhors 19-b; asalir 92-c; talhier 117-d; 401-c; retalier 126-b; bailie 135-d; bailiz 156-c; salhir 250-c; 509-d; vallant 304-d; vallanz 334-a; paille

388-b; sallanz 439-b; sallir 467-d; 474-a; 517-c; valhans 493-d; valhant 557-c;—3 *unbetont*: travillier 59-c; iii; 363-c; travillier 64-c; 457-c; travailhoit 142-a; travailhat 145-a; 195-a; travilhier 279-c; 312-b; travailiez 310-d; travailha 369-d; travilhir 515-a.

POÉS. REL.—1 *betont*: defalhe i-17 (i-17); tuaile v-13 (v-13);

GREG.—1 *betont*: travailh 5-21; 32-23; 58-3; 63-25(2); 64-8; 67-2; 134-17-23; 152-8; 181-7; 198-2; 208-24; 209-13; 278-11; travail 18-21; 24-1; 29-19; (ltaile 7-3; 128-9; 160-4;) failhet 10-1; batailhe(s) 12-19; 17-4; 27-9; 64-2-11; 72-9; 73-13; 117-21; 136-22; 247-18; bataille 153-8; (failes 69-19; 252-7;) entrailhes 77-23; 119-25; 149-5; 173-19; 177-4; 212-22; vailhet 121-2; semmailhes 125-12-23; travailhent 136-13; failhe 193-18; pailhe 208-9; escailhes 251-15;—2 *nebentonig*: defalit 8-21; 30-12; 120-1; defalir 22-6; 51-18; 108-4; 151-18; 174-4; defalirent 169-8; defalant 196-12; defalanz 263-15; defailhanz 278-14; defailhant 21-22; falit 26-8; 39-9; 181-3; salit 30-1; salhit 122-7; sailhit 14-15; sailhanz 67-16; assalhit 115-7; assalhient 180-9; assalhiz 265-22; vailhanz 41-15; 136-7; 213-19; vailhant 75-14; valhant 105-22; talhier 50-14; talheroit 67-12; talhievet 67-15; talhat 131-2; entalhier 214-9; balissemanz 118-1; Lalissiemenz 154-8; defalement 132-23; defailhement 263-13-14; defailhe.nenz 263-15; travailhement 172-23; travailherai 203-7;—*unbetont*: travilhier 42-10; traveilhier 81-3; 153-7; 172-13; travailhier 120-17; travilhanz 134-10; traveilhant 136-13; 181-3; 243-6; traveilhanz 145-17; 180-5; 181-2; 278-13; travelhie 42-12; travilhiet 25-18; 96-11; 154-10; travailhiet 125-16; 203-15; traveilhiet 133-9; 180-8; traveilhieze 80-10; 94-1; 154-7; 160-14; travailhieze 173-17; 206-18; 234-20; 236-16; travilhoies 16-16; traveilhoit 137-20; 145-14; travailhat 96-10; travailhat 143-10; 153-20; 168-8; traveilhastes 134-15; travilhierent 160-18; 164-19; traveilhierent 133-12; 145-17; travelhierent 180-19; travailhouse 66-10; traveilhouse 66-14; 153-6-9; 188-17; 233-14.

SERM. SAP.—1 *betont*: batailhe 290-6; travailh 290-42;—2 *nebentonig*: defailhemenz 293-15-35; assalhit 294-12; assailhit 294-13-18.

JOB.—1 *betont*: batailhe 442-29; commenzaillhes 446-36; travailh 448-10; pailhe 449-32; resailhent 453-27; repunailh 458-4; travail 461-9; failhent 463-12; failhe 465-37; travailhent 467-2; *finalhes* 469-10; sailhent 469-20; contretenail 488-14; entrailhes 489-26; *travalhet* 501-25; sailhet 514-10; u. s. w.—2 *nebentonig*: travilhousement 481-8; sailhir 473-15; sailhons 490-8; defailhanz 497-5; falir 503-27; 504-37; 518-15;—3 *unbetont*: travilhier 467-6; travailhant 467-9-10; travilhiez 474-4; travailhouses 489-22; *travailhie* 493-21; travilhiet 510-17;

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.—1 *betont*: aillent 5-27; entrailles 10-2; (antraillies 84-34;) vitailles 12-13; estaillet 13-10; vaillet 15-2; (fraile 15-19;) faillet 18-11; travail 23-19; batailles 24-3; faille 27-21; defaillet 27-22; aillent 31-20; travaillet 48-4; travaillent 49-12; pailles 71-9; defaillent 94-13; pailles 108-16; aillet 139-6; bataille 172-26; u. s. w. In folgenden Fällen beruht *ai* auf *ē*+*l*. aparailles(s) 12-15; 45-12; botaille 27-18; sommaillet 47-27; aparaillet 73-11; vailles 22-5; 36-23; 67-14; 75-27; 161-19; vaillet 130-7; apparaillet 110-36; 154-6.—2 *nebentonig*: defaillanz 1-6; travilleroit 4-38; saillanz 7-3-13-16; defai-

llost 11-18; 80-5; estaillat 15-9; ailliens 17-4; 36-10; 47-25; 86-35; defaillanz 22-22; 23-39; 133-37; defaillons 23-23; ailliez 30-1; 150-11; defaillir 30-18; 56-14; 110-37; 158-23; defaillit 34-7; 60-1; defaillissent 39-1; saillant 45-28; defailliz 46-5; 96-8; 106-13; aillors 61-26; aillours 164-2; 170-37; defailement 78-5(2); 80-31; 130-20; 154-36; defailliez 99-34; 138-2; defaillance 113-14; saillit 130-16; faillist 133-24; assaillir 135-12; 156-34; assailliz 149-16; aillons 164-2; saillirent 165-33; tailliet 167-40; defaillie 168-12; defaillivet 168-25; 172-30; —3 *unbetont*: travillier 5-13; 132-14; travilliez 89-17; 108-35; travilliet 155-6.

DIAL.—1. *betont*: sallent vi-2; travail vi-12; xxxii-3-4; defaillent vii-3; xxx-30; desfaillent xx-7; entrailles vii-5; bataille xii-8; trabuchales xii-27; valles xiii-18; vailles xxvii-94; (=conj. praes. vom Verb. *aller*; diese Form ist das Resultat der beiden Stämme *VADERE* und *aller* = *v+aille*); repostailles xxix-25; travaille xxxii-5. In folgenden drei Formen liegt *ε + ɪ* zu Grunde. vaile xxx-31; vailles xxx-32; aparalle xxxv-6; —2 *nebentonig*: detallie vii-7; esqualies xxv-5; defalant xxx-28; vaillanz xxxi-10; defallant xxxiii-5; defalir xxxv-10; —3 *unbetont*: travailiez xxxii-4.

Yz.—1 *betont*: travaille 29; vitaille 30; bataille 177; essaille 240; (assaille 3538); essaillent 301; travaillent 302; faille 314; chaille 653; baille 654; vaille 666; vaillent 1300; travail 2319; paille 2845; u. s. w. —2 *nebentonig*: bailli 267; failli 268; saillir 293; essaillir 294; tailliez 460; faillir 515; vaillant 658; bailloit 757; gaillars 819; baillie 1160; saillirent 1390; soresaillant 2285; vaillanz 2323; soresaillanz 2324; rejaillir 2599; baillarent 2777; defailloit 2997; chaillloit 2998; saillant 3346; defaillanz 3430; vaillance 3445; u. s. w. —3 *unbetont*: travaillant 866; travaillons 2968; u. s. w.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.—1 *betont*: aille 79; Cornoaille 80; vail 167; travail 168; taille 328; vaille 527; travaille 573; bataille 574; faille 773; fail 775; fermail 843, baille 1133; vitaille 1223; travaillent 1529; assaillent 1530; saillent 1723; aillent 1976; esposailles 2853; retra-vaille 2914; Thessaille 3006; tressaille 3872; resaillent 4075; toailles 5030; raille 5076 (re+aille); faillent 5584; quaille 6433; u. s. w. —2 *nebentonig*: tailliez 335; 772; baillie(e) 481; 3012; 3695, 5807; 6291; faillie 482; tressaillir 544; travailleroit 645; failliz 749; 1581; 4766; bailliz 750; faillir 768; 1416; bailliez 771; 1430; tressailli 887; 2330; bailla 1074; baillier 1235; assaillons 1307; faillons 1308; assaillir 1453; bailleroit 2156; aillors 2254; 2816; 5421; 6399; failli 2792; 3479; 4105; 4198; 4209; 6441; vaillant 2941; assailli 3480; 3498; baillera 3631; desmaillier 3798; assaillant 4128; sailliz 4765; desmailliez 4947; detailliez 4948; forsaillié 5808; taillice 6090; bailli 6442; —3 *unbetont*: travaillié 885; baaillié 886; travaillier 2719; 3327; traveilliez 3806; bateillant 4127.

—1 *Betont*: Im NORMANNISCHEN ist es die Frage ob *ail=aɪ* oder *dɪɪ* gesprochen wurde. SCHOLLE, *Jahrbuch*, Neue Folge iii, p. 97, LÜCKING, 'Mundarten' p. 123, G. PARIS, 'Alexis' p. 38, setzen die letztere Aussprache. Ihnen widersprechen RAMBEAU, 'Assonanzen des Rolandsliedes' p. 100, und KOSCHWITZ, 'Ueberl. und Sprache'

p. 26. Beide nehmen *aī* als Aussprache an. Im ROL. stehen die folgenden hierher gehörigen Wörter in *a* Assonanzen; viz., *bataille* 1096; *desmaillet* 1270; *curaille* 1271; *bataille* 1274; *taillet* 1339; *bataille* 1648; *asaillet* 1659; *vaillet* 1666; im CHARL. *esmail* 429; *amirail* 432. *Ventaille* ROL. 1292 in *ε* Assonanz ist falsch; vgl. MÜLLER, 'Ausg. v. Roland' v. 1292. RAMBEAU l. c. p. 94, weist überhaupt die Annahme zurück, dass im Französischen je ein fallender Liphthong *di* (ähnlich wie *ti*) bestanden habe. Die Hss. unterscheiden nicht zwischen *i* und *j*, und bei *n* und *l* (wie in *bataille*) stehe *i* offenbar nur für *j*. Die Unhaltbarkeit der Stellung RAMBEAU'S ist schon von MÜLLER *Z. f. R. Ph.* iii, p. 451, gezeigt worden, und auch dieser hält dass *di* und *a* in der Assonanz gemischt sein konnten. Die flectierten Formen unserer Beispiele, von denen unten näher gehandelt werden soll, scheinen jedoch auf die Aussprache *aī* zu deuten. Der Unterschied in der Aussprache zwischen *diī* und *aī* war sicher nur ein äusserst geringer. Jedenfalls wurde der Gleiter vom *a* zu *ī* im Anglonormannischen bald zum selbständigen Vokal, unter dessen Einfluss *ai* zu *ε* wurde und mit *ei* reimte; vgl. *bataylle*: *counsaille*, *vaylle*: *mervaylle*, *faille*: *merveille* bei BUSCH, 'Laut- und Formenlehre der Anglonormannischen Sprache,' p. 30.

Leichter steht die Sache im PIKARDISCHEN. Die Reime im MIS. 101-1; 172-3, und CAR. 65-1; 128-3; 143-3, könnten zwar ebensogut ein *ε* als Aussprache andeuten; aber es findet sich nur *a+ī* daselbst. Bei MAYER stehen *parailles* 3147, und *aparailles* im Reim mit *ei*, die VAN HAMEL aber mit Recht zu *pareilles* und *apareilles* verbessert; vgl. VAN HAMEL, l. c. p. cxii. Die Aussprache *aī* beweisen auch Formen wie *asalent* AUC NIC. 10-27; ANIEL 391; *salent* ANIEL 392. Ähnliche Schreibweisen finden sich im CHEV. ii ESP. *salent* 873; *fermal* 4800; *traval* 10744; vgl. 'Ausg. v. FÖRSTER' p. xlix; und im DURMART, herausg. v. STENGEL p. 520, *batalle* neben *bataille*. Im Neu-Pikardischen wird *a* gesprochen; z. B. *ēj travay=je travaille*, *bayt=bailler*.

Dasselbe Verhältniss besteht im WALLONISCHEN. Wie schon oben gezeigt wurde ist jedoch die Orthographie nicht in allen Texten dieselbe. Das Verhältniss ist wie folgt: P. MOR. *lh* 9 Mal, *ll* 15 Mal, *ill* 1 Mal, *il* 1 Mal, *l* 1 Mal, *ilh* 2 Mal; POÉS REL. *lh* 1 Mal, *il* 1 Mal; GREG. *ilh* 39 Mal, *il* 5 Mal, (abgesehen von *Itaile* welches 3 Mal und *palies* welches 1 Mal vorkommt,) *ill* 1 Mal; SERM. SAP. *ilh* 2 Mal; Job. *ilh* in der Regel. *lh* nur 2 Mal (in *finalhes* und *travalhet*, il 2 Mal (in *travail* und *contretenail*). In einigen Texten (P. MOR. POÉS., REL.) ist also *alh*, *all* die Regel und *ailh* die Ausnahme, in den anderen steht das Verhältniss gerade umgekehrt.⁸ Vergleicht man hiermit die ne-

⁸ Ähnliche Schwierigkeiten wie hier, bieten sich, wie wir sehen werden, auch unter *ε+ī*. GREG. ist von FÖRSTER, JOB von P. MEYER, *Rev. d. soc. sav. se série*, vol. vi, p. 240, dem WALLONISCHEN zugeschrieben worden. So weit mir bekannt ist, findet sich die Graphie *lh* für *ī* nur im Wallonischen. Die Formen mit *lh* citiert von GÜRLICH, 'Die südwestlichen Dialekte,' p. 34, und sonst, werden wohl auf provenzalischen Einflüsse beruhen. Wenn nun alle diese Texte demselben Dialekte angehören, so ist man gezwungen unter der verschiedenen Orthographie dieselbe Aussprache zu verstehen.

betonigen und unbetonten Formen, so findet man in den letzteren Texten *alh* (*al*) viel häufiger; vgl. GREG. *defalement* und *defaillement*, *salit salhit* und *sailhit, valhant* und *vailhant*, SERM. SAP. *assalhit* und *assailhit*. Aus diesen Angaben lässt sich wohl mit ziemlicher Sicherheit schliessen, dass *aī* gesprochen wurde. Anders steht es im LOTHRINGISCHEN. Von den Wörtern mit ursprünglichem lat. *a* lässt sich eigentlich kein Schluss ziehen, sondern vielmehr davon, dass im BERN. sowohl als im DIAL. sich verschiedene Male *ε+ī* als *ai* vorfindet; (vgl. die Beispiele.) Vergleicht man damit die Wörter mit lat. *a*, so möchte man beinahe zu dem Schlusse kommen, dass *a+ī* nicht zu *ε*, sondern umgekehrt *ε* zu *a* geworden ist. Dem ist aber nicht so. Nach APFELSTEDT l. c. § 60 giebt *a+l+i* (*I*) ein *ε+ī*, welches meist *aill* geschrieben wird. *cill* findet sich in *entreilles* (LOTH. Ps.) 50-10; 138-15; ix-11; *traueil* 106-12. Im VEG. reimt *a+l+I* mit altem *ε+l+I*; *mervoilles*: *batailles* 275; im G. d. M. *merveille*: *travaille* 93d; *conseille* 192d: *traveille* 192g; im Yz. *vaille*: *conseille* 1342. Das NEU-LOTHRINGISCHE spricht *ε+ī*. So werden wir wohl annehmen müssen, dass wenigstens für den Dialect, welchen BERN., LOTH. Ps., VEG. I, G. d. M., Yz., repräsentieren, die Aussprache schon *ε* war. Was den DIAL. angeht, so bleibt die Frage der Aussprache offen. Dieselbe war wahrscheinlich wohl *εī*. Wie sind aber dann *bataille* u. s. w. zu erklären?

Wir kommen jetzt zum Dialect der Champagne. Die Aussprache lässt sich schwer bestimmen. Förster in der Ausg. v. CLIGES p. lxi spricht sich nicht klar darüber aus. Er sagt nur "*ai* aus *a+ī* reimt nur mit sich selbst, nie mit urspr. *-eil* oder gar *-el*." Nun wäre es aber wunderbar, dass dieser Dialect, der sich in so vielen Punkten entweder dem Osten (LOTH.) oder dem Westen (ILE-DE-FRANCE) nähert, in diesem einen so fundamental abweichen sollte, obgleich sich die Möglichkeit nicht in Abrede stellen lässt. Die Aussprache des *ai* vor anderen Consonanten lässt sich hier auch nur schwer bestimmen. Sicher ist, dass *ai* vor dreifacher Consonanz schon den *ε* Laut hatte, vgl. l. c. p. lix, und auch vor einfachem Consonanten setzt FÖRSTER hier schon *εi* "und das zweite, unbetonte Element war auf dem Wege immer schwächer zu lauten, aber im Gefühle des Dichters war die ältere Aussprache noch die gewöhnlichere." Wenn wir nun aber im Dialecte von ILE-DE-FRANCE z. B. bei DESCHAMP, Reime wie *conseille*: *traveille*, bei CHARLES D'ORLÉANS *conseil*: *traveil*, *travail*: *sommeil*, *traveilles*; *vermeilles*; *esveilles*: *traveilles*, bei CHARTIER *traveille*: *treille*: *merveille*, *travaille*: *merveille*, bei GEOFFROI DE PARIS (REIMCHRONIK) *oreille*: *traille* finden, so werden wir wohl zu dem Schlusse kommen müssen, dass in jenen Texten *ai* = *ε* gesprochen wurde. vgl. METZKE, *Herr. Arch.* lxxv p. 62. Sollte man hiervon schliessen können, dass auch im Dialect der Champagne *ε* gesprochen wurde?

Die unbetonten ⁹ Silben geben zu wenig Bemerkungen Anlass.

⁹ Der Kürze wegen behandeln wir nebentonige und unbetonte Stellung zusammen.

Nebentonig steht gewöhnlich der Vokal der betonten Silbe. Ausnahmen nur *bateillerurs* und *traveillerunt* in den *Q. L. D. R.*, wo der Vokal der unbetonten Silbe steht. Im WALLONISCHEN (GRES.) sind namentlich Formen wie *salit*, *salhit*, *sailhit* lehrreich, da sich hier deutlich zeigt, dass *l*, *lh*, *ilh* als Bezeichnungen für *l̃* gebraucht werden konnten. Interessant ist auch *cavaillers* O. Ps. p. 238-22, neben *cavalers* in demselben Verse; vgl. dazu HAARSEIM, l. c. p. 281. *Unbetont* wird der Vokal vor *l̃* oft erdrückt; vgl. FÖRSTER, 'Cliges' p. lxvii; Schumann l. c. p. 20, erklärt diese Entwicklung als durch Dissimilation bewirkt. Hier zeigen sich dialektische Eigenthümlichkeiten, nemlich NORM. *e* (*traveillont*) PIK. *i* (*travillies*) WALL. *e* und *i* (*travillier*, *traveilhanz*, *travelhie*), LOTH. *i* (*travillier*) CHAMP. *e*. (*bateillant*). In allen diesen Fällen kann sich jedoch aus analogischem Einflusse auch der Vokal der betonten Silbe zeigen; vgl. FÖRSTER, 'Clig.' p. lxvii.

RÉSUMÉ: Aus dem Obigen ergibt sich für die einzelnen Dialekte folgende Aussprache.

BETONT. NORMANNISCH -*dĩl̃* (-*d̃l̃?*); PIKARDISCH -*ãl̃*; WALLONISCH -*ãl̃*; LOTHRINGISCH *el̃*; CHAMPAGNE wahrscheinlich *el̃*.

NEBENTONIG. Gewöhnlich der Vokal der betonten Silbe.

UNBETONT. Erdrückung zu *e* oder *i*, NORMANNISCH CHAMPAGNE *e*; PIKARDISCH, LOTHRINGISCH *i*; WALLONISCH *e* und *i*.

B. *el̃* + *l̃*.

AELT. DENK. (Keine Belege).

NORMANNISCH. AL. *meilors* 23-a.

REIMP. (Keine Belege),

ROL.—1 *betont*: *vieill* 112; 2048; 2189; 3470;—2 *nebetonig*: *meillur(s)* 344; 449; 451; 502; 583; 620; 629; 775; 1420; 1442; 1674; 1850; 3283.

CHARL. *meillurs* 169; 495;

O. PS.—1 *betont*: *vieil* 147-12; p. 245-38;—2 *nebetonig*: *enveilrent* 31-3; *enveilli* 36-26; *veillece* 70-20; 91-10; 91-14; *veilece* 70-11.

Q. L. D. R.—1 *betont*: *vieil* 289-10;—2 *nebetonig*: *viellesce* 11-4; 291-11; *envieilliz* 38-9; *meillur* 88-8; 107-18; *viellesce* 276-3. 304-13; *vieillarz* 288-8; *veillard* 288-18; 290-9-13-16; 357-7; *veillard* 289-12; 290-1.

PIKARDISCH. MIS.—1 *betont*: *vielle* 70-7; 86-8; *vielle* 219-5-8; 271-10; (*vielle* 219-5; 271-10);—2 *nebetonig*: *millour(s)* 1-12; 31-12; 39-10; 142-7-8; 164-11; 172-2; 211-5; (*millours* 1-12; *meillour(s)* 31-12; 142-7-8; 164-11; *meillors* 39-10; 172-2; 211-5;) *vielleche* 86-9; *veillars* 219-1 (*viellars*); *viellart* 224-1 (*viellart*).

CAR.—1 *betont*: *vielle* 14-6; 15-1; 17-7; *viel* 145-1 (2); 146-8; 147-1-10;—2 *nebetonig*: *vieillote* 14-3; *millour* 132-11.

AUC. NIC.—1 *betont*: *viel* 1-2; 6-27; *vielle* 4-22; 12-11-35;—2 *nebetonig*: *mellor* 8-14; 24-49-50.

ANIEL.—2 *nebetonig*: *melleur* 46.

WALLONISH. P. MOR.—2 *nebentonig*: melhor(s) 19-d; 188-d; 303-d; 350-c; 547-b; mellor(s) 43-b; 175-b; 193-c; 295-d (2); 296-a; 451-b; 453-d.

POÉS. REL.—2 *nebentonig*: vilhece iii-4; (vielhece iii-4;)

GREG.—1 *betont*: vielhe 213-16;—2 *nebentonig*: vielhar(s) 8-8; 29-1; 39-11; etc., vielharz 39-22; 111-8; vielhece 80-3; 111-10; 118-20; 119-10; vielhart 96-8.

SERM. SAP.—2 *nebentonig*: meilhors 290-8; envielhist 293-19.

JOB.—2 *nebentonig*: meilhor(s) 475-21; 476-5-8-10; 517-7.

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.—2 *nebentonig*: meillor 13-40; 14-2; 37-33; 64-19; 67-41; 116-41; 156-16; mellor 167-36; veillarz 97-38; veillart 38-41; 122-23; villart 164-33-35-37-40.

DIAL.—2 *nebentonig*: melors xiii-3.

YZ.—1 *betont*: veilles 3342;—2 *nebentonig*: moillour(s) 192; 871; 1220; 1339; 1728; 1955; 2764; veillesce 816; veillars 820; 3451; viellesce 1349; 1361; 1377; 3429; veillart 2635; villart 2650; ceillier 677.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.—2 *nebentonig*: meillor(s) 310; 401; 970; 971; 1461; 1919; 2275; 2369; 2688; 4675; 4676; 4753; 4871; 5800; veillarz 2011.

Hierüber ist wenig zu sagen. Wie schon so oft von anderen bemerkt worden ist, macht *ī* keine Position, und deshalb konnte *ē* vor demselben in *betonter* Stellung zu *ie* werden; vgl. HORNING *Rom. Stud.* iv, p. 631. *vielz* ROL. 2807; *viell* 112; *mielz* 1743; auch CHARL. 6; 310, stehen in *ie* Assonanz; also wurde *ie* gesprochen. *Nebentonig* blieb *ē* im Anfang; später wurde aus Analogie zur *betonten* Silbe der Diphthong eingeführt; vgl. SCHLÖSSER, l. c. p. 27. Dieser Vorgang trat bei *meilleur* nicht ein, weil sich keine *betonte* Form vorfand. *moillour* gehört dem PIK. WALL. und LOTH. an; es zeigt eine ähnliche Verschleifung wie oben bei *a(i) > ē(i) > i*. *vilhece* und ähnliche Formen finden sich in unseren Texten nur im Osten und Nordosten. Yz. zeigt Entwicklung von *ēi > oi*. (moillour); vgl. unten p.—

C. *ē* (*ē ī*) + *ī*.

AELT. DENK. EUL. conselliers 5; LÉG. conseil 61; (consiel 69 ist gewiss ein Schreibfehler) consilier 68; 92; PASS. aurelia 150; 162.

NORMANNISCH. AL.—1 *betont*: conseil 61-c; merveile 88-e; u. s. w.—3 *unbetont*: conseliers 52-c; desconseiliez 64-d; conseiliet 68-c.

REIMP.—1 *betont*: conseil 8-c; u. s. w.—3 *unbetont*: merveillos 53-a; 124-b; seeillos 93-c; (vgl. BRANDAN sedeillos, =SITICULOSUS cf. SUCHIER, REIMP., p. 78.) merveilleose 105-b.

ROL.—1 *betont*: cunseill 62; vermeille 386; cameil 645; esveillet 724; oreille 733; vermeilles 950; vermeill 968; soleil 1808; orilles 1918; oreilles 2260; soleil 2317; merveille 2877; merveill 3179; u. s. w.—2 *nebentonig*: esveillat 736; Veillantif 2032; 2127; 2160; esveilliet 2554; esveilliez 2844; u. s. w.—3 *unbetont*: merveilluses 598; merveillus 815; apareilliet 1144; consellier 2212. apareilliez 2535; cunseilliet 2668; u. s. w.

CHARL.—1 *betont*: conseil 663;—3 *unbetont*: conseillier 21; oreilliers 426; merveillus 576.

O. Ps.—1 *betont*: oeilles 8-7; oreille 9-41; merveilles 39-7; oreilles 39-9; veilles 48-14; corbeille 80-6; veille 118-176; esteilles 146-4; esparpeillet 147-5; conseil 1-6; oreiles 5-1; veiles 8-7; merveiles 9-1; oreile 16-7; soleil 18-5; feeil 18-8; esparpeillet 21-14; veil 62-1; fedeil 88-28; esteiles 135-9; reteneil 140-11; (wohl mit Suffixvertauschung von *RETENICULUM; die gewöhnliche altfrz. Form ist retenail) u. s. w.—2 *nebetonig*: merveillusement 44-6; fameillera 49-13; apareillement 64-10; esveille 77-71; veillai 101-8; sumeillera 120-3; veilled 126-2; fedeillement p. 259-4; (aber fedeillement in der ORAISON APRES LE PSALTIER); apareilera 20-12; merveilusement 75-4; u. s. w.—3 *unbetont*: sumeillai 3-5; merveillus 4-4; apareillat 7-9; merveilluses 15-2; apareillanz 64-7; apareilliez 92-3; fameillanz 106-5; fameilluse 106-9; sumeilla 118-28; esturbeillun p. 240-21; apareiller p. 252-9; apareilat 7-9; merveilus 8-1; merveilluses 15-2; apareila 22-6; conseilerent 30-17; u. s. w.

Q. L. D. R.—1 *betont*: fedeil 4-15; conseil 20-2; soleil 22-19; merveille 40-10; merveilles 41-10; uweilles 65-1; oueilles 88-10; oueille 158-4; oeilles 185-6; esteiles 420-1-3; apareil 323-2; 244-15; 257-16; 362-13; *orilles* 12-8; 205-14; 414-18; 420-15;—2 *nebetonig*: esveillast 104-4; merveillusement 131-11; esveillad 235-11; esveille 317-3;—3 *unbetont*: fameillus 6-11; merveillus 15-1; merveilluse 15-5; apareillast 43-14; esmerveillarent 58-10; apareilled 62-5; esmerveiller 76-15; esmerveillad 83-2; apareillad 102-14; paveillun 103-5; esparpeilled 116-3; conseiller 174-3; *aparailliez* 194-14; descunseillez 223-14; buteilliers 272-2; *aparailled* 283-11; esturbeillun 321-7; esparpeillad 336-16; *aparaillarent* 354-1; esparpeillier 426-16; u. s. w.

PIKARDISH. MIS.—1 *betont*: oreille(s) 4-4; 52-9; 138-1-6-10; 139-3; 166-2; 203-9; (oreille); *orille(s)* 44-8; 121-9; (oreille 44-8; orille 121-9); consoil 5-7-12; 33-4; 166-3; 213-2; 214-8; 218-7; (conseil); merveille(s) 9-1; 11-1; 31-1; 87-6; 96-12; 116-8; 164-4; (merveille); 248-11; 263-10; (mervueilles 263-10); conseille 54-1; (conseille); fameillent 54-9; (fameillent); soleil 231-3-7; 266-2; (soleil); pareil 259-4; (pareil); pareilles 263-3; (paraillies); rapareilles 263-6; (aparaillies); conseilles 263-7 (conseilles); veilles 263-8; (veilles); esveille 263-11; (esvueilles);—2 *nebetonig*: esvilloit 59-12 (esvueilloit); veillans 164-4 (veillans); esvillies 263-12 (esvueillies);—3 *unbetont*: familliant 2-5; (fameillant); famillous 43-4; (fameilleus); familla 57-1; (fameilla); aparillie 59-8; (appareillie); appareillier 102-11; (appareillier); consilliere 149-10; 265-1; (consilliere); boutillier 170-8; 183-1; (bouteillier); fartillies 195-4; (farteillies); merveillous 250-8; (mervueillous); seelans 261-11; (seeillans); perillies 263-2; (apareillies); mervillies 263-9; (mervueillies); esvillies 263-12; (esvueillies); consillier 265-3; (conseillier).

CAR.—1 *betont*: despareille 2-3; apareille 2-6; merveille(s) 2-7; 4-5; 71-7-9 (2); 127-7; 178-3; 189-10; oeil(s) 2-8; 63-2; 71-10; someille 2-10; veille 2-11; 71-8; 118-2; conseil 8-7; 13-2-9; 16-4; 39-2-4; 145-5; 220-9; *orilles* 21-8; *oreille* 71-3; esveille 71-6; corneille 72-11;

merveil 94-9; rapareille 123-2; pareil 174-6; pareille 178-10; soleil 182-6-9; 183-3; 185-6;—2 *nebentonig*: appareillement 73-3; vieillies 118-6; esvillierent 195-3; consilleras 240-9;—3 *unbetont*: consilliere 8-3; fartilliers 29-10; mervillous 233-6; famillous 233-7; somillous 233-8 seelans 236-8.

AUC. NIC.—1 *betont*: consel 7-5; 20-18-20; 26-16; orteil 14-21; merveilles 16-16; esveille 18-10; merveille 28-22; 32-1;—3 *unbetont*: merveilleuse 2-2; 28-8; apparellies 9-6; vremelletes 12-21; mervellex 23-15; esmervella 30-18.

ANIEL.—1 *betont*: velle 376; (= conj. preas von *veiller*.).

WALLONISCH. P. MOR.—1 *betont*: merveille(s) 46-d; 50-d; 64-a; 71-b; 132-d; 151-c; 161-d; 169-a; 170-d; 288-b; 321-b; 391-b; 430-d; conselle 58-b; conseil 75-c; 131-b; 186-b; 187-b; 262-c; 269-d; 555-d; xiv; 559-d; 561-a; 562-c; conselhe 130-b; mervelhe(s) 151-b; 288-b; 358-5; desconseil 256-a;—2 *nebentonig*: voilier 60-b; 84-d; 246-b; 374-b; 465-a; 475-c; consellera 442-c;—3 *unbetont*: ap(parillie 9-c; 551-b; mervillit 52-b; artilhos 62-a; mervilhos 71-b; consillier 75-b; 263-a; consilhier 126-d; aparilhat 144-b; 145-a; ap(parilhie 173-c; 186-b; desconsillier 242-b; mervilhier 286-a; 288-d; aparilliet 397-b; aparilla 533-a; mervilla 534-a; appariliet 544-c; mervilhose 547-a.

POÉS. REL.—1 *betont*: conselh i-17; 18; (i-18);—*nebentonig*: voilas-sent v-5; (voilaissent v-5;).

GREG.—1 *betont*: merveilhe(s) 13-11; 17-1; 24-11; etc.; (im Ganzen 40 Mal); esmerveilh 24-9; 92-6; veilhe 34-11; conseilh 43-3; 226-8; conselh 123-12-23; conseil 174-2; ap(p)areilhe(s) 58-7; 157-1; corbilhes 64-5; 135-13-18-24; oreilhe(s) 77-13; 81-20; 86-2; 142-1; 208-5; 213-5; 221-21; solcilh 103-23; *soloilh* 104-17; 129-29; 194-6; 204-16; 257-14-22; 259-23; 260-1; vermeilhe 120-12; veilhe(s) 187-11-12;—2 *nebentonig*: veilhieviet 18-18; veilhanz 122-1-20; 187-10; veilhant 228-7; veilhier 152-5; velhier 273-19; 278-15; voilier 187-9; veilhons 153-11; esveilhez 48-18; 118-37; 148-6; esveilhat 182-21; esveilhanz 244-22; appareilheroit 34-14; merveillement 127-23; mervilherat 131-22; merveilhousement 155-4; 179-2; appareilhemenz 202-14;—3 *unbetont*: turbilhons 6-9; turbeilhon(s) 25-3; 53-15; 79-16; 80-2; turbelhon(s) 79-23; mervilhierent 9-2; 88-15; 156-4; merveilhierent 229-2; mervilhier 9-4; 15-9; 39-22; 71-16; merveilhier 104-15; 120-3-5; 148-1; 167-19; 170-13; 171-4; 182-5; 184-11; merveilho(u)sc(s) 12-5; 29-9; etc., (im Ganzen 36 Mal); mervilhous(e)(s) 13-7; 26-15; 28-16; 42-24; 47-23; 50-8; 71-15; 90-23; 98-6; 100-2; 213-8; mervilhievent 14-24; merveilhievent 217-20; merveilhieviet 22-13; mervilhat 34-15; mervilhiez 68-19; mervilhant 104-7; 122-23; merveilhant 208-15; mervilhons 171-8; merveilhiet 221-18; esmerveilhie 174-15; parveilhabile 102-1; appareilhast 23-7; 117-15-21; 156-22; 226-1; apparelhier 34-16; appareilhier 134-9; appareilhast 34-19; 128-8; 157-2; apparelhast 81-21; appareilhiet 34-25; 40-6; 102-20; 157-8; 203-6; 272-15; apparelhiet 46-8; appareilhoit 38-22; 150-13; appareilhie 58-6; 241-19; appareilhiez 58-10; 134-8; 153-5; 165-8; 233-7; 235-10; 251-20; 259-18; 264-14; 265-13; appareilhast 83-16; apparilhai 128-12; apparilhierent 87-22; ap-

pareilhiev 235-11; raparelhier 27-2; rapareilhier 77-9; 209-13; rapareilhiev 27-14; rapareilhat 88-24; 134-17; rapareilhons 108-17; rapareilhassent 173-22; rapareilhievent 233-23; rapareilhie 278-2; familhous 52-13; consilhiers 81-10; seelhieoient 108-10; scrupailhon 159-1.

SERM. SAP.—1 *betont*: soleilh 283-17-21-25-28; 284-10; *soloilh* 291-33; conselh 285-4; conseilh 289-38-41; 293-27; merveilhes 288-28; vermeilhe 289-24.

JOB.—1 *betont*: oreilhes(s) 441-15; 477-25-27-29; 478-5; 479-1; *soloilh* 443-15; 479-20; soleilh 458-22; 488-30; 516-21; sordeilh 451-16-26; 452-7; 460-4; 474-18; 477-19; despareilhe 479-25; conseil 490-8; 493-12-26-27-32-34-36; 497-36; 503-23; 504-4; conseilh 494-7-31; *chamoilh* 495-13; ap(p)areilhet 497-20-25; 498-9; 503-32; 505-19; someilhet 501-23; voilet 459-7; 480-11-13; 501-23; esvoilhes 491-26; esvoilet 493-5; 505-18; voilent 500-5;—2 *nebentonig*: voilhiez 476-20; voilier 479-31; 481-9; esvoiliez 480-9; voilanz 481-15; 515-17; esveilhet 490-31; mervilhousement 478-11; 507-1; esmervilhement 478-27; rappareilhement 507-6;—3 *unbetont*: ap(p)areilhie(s) 443-10; 516-26; aparilhie(s) 496-9; 500-9; turbilhons 460-5-6-9-10; 461-2; 474-11; 513-11; pawilhons 488-15; mervilho(u)s(e) 466-10-16; 479-26; 485-2; 489-8-22; 491-12; 493-3; 505-25; *merveilhons* 478-32; mervilhoses 479-3; raparilhat 485-36; apparilhez 491-10; consilhiers 493-8; conseilhiet 493-9; appareilhiez 495-24; apparilhiev 502-4; rapareilhier 505-10; rapareilhons 509-13.

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.—1. *betont*: consoil 2-17; 3-4; 13-31-33-36-40; 14-3; 15-7; 23-16; 33-17; 37-7-8; 38-26; 52-31; 59-37; 100-37; 118-23; 178-32; merveille(s) 10-7; 22-9; 23-16; 37-7; 41-10; 42-1; 52-17; 58-5; 62-34; 80-11; 85-35-41; 94-28(2); 98-14; 100-12; 103-29; 104-20; 106-16; 108-24; 120-1; 123-29; 153-20-28; mervelles 166-23; apparoillet 12-8; ap(p)araillet 73-21; 110-36; 154-6; apparaille(s) 12-15; 45-12; soloil 17-21; 43-9; 100-1-5; 130-29; soleil 93-16; oroille(s) 21-21; 24-16; 39-4; 44-6-11; 45-17; 47-30; 115-11; 117-24; 136-6-16; 141-11-15; vaille(s) 22-5; 26-33; 36-23-25-29-33; 67-14; 75-27; 130-17; 161-19; botaille 27-28; sommaillet 47-27; merveillent 67-3; 110-20;—2 *nebentonig*: aparilleras 13-21; ap(p)arillemenz 15-13-14-35; 112-8; raparillement 20-1; 29-22; 177-31; envailleront 22-20; mervilleroit 25-2; 100-12; vailleroient 35-1; mervillousement 37-10; 63-11; somillement 47-22; 112-36; aparillement 47-41; 48-41; 54-39; 55-1; mervillerrat 50-5; raparillemenz 66-20; aparaillemenz 177-8; vailliev 19-20; vailliev 75-27; vaillit 35-19; vailliez 47-18; vaillons 140-7; envailliez 130-16;—3 *unbetont*: mervillous 2-7; 22-13; 24-29-38; 37-40; 41-16; 46-22; 63-20(2); 79-38; 80-6-11; 82-7; 84-16; 97-28; 99-33; 109-33; 168-12; 176-3; 178-30; mervillouse 5-6-17; 7-9; 11-8-12; 11-27; 38-7; 39-10; 69-22; 85-21; 96-23-24(2)-25(2)-27; 98-13; 110-17; 113-35; 115-4; 124-28; 133-19; mervillouses 37-11(2)-13-22; 63-14; 66-34; 143-26; mervillier 33-12; 52-10; 65-18; mervilliev 111-37; mervillat 118-5; mervilliez 166-19; consillier(s) 2-16; 14-9; 23-33; 68-28; 79-38; 80-12; 86-28; 178-18; aparillier 12-6; 13-14-15; 55-2-3; aparilliee(s) 31-38; 32-16; 76-25; aparillies 138-34(2); 174-33; ap(p)arilliez 36-24; 49-38-35(2); 95-17;

95-33; 110-34-39; 117-30(2)-31; 138-32-33(2)-35-37(2); 152-19; aparillons 40-9; apparilliez 55-6-11-12; 26-27; 152-19; aparilliet 6-2; 44-7; 46-20-23; 47-36; 48-39; 49-1-7; 50-8; 56-40; 66-10; 118-15; aparilleit 60-11; aparillievēt 177-7; desaparilliet 15-8; famillous 19-21; 65-35; 163-7; raparilliee 19-37; 64-30; raparillanz 24-34; raparilliez 21-6; 30-37; 65-22; raparilliet 65-8; raparillons 146-1; somilliens 47-24; somillous 47-35.

DIAL.—1 *betont*: conseil v-1-4(2); ix-9-10; xxix-2; aparellent vi-5; aparellet xi-2; conseil xii-4; conseille xxvii-80; coseil xxxiv-17; vaile xxx-31; vailles xxx-32; aparalle xxxv-6;—3 *unbetont*: aparellier iv-17; famillant vi-16; apariliz xiii-1; aparilai xviii-12; consilié xxvii-63; aperilié xxx-8; famellos xxxi-2; aparilliz xxxii-13; aperiliz xxxiii-11; marvelier xxxiv-17; apareliez xxxv-11.

Yz.—1 *betont*: somoille 19; 986; 2839; voile 20; 2049; 2840; consoil 195; 470; 1061; 1343; 2729; 3023; consoille 443; 1342; 1887; 3136; aparoille 444; 681; mervoille 681; 1289; 3135; 3268; oroille(s) 798; 1888; 2489; esvoille 985; mervoillent 1143; consoillent 1144; 2156; avantroille 1290; soloil 2281; paroil 2721; raparoillent 2755;—2 *nebetontig*: voillier 3131; 3163; 3166;—3 *unbetont*: noeillon 28; aparoillie 173; 191; 1959; 2129; consoillour(s) 209; 1340; consoillier(s) 401; 3165; 3267; mervoillous 1736; consoillie 1960; somoillier 3132; botoilliers lx; 3195; 3197; 3211; 3217; 3240; 3264; 3270; aparoilliez 3455.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.—*betont*: esvoillent 297; aparoillent 298; consoille 413; esmervoille 414; consoil 425; mervoille 661; soloil 727; vermoille 739; oroilles 835; aparoille 1496; paroille 2731; mervoil 3017; mervoillent 3944; desparoilles 4603; vermoilles 4604; vermoil 4817; mervoilles 4773; voil 5422; esvoille 6468; consoillent 6518; aparoil 6699; paroil 6700; u. s. w.—2 *nebetontig*: esveillie 406; 1669; veillier 2992; 3216; 3328; 3351; 5245; veillant 3212; 6619;—3 *unbetont*: conseillié 405; conseillierent 1079; paveillons 1263; apareillié(s) 1670; 4613; 6089; 6378; apareilliez 1696; merveilless(e) 1834; 4092; 5725; conseillier 2651; 2991; 5373; apareillier 2652; 5374; 6694; esmerveillier 2720; veillier 2992; 3216; 3328; 3351; 5245; veillant 3212; 6619; fameilleus 3755.

Betont. Im NORMANNISCHEN wurde *ei* vor *ī* wie *ei* ausgesprochen. Dies folgt daraus, dass im ROL. *eil(le)* in *ei* Assonanz steht; ROL. 78, 985, 2750, 3761. Schwierigkeiten bietet nur die Betonung. Wurde *ēi* oder *ei* gesprochen? BÖHMER, *Rom. Stud.* i., p. 600, setzt *ēi* und stützt sich auf *orilles* ROL. 1918 in *i* Assonanz. KOSCHWITZ, 'Ueberl. u. Spr.' p. 38 schliesst sich derselben Meinung an, weil weder im ROL. noch im CHARL. in den Tiraden auf *ei* ein Wort mit *ē* (aus *i*) sich findet, und weil *ei* ausser vor Nasal weder mit *ē* noch mit *e* gebunden wird. Es giebt aber überhaupt nur eine *e*-Tirade in der ganzen ältesten Periode, nemlich ROL. 121, und hier ist *e*=*i*+komplizierte Consonanz (ausser Nasalis und Gutturalis); vgl. Rambeau, l. c., p. 102. Auf der anderen Seite aber kommen die folgenden Punkte in Betracht. Im ANGLONORMANNISCHEN wurde *ei* später zu *e* vereinfacht; dies deutet also

auf *ei* als Aussprache. Ferner steht im ROL. *ei* vor Nasalen beides in *ei*- und *en*-Tiraden; auch dies setzt *ei* als frühere Betonung voraus; vgl. RAMBEAU l. c., p. 168. BÖHMER schreibt *ei* um eine der Zwischenstufen von *ei* zu *oi* zu beweisen, aber wie auch KOSCHWITZ l. c., p. 54 hält, kann *ei* nicht zu *oi* werden.¹⁰ Dasselbe Wort *orilles* bietet auch sonst dieselben Schwierigkeiten. Die gewöhnliche Form ist *oreille*. Es steht im ROL. 1918 in *i* Assonanz; so auch in MIS. 121-9; CAR. 21-8; und sonst MIS. 44-8. In den Q. L. D. R. kommt es viermal vor und immer als *orilles*. Dies zeigt zur Genüge, dass der Reim im ROL. möglich ist. RAMBEAU l. c., pp. 165 u. 179, verwirft ihn, weil die anderen Handschriften die Lesart nicht unterstützen. Es ist auch nicht das einzige Wort, wo *ic'l* zu *il* geworden ist; vgl. *gradille* PASS. 495, *lentilles* Q. L. D. R. 185-4; *gresille* O. PS. 17-4; 77-52; 147-8; *narilles* O. PS. 113-14; *gou(r)pille* MIS. 1441; *fourmilles* CAR. 21-II; *corbilles* GREG. 64-5; *uuerpille* BERN. 8-4; *greilliez* CLIG. 6013.¹¹

In Wörtern mit *-eil* hat das *i* also zwei Funktionen zu erfüllen. Es ist erstens der zweite Bestandtheil des fallenden Diphthongen *ei*, und zweitens dient es zur Bezeichnung des moulliert en *h*. In *fedeil*, *cameil*, *esteille* ist es sogar die Ursache der Moullierung. Bei *esteille* muss ein *ESTELA vorausgesetzt werden. Die Entwicklung eines *ī* in diesem Worte ist jedoch dialektisch. So existiert wahrscheinlich kein *ī* in AUC. NIC. *estoiles* 24-87; MIS. *estoile* 259-9; POÉS. REL. *enstoile* (ii-3); P. MOR. *estoiles* 299-d; JOB. *estoiles* 451-2; BERN. *estoiles* 2-34; CLIG. *estoiles* 5009; und wohl auch in *esteiles* Q. L. D. R. 420-1-3, da *ī* sonst in diesem Texte immer *ill* geschrieben wird. Unregelmässig sind auch *conseil* und *merveil*. Nach NEUMANN, Z. f. R. Ph. viii, p. 261 sollte man **consil*, **mervil* erwarten. Er schreibt das *e* analogischem Einflusse der unbetonten Formen *conseiller* und *merveilleux* zu, wo *e* regelmässig ist. Die *i* Epenthese habe sich dann nur in der betonten Silbe entwickelt, so dass *consēil* zu *consēil* wurde; 'Lautlehre' p. 37. Dürfte man bei *merveil* vielleicht an Einfluss von *vermeil* denken?

Das FÖRSTER-NEUMANN'sche Umlauts-Gesetz kommt bei *ī* überhaupt kaum in Betracht. *a* hat in gewissen Dialekten *e* auf dem gewöhnlichen Wege durch *ai* gegeben. Bei *e* giebt es nur die beiden hier besprochenen Ausnahmen zum Gesetz; bei *o* kommen überhaupt nur *dépouiller* und *mouiller* vor. Nur bei *ī* scheint Umlaut die Regel zu sein; (vgl. die Beispiele unten) RAMBEAU'S Erklärung l. c., p., 166 dass *i* in FILIUS, MILIA=*i* (lang) war, aber in CONSILIUM kurz, und dass *ī* sich zu *ei* entwickelte, und dass *mil* und *exil* gelehrte Formen seien, und deshalb der Unterschied, ist kaum genügend. *conseil* ist auch gelehrt; dies zeigt schon das Fortbestehen des *n*, und *ī* gab gewöhnlich *i*; vgl. TILIA > *tille*,

¹⁰ Der Widerspruch bei KOSCHWITZ, der *ei* im ROL. und CHARL. setzt, (p. 38) und nachher (p. 54) doch *oi* von *ei* durch *ti* ableitet ist schon von RAMBEAU l. c., p. 168 bemerkt worden.

¹¹ Hierher gehören auch Neufz. *étrille*, *nombril*, *chanille*, *cheville*, *connil*.

¹² Irgendwo habe ich die Erklärung gesehen, dass *merveille* durch eine Verschmelzung der beiden Wörter MIRABILIA und MIRACULA entstanden sei. Ich wage nicht über dieselbe zu urtheilen.

VOLATILIA > *volille*. MILIA hatte wohl auch *ī*. CONSILIUM bleibt eine eigens zu erklärende Ausnahme.

Das PIKARDISCHE verhält sich anders als das NORMANNISCHE. Hier war der Vokal vor $\tilde{l} = e$. Dies zeigt sich daraus dass *eil* nicht zu *oil* wurde, und hier stehen die Bemerkungen NEUMANNs über *āle* und *ēle* 'Lautlehre' l. c., p. 30 (die ja überhaupt auf PIKARDISCHE Urkunden gegründet sind) in voller Kraft. *consoil* zeigt die einzige unregelmässige Form; aber man wird wohl kaum von diesem einen Worte Schlüsse ziehen dürfen. So finden sich auch bei RAYNAUD, *Bibl. d. l'éc. d. chartes* xxxvii, p. 23, *conseil* und *weil*, wo, wie er sagt *e*+ \tilde{l} gemeint ist. In denselben Urkunden ist *oi* "dans tout son épanouissement" p. 31, und ebenda findet man auch *conseill*, *consel*, *concel*, *consell*, ja sogar p. 30 *consiel*, *sieigneur*, *siegnourie*. So auch im CHEV. ii esp. steht nur *ei*, nie *consoil*; vgl. FÖRSTER, *Ausg.*, p. xxxix. *conseil* kommt in unseren Texten nicht im Reime vor; v. HAMEL schreibt immer *oi*, bei MAYER steht nur *ei*. Auch zeigen die flectierten Formen dieses Wortes die verschiedenartigsten Entwicklungen. Sonst steht immer *ei*, im AUC. NIC. und ANIEL sogar *el(le)*. MAYER schreibt *parailles* 263-3; *aparailles* 263-6, im Reim mit *ei*; dieselben werden aber mit Recht von v. HAMEL zu *pareilles*, *rapareilles* verbessert. Mts. 261-11 verbessert er *seeillans* zu *seelans* (so auch *seelans* CAR. 236-8;) und giebt im Glossar als Etymologie *SITIM+ELLARE. *seeillans* scheint mir jedoch die bessere Form, kommt aber auch nicht, wie MAYER will, von einem *SITILLARE sondern *SITICULARE (eine ähnliche Bildung wie *fameillous*), vgl. *seeillos* in der REIMP. und *sedeillos* im BRANDAN. Die Varianten zeigen *sooillans*, *seeilla(s)ns*, *seillans*, *seellans*. Ein weiterer Beweis, dass in diesem Dialekte *e* (später *g*) gesprochen wurde, liegt in den Reimen *pareille: bielle* 4215, *viermeille: damoiseille* 2087 im RICH. L. BIAUS, citiert von KNAUER l. c. p. 6. Im NEUPIKARDISCHEN wird *g* gesprochen; vgl. *sôlèy* (*soleil*), *konsèy* (*conseil*), *parèy* (*parcel*) *outrèy* (*oreille*).

Im WALLONISCHEN sollte nach CLOETTA *ei* zu *oi* werden. Da sich nun *oi* vor \tilde{l} nicht vorfindet, so schliesst er, wie folgt: "Da man *conseille* und *consel* nebeneinander findet, so möchte man beinahe zu dem Schlusse kommen, dass hier blieb. Dagegen streitet aber folgendes. Der *acc. soloz* P. MOR. 389 b, lässt uns auf einen *nom. soloil* schliessen, und *voilier* deutet auf den regelmässigen Wechsel (*ei* > *oi*) in der betonten Silbe. Ein Diphthong kann in diesem Dialect leicht seinen zweiten Bestandtheil verlieren, und so steht *conselle* für *conseille*. p. 59. \tilde{l} nach *e* bewirkt halbe Hemmung, i. e. *ei* ging bis zu *öi* (er schreibt dafür *ei*) und blieb da stehen. Der Dialect der kein Zeichen für *öi* hatte, schrieb *ei*, und sprach *soloz* und *solez* beide *sölöz*." Auf der anderen Seite kommen jedoch die folgenden Punkte in Betracht. *soleil* macht auch im NEUWALLONISCHEN eine Ausnahme. HORNING,¹³ *Z. f. R. Ph.* ix, p. 484 citiert *cuerbey*, *grey*, *bgley* aber *solg* und sagt, dasselbe werde wohl auf *SOLUCULUS statt *SOLICULUS beruhen. Diese Vermuthung HORNINGs trifft wohl

¹³ vgl. auch HORNING, *Z. f. R. Ph.* xii, p. 258.

sicher das Richtige. Im GREG. kommt *soleilh* einmal vor gegen *soloilh* 8 Mal. Im SERM. SAP. ist *soleilh* jedoch das Gewöhnliche (5 Mal), *soleilh* nur einmal. *soloz* 389-b, neben *solez* 439-d, ist zwar befremdend; jedenfalls ist es jedoch gewagt auf dieses Wort hin die Aussprache des Dialektes bestimmen zu wollen. Die Form *voilier* kann auf LOTHRINGISCHEM Einflusse beruhen; denn wenn auch diese Schreibweise für *ī* in dem Dialekte möglich ist, so steht sie doch ziemlich allein. Im GREG. kommt *voilier* nur einmal vor, daneben stehen *veilhier* und *velhier*. In allen Formen dieses Wortes steht immer *ih* oder *lh*. Betont findet sich im GREG. *elh* nur einmal (*conselh*); unbetont 7 Mal. Gewöhnlich steht *eilh*.¹⁴ Die Frage ist hier dieselbe wie bei *a+ī*. Wenn P. MOR. und GREG. (vgl. jedoch hierzu CLOETTA, l. c., p. 43.) denselben Dialekt repräsentieren, so muss bei der verschiedenen Orthographie dieselbe Aussprache gemeint sein. Auch in den CHARTES LIÉGEOISES, herausg. von WILMOTTE, Rom. xvii, pp. 568-587 finden sich beide Schreibweisen. *conselh* 1236,¹⁵ *conseilh* 1248(a), 1248(b), 1263, 1265, 1269, 1276(c) zwei Mal; *conseilhiet* 1292. *a+ī* war doch wohl sicher *aī*, und da im NEUWALLONISCHEN *ic'l* regelmässig *ey'* gegeben hat, (vgl. HORNING oben,) so muss man hier *ei* (späten *ēī*) als Aussprache annehmen. Die Orthographie des P. MOR. wenigstens scheint ganz klar. Hätte der Schreiber *ei* oder gar *ōi* gesprochen, so hätte er nicht so regelmässig *ell* oder *elh* geschrieben. Dasselbe gilt auch vom JOB. Ausser *soloilh* finden sich noch *chamoilh* und die Formen von VIGILARE immer mit *oi*.—Auch hier wird man wohl südlicheren Einfluss annehmen müssen.

Noch viel dunkler steht die Sache im LOTHRINGISCHEN. Wir betrachten zunächst die Beispiele. BERN. hat *oi* in *consoil*, *apparoi-llet*, *soloil*, *orcilles*, *ei* in *merveille(s)*, *soleil*, *merveillent*, *ai* in *ap(p)a-raillet*, *apparaille(s)*, *vailles*, *botaille*, *sommaillet*, also regellos. DIAL. hat *e* in *consel*, *aparellent*, *aparellet*, *ei* in *conseil*, *conseille*, *coseil*, *ai* in *vaile*, *vailles*, *a* in *aparalle*; Yz. immer *oi*. Nach APFELSTEDT l. c., § 68 hat, der LOTH. Ps. *ei* und *oi*, VEG. *oi* und *ai*, G. d. M. *oi*. Chronologischen Unterschied in der Entwicklung der einzelnen Wörter auch in demselben Dialekte kann man nicht in Abrede stellen, wohl aber ein 4 ode 5-faches Endresultat. Es folgt also dass entweder diese verschiedenen Schreibweisen in diesem Dialekte denselben Laut bezeichnen, oder die verschiedenen Stadien im Entwicklungsgange darstellen. Eine allen Anforderungen genügende Antwort wird erst gegeben werden können, wenn die Entwicklung von *ei* zu *oi* endgültig erklärt ist. Meines Wissens der letzte, der diese Frage ausführlich bespricht, ist ROSSMANN, 'Französisches *oi*,' Rom. Forsch. I, pp. 157 et seq. Derselbe schliesst sich der Theorie LÜCKING's an, Mundarten, p. 204, dass *ei* durch *ai* zu *oi* ging und gründet seine Ansicht auf Beispiele wie *vailles* im DIAL. und *botaille* im BERN.

¹⁴ Als interessanten Zufall hebe ich hervor GREG. 104-15, wo *merveilhier* in folgender Weise abgetheilt ist: *merve-* folio 100-*ilhier* folio 101 r. Als ob der Schreiber die Aussprache hätte andeuten wollen.

¹⁵ Die Zahlen bedeuten das Datum der Urkunde.

Einer der Hauptpunkte in dieser LÜCKING'schen Theorie ist dass *-auz* in demselben Texte neben *-oil* steht. Dies kommt in unseren Texten aber nur im CLIGES vor. JOB hat *eilh* (neben *oilh*), *-elz* (*chamoilh-chamoz*); BERN. *-oil*, *-eil*, *-ail*, *-olz*; DIAL. keine Belege; Yz. *-oil* *-az*. In anderen Texten, wo *ei* nicht zu *oi* wird, findet sich z. B. *orteil—soumax* AUC. NIC.; *soleil—solaus* CAR. Es gehören vielmehr *-eils* *-aus*, *-eilh* *-elz*, *-oil* *-olz* *-oz* zusammen.¹⁶ Gegen die Theorie ROSSMANN's spricht aber auch noch folgendes. Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass *ai* noch fallender Diphthong war, als *ei* schon *ai* geworden war im xiiten Jahrh., und warum hat dieses jüngere *ai* nicht das ältere in seiner Entwicklung zu *oi* mit fortgezogen. ROSSMANN setzt als Grund die rasche Entwicklung des *ei* durch *ai* zu *oi*. Hiermit ist aber die Schwierigkeit nicht hinweggeräumt. Als *ai* zu *ei* wurde, wäre *ei* durch *ei* > *ai* > *oi* gegangen. Hier hätten wir also zwei Entwicklungen desselben Lautes in entgegengesetzten Richtungen. Diese Entwicklung ging auch gar nicht so schnell vor sich. Sie fing im xten Jahrh. in unbetonter Silbe an, und war im xiiten Jahrh. bei *oi* angelangt. Die Bemerkung l. c., p. 160, dass der DIAL. in derselben Mundart wie BERN. JOB. GREG. geschrieben sei, ist wohl auch nicht wörtlich zu nehmen. Schon die Orthographie *lh* für *l* spricht dagegen. ROSSMANN gründet seine Schlussfolgerungen namentlich auf den DIAL., den er mit BOUCHERIE gern als dem xii Jahrh. angehörig betrachten möchte. Dieser Text gehört aber wohl sicher in eine spätere Zeit; vgl. FÖRSTER, *Z. f. R. Ph.* i, p. 397, SUCHIER, *ibid.*, p. 556. Damit verlieren aber viele der von ihm citierten Beispiele ihre Beweiskraft. BERN. gehört frühestens ins xiii Jahrh., also in die Zeit, wo nach ROSSMANN's eigenen Angaben der Accent anfang zwischen *œ* und *ø* zu schwanken. Auf diese Weise erkläre ich mir die verschiedenen Schreibweisen. *Consoil* bedeutet *consœil*, und *merveille* und *vailles* erklären sich aus *oë*, wo das unbetonte Element gefallen war, und *ei* und *ai* beide *ë* bedeuten. Im DIAL. der also noch später geschrieben wurde, findet sich kein *oi* mehr, und *ë* wird *e*, *ei*, *ai* geschrieben. In anderen noch späteren Texten, wie LOTH. Ps., VEG., G. d. M., bestand die Schwankung zwischen *œ* und *ø* entweder noch länger, oder die alte Schreibart gewann wieder die Oberhand. Dieses Verhältniss bestand gewiss wohl im Yz. wo sich nur *oi* findet; der Reim *vaille: consoille* spricht sicher wenigstens für die Aussprache *oë*. Auf diese Weise erklärt es sich auch warum im DIAL. kein *oi* vor *l* steht. Es wurde eben (*oë*) gesprochen. In anderen Stellungen findet sich jedoch auch *oi*. vgl. ROSSMANN l. c., p. 160. Damit sind aber noch nicht alle Schwierigkeiten aus dem Wege gehoben.—Wie sind die Beispiele

¹⁶ Ueber die flectierten Formen vgl. unten ausführlich.—Ein anderer Punkt LÜCKING's und ROSSMANN's, dass die Reihe *ei* > *ai* > *oi* durch die Entwicklung des *ei* vor Nasalen bewiesen werde, wo *ai* die Zwischenstufe sein müsse, da vor denselben immer ein älterer Lautbestand bestehen bleibe, wird von G. PARIS, *Rom.* xi, pp. 604 ff. kurz besprochen. Derselbe dringt darauf "qu'il faut tenir absolument apart des autres le cas où une voyelle ou diphthongue précède une consonne nasale."

im DIAL. welche nur *o* oder *a*¹⁷ zeigen zu verstehen? Es scheint mir dass diese auf dieselbe Weise wie die neulothringischen Formen zu erklären sind; *ε* wurde offener zu *a*, und endlich *o*. Beispiele bei HORNING,¹⁸ 'Grenzdialekte,' § 47. ff. Die neulothringischen Formen stehen mit dem ebengesagten völlig im Einklang. Bei HORNING, I. c., § 53 finden sich die folgenden Beispiele: *soleil*=*s'la*, *s'ray*, *s'lg*, *s'lö*; *bouteille*=*bgtay'*, *bgtây'*, *bgtgy'*, *bgtgy'*; *corbeille*=*curbay'*; *c'nay'* (COLICULA); *cunay'* (CORNICULA), *cengy'*, *gernay'*; *şenay'* (Rückgrat); AURICULA (§ 126)=*aray'*, *arây'*, *aroy'*, *groy'*, *eray'*, *gray'*, *erpy'*. *Orey'*, *cengy'*, *botey'*, schreibt er § 53 schriftfranzösischem Einflusse zu. Von diesen Formen ergibt sich, dass das ältere *ε* sich zu *a* veränderte, welches noch später sogar zu *o* wurde.

Im Dialekt der CHAMPAGNE ist die Frage leichter zu lösen. Hier wurde jedes betonte *ei* vor *l* zu *oi*, welches jedoch nur mit sich selbst reimt; *ε+l* war *ue* geworden. Somit war zur Zeit des CLIGES *fi* durch *ei* bei *öi* oder *fi* angelangt, welches als Aussprache anzunehmen ist.¹⁹ Diese Entwicklung fand im Dialekt des ILE DE FRANCE nicht statt; vgl. Beispiele bei METZKE, I. c., p. 62. Da wurde *el* gesprochen.

In der unbetonten Silbe liegt die Sache viel einfacher. Es blieb *ε* gewöhnlich. Dies lässt sich natürlich nicht direct beweisen aber in den Dialekten wo in betonter Silbe *ei* zu *oi* wurde, bleibt es scheinbar in unbetonter Silbe. Hätte hier der Diphthong *fi* bestanden, so würde man *oi* um so mehr erwarten, da *fi* zu *oi* zuerst in unbetonter Silbe wurde; vgl. WEIGELT, Z. f. R. Ph. xi, p. 105. Im NORMANISCHEN wird gewöhnlich *e* geschrieben. In *aparaillez* etc. in den Q. L. D. R. haben wir einen scheinbaren Wechsel von *ε>a* (oder *ei* zu *ai*), welcher aber durch Assimilation veranlasst worden ist; vgl. SCHUMANN I. c., p. 31. Die Form mit *ε* findet sich daneben. Im PIKARDISCHEN steht neben *ε* auch *i* vor *l*. Im WALLONISCHEN wurde *el* gesprochen, welches sich auch zu *il* verwischen konnte. Geschrieben wird *eilh*, *elh*, und *ilh*. Die Formen von VIGILARE bieten Schwierigkeiten hier sowohl wie im LOTHRINGISCHEN. Die Belege sind oben gegeben; eine Erklärung weiss ich nicht zu finden. Sollten neben den regelmässigen Formen mit *l* andere mit gewöhnlichem *l* bestanden haben? Die Orthographie scheint dafür zu sprechen. Dann würde JOB. *voilhiez* etc. sein *oi* durch Anlehnung an *esvoiliez* haben. Im LOTHRINGISCHEN wurde zuerst *el* gesprochen, welches jedoch bald *il* wurde. Geschrieben wird *ell*, *el*, *ill*, *il*. Yz. hat gewöhnlich *oill*, wohl durch Einfluss der betonten Silbe.

¹⁷ *aparalle* DIAL. xxxv-6 bietet dieselbe Schwierigkeit wie *batalle* u. s. w., vgl. oben. Wenn wir es mit streng lothringischer Entwicklung zu thun haben, so sollte man für *a+l*-*el* als Aussprache erwarten.

¹⁸ HORNING selbst nimmt an I. c. § 70 dass die Formen mit *o* die älteren seien. Die entgegengesetzte Ansicht ist jedoch auch möglich. *o* für *oi* im BERN. erklärt sich eben dadurch dass zur Zeit der Abfassung desselben der Accent im Schwanken begriffen war.

¹⁹ Einen weiteren Beweis, dass *ei* durch *fi* zu *öi* (*fi*) wurde, sehe ich in Formen wie Yz. *maillour* wo von einem *meillour* ausgegangen werden muss.

Man könnte jedoch auch an die regelmässige Entwicklung von *ei* zu *oi* in unbetonter Silbe denken; dafür spricht namentlich die Veränderung von *meillour* zu *moillour*. Dies würde in diesem Texte auf frühere Aussprache *ei* in unbetonter Silbe schliessen lassen. In der CHAMPAGNE bleibt *e*.

Die *nebentonige* Silbe verhält sich in der Regel wie die *unbetonte*. Analogischer Einfluss macht sich jedoch stark geltend, sodass bald der Vokal der betonten, bald der der unbetonten Silbe erscheint. Verschleifung zu *i* findet sich jedoch nie, wenn die nebentonige Silbe auch die erste Silbe des Wortes ist.

RÉSUMÉ. Aus dem Obigen ergibt sich für die einzelnen Dialecte folgende Aussprache:

BETONT: NORMANNISCH -*éil*; PIKARDISCH -*eï*; WALLONISCH -*eï*; LOTHINGISCH -*êl* (-> *oël*); CHAMPAGNE -*êil* (oder -*ôil*).

UNBETONT: *e* bleibt (NORMANNISCH) oder wird zu *i* erdrückt. (PIKARDISCH, WALLONISCH, LOTHINGISCH).

D. i+ï.

AELT. DENK. FR. D. VAL: peril verso 1-26; PASS: fillies 261.

NORMANNISCH. AL: filie 8-e; 9-b; u. s. w. fil 3-e; 6-c; u. s. w.

REIMP: fil 5e; milie 6e.

ROL.—1 *betont*: Marsilies 7; etc.; milie 13; 410; etc.; seignurill 151; Sezilie 200; Basilie 209; gentill 377; nobilie 1123; exill 1862; Peril 2394; gentil 2599; fille 2744; avrill 3503;—2 *nebentonig*: milliers 109; 1417; 2072; fillastre 743;—3 *unbetont*: Rossillun 797; Russillun 1896; 2189.

CHARL.—1 *betont*: milie 96; 99; 267; 272; 336; gentil 380; 755; fille 402; 486; u. s. w.—2 *nebentonig*: miliu 349; Guillelme(s) 506; 739; 744.

O. Ps.—1 *betont*: fille(s) 9-14; 44-10; remasilles 16-16; 20-12; 36-39; gresille 17-14; 77-52; 104-30; exillet 36-8; volatilie 49-12; (aisil 68-28; (*acidium for acetum) 7?) tille 73-7; narilles 113-14; fil 77-8 oft; ruil 77-51; peril 108-12; 139-5; costil p. 249-11; u. s. w.—2 *nebentonig*: milliu 21-15-23; 22-4, etc.; milliers 67-18; 83-10; u. s. w.—3 *unbetont*: grundillowent 40-8.

Q. L. D. R.—1 *betont*: filles 4-5; 52-9; milie 14-8; 15-14; etc.; peril 73-16; 127-11; eissil 172-5; lentilles 185-4; buille 198-16; volille 240-2; curtil 330-2; lilies 253-12; 254-15; 257-10; remasilles 421-3; 435-15; u. s. w.—2 *nebentonig*: milliers 112-3; 186-4; 216-12; 327-9; milleu 255-17;—3 *unbetont*: argilluse 257-1.

PIKARDISCH. MIS.—1 *betont*: peril 11-1; soutil 11-2; fil 11-4; 122-7; etc.; gentil 11-5; 105-12; vil 11-9; 149-7; cortil 11-12; fille(s) 39-6; etc.; (evangile 41-1; 52-1; 89-6; (evangille bei Mayer); nobile 41-2; (gelehrt von *nobilium. vgl. ROL. nobilie); pile 41-4-12; vile 41-5 (=engl. vile); guile 41-9 (=engl. guile) (guille); goupille 121-1 (gourpille); espille 121-2; semille 121-4; mille 121-5; aville 121-12; essil 179-9; 180-5; 273-4-12; (escil, eschil);—2 *nebentonig*: soutilleté 135-10; empila 41-4; avillies 263-5; esvillies 263-12.—3 *unbetont*: gentilleche 11-6; essillies 263-1 (escillies) perillies 263-2.

CAR.—1 *betont*: vil 4-10; 153-4; 193-7; semilles 21-3; fille(s) 21-6; 51-5; 174-2; souilles 21-7; goupilles 21-10; formilles 21-11; peril 57-7; 59-7; 193-6; fil 110-4; *fill* 147-1-2; berchil 120-10; aisil 170-3; (?) ostil 193-3; cortil 193-8; 219-3; 222-8; 226-2; essil 193-10; gentil 193-11;—3 *unbetont*: perillouse 81-12; 223-1; avrillous 233-3; essillous 233-10.

AUC. NIC.—1 *betont*: fille 2-35 etc.; sorcille 5-8; tille 24-21;—2 *nebetontig*: fillole 2-31; 6-17; filole 4-4-12;—3 *unbetont*: oisellons 20-24; 39-6; dansellon 39-31.

ANIEL.—2 *nebetontig*: avillie 397; avillier 426.—3 *unbetont*: essille(s) 398; 410; essillier 425.

WALLONISCH. P. MOR.—1 *betont*: ilh 32-a; 45-b; 54-a; 144-a; 553-a; il 34-a; 150-b; 153-d; 230-b; 234-d(2); (beide bedeuten il und ils); peril 34-c; 158-b; 212-b; 225-b; 466-d; filhe 97-b; 151-a; 182-a; 190-d; sobrecil 128-d; fil 186-d; gentil 207-d; cansil 312-a; vilhe 547-c (=engl. vile).—2 *nebetontig*: milhier 292-d; milliers 323-a.—3 *unbetont*: perillos(e) 112-d; 116-c; 125-d; 552-d; perillouse viii; xvi; perilhose 220-b; 249-a; estrilhir 118-a; ensilhie 292-a.

POÉS. REL.—1 *betont*: fille 1-30; (filhe 1-30); (cilh 1-15; ii-11;) ilh (ii-9; 12;) iii-6; (iii-6-7;) iii-17-18; (iii-17-18;) iv-14; (iv-24;) vii-7-10; (vii-4;) viii-11-13-17; icilh v-20; (v-20;)—2 *nebetontig*: vilhas ii-10.

GREG.—1 *betont*: filh 8-11; 12-13; etc.; (cortil 112-22; 134-3; etc.) filhe(s) 113-2; 153-19 etc.; perilh 130-17; 145-14; 192-5; 277-3-15; 278-6-19; (bergil 155-12;) (ewangile 162-4; 216-8; 243-1; 254-5;) viles 162-18; 275-8; exil 193-6-14; 194-11; ostilhes 233-23; chansilh 237-14; remasilhes 257-15-18;—3 *unbetont*: (Keine Belege).

SERM. SAP.—1 *betont*: filh 283-27; 284-5; etc.; ilh 286-26-31; 287-26; il 287-27; 288-16-32-35; etc.; oilh (=oui) 286-36; 295-42; vilhe 292-30-32; exilh 296-42;—3 *unbetont*: exilliez 297-6.

JOB.—1 *betont*: filhes 441-21; (etc. 5 Mal.) filh 443-4; (etc. 22 Mal.) porvilh 449-25; fil 498-14; exilh 453-21; 461-2-8; 464-18; 465-5; 493-17; exil 464-15; 470-9; 493-24; (suptil 487-21-33; 488-3;) scancilhent 475-28; vilhes 478-8; 490-13; vil 491-21; lentilhe 517-16;—2 *nebetontig*: milhiers 495-8(2);—3 *unbetont*: scancelhievent 475-26.

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.—1 *betont*: fil 1-4-12; etc.; peril 1-10; 19; etc.; exil 1-18; 40-20; etc.; uuerpille 8-4-5; gentil 21-7-8; perillent 23-39; fille(s) 57-33; 97-1; etc.; (enfantil 67-12; 68-14-16-39; 79-6;)—2 *nebetontig*: millier(s) 9-38; 26-8; 37-2; 151-26(2)-27; perillousement 18-27; avilliet 41-25;—3 *unbetont*: perillous(e) 14-22; 87-5-17-18; 129-9; 157-32-34; perillouses 154-28; exillieie 21-10; essilie 21-31; exilliez 21-41; 40-21; afflavilliet 89-30; nouuillon 109-10; raspillous 149-10; exilliet 153-14; (puntellon 9-19 hat wohl kein *l*.)

DIAL.—1 *betont*: peril iv-14; ix-19; x-4; xxxi-23; xxxiv-15; ill v-10-13; essil vi-9(3)-10;—3 *unbetont*: periliz ii-2; aflavilliez vi-14; affevillant xxxiii-6; aperiliz xxxiii-11.

Yz.—*betont*: vil 24; 621; 1550; 1752; perille 163; (guile 164; 2474;) fil 351; 1823; etc.; peril 409; 706; vulpil xiii; 727; etc.; vulpille xxxx; 2015; etc.;—2 *nebetontig*: vilouse 1126; pilier 2521 (wahrscheinlich

pillier; die Bedeutung ist jedoch nicht sicher; vgl. FÖRSTER, 'Ausg.' v. 2521 Anm.)—3 *unbetont*: perillous 190; 484; 1431; 1735; perilliez 399; 2811; perillie 552; vulpillaz 733; essilliez 2812; exilliez 3157; gentillesce 3462.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.—1 *betont*: fil 98; 323; etc.; peril 269; 2414; etc.; avril 270; (vil 1006; etc.) essil 1080; 5228; 6575; (sotil 1155; (mile 1632; 6685;)) (vile 4727; etc.) fille 2654; 2658; etc.; aville 2672; 2687; 2714; jantil 5661.—2 *nebetontig*: millier 6018; avilla 6336;—3 *unbetont*: gentillece 204; perilleus 1833; greilliez 6013; greillier 6017.

In allen diesen Listen finden sich natürlich auch unsichere Beispiele, wo heute kein *l* besteht, und wo man nur wegen Analogie dasselbe erwarten sollte; die unsicheren Wörter stehen in Klammern.

Hier ist die Aussprache in allen Dialekten *il̃*. Umlaut zeigt sich in *milie* CHARL. 96; *remasilles* O. Ps. 16-16; *exill* ROL. 1862; *exillet* O. Ps. 36-8; *tille* O. Ps. 73-7; *volille* Q. L. D. R. 240-2; *buille* Q. L. D. R. 198-16; *sorcille* AUC. NIC. 5-8; *sobreuil* P. MOR. 128-d; *scancilhent* 475-28, (vgl. *scancelhieuent* 475-26, *unbetont*); *ilh* P. MOR. 32-a; *cilh* POÉS. REL. (I-15); *icilh* v-20; *ostilhes* GREG. 233-23. Ich gebe von jedem Worte nur ein Beispiel.

Ein vorhergehendes *i* konnte ein *l* gerade so gut mouillieren, wie ein folgendes *i* purum. Dies geschah in folgenden Wörtern.²⁰ ROL. *seignurill* 151; *gentill* 377; (*gentil* 2599); *avrill* 3505; CHARL. *gentil* 380; 785; O. Ps. *costil* p. 249-11; Q. L. D. R. (vgl. *hustilz* 44-17; *barilz* 177-15;) MIS. *soutil* 11-2; *gentil* 11-5; *vil* 11-9; (vgl. im NORM. *vils*, also kein *l̃*), *cortil* 11-12; *pile* 41-4 (Lat *pila*, vgl. Port. *pilha* DIEZ 'E. Wb.' s. v.); *vile* 41-5; *guile* 41-9; *espille* 121-2; (Lat. *pilare*, nicht *pilare* wie DIEZ. 'E. Wb.' s. v. oder *PILEARE* wie VAN HAMEL s. v. *pilare* scheint mir das richtige wegen des langen i.) *aville* 121-12; *soutille* 135-10; *gentilleche* 11-6; *empila* 41-4; *avilliés* 263-5; *esvilliés* 263-12; CAR. *soutilles* 21-7; *berchil* 120-10; *ostil* 193-3; *vil* 193-7; *cortil* 193-8; *gentil* 193-11; *avrillous* 233-3; ANIEL *avillié* 397; *avillier* 426; P. MOR. *gentil* 207-d; *cansil* 312-a; *vilhe* 547-c; POÉS. REL. *vilhas* 11-10; GREG. *cortil* 112-22; *bergil* 155-12; *villes* 162-18; *chansilh* 273-14; S. SAP. *vilhe* 292-30; JOB. (*supil* 487-21;) *vilhes* 478-8; *vil* 491-21; BERN. *gentil* 21-7; *enfantil* 67-12; *aviliét* 41-25; *affavilliet* 89-30; DIAL. *aflavilliez* vi-14; *aflavillant* xxxiii-6; CLIG. *avril* 270; (*vil* 1011;) (*sotil* 1155;) *aville* 2672; (*vile* 4727;) (*guile* 4728); *jantil* 5661; *gentillece* 204; *avilla* 6336.

²⁰ Der Unbestimmtheit einiger Wörter wegen gebe ich hier die Beispiele alle. Die Mouillierung in einigen Wörtern bleibt unbestimmt, in anderen wird sie nur durch andere Formen desselben Stammes bewiesen. Gerade in diesen Wörtern muss *l̃* sich sehr lange gehalten haben. Noch PALSGRAVE und BEZA geben als einzige Ausnahme der Wörter in *-ille* nur *ville*. BEZA sagt: "Excipe dictionem unicam *ville* pro URBE, in qua sonat *l* singulare, sic scripta, ut a foeminino adjectivo *vile* (VILIS) discernatur." *l̃* scheint zu jener Zeit noch bestanden zu haben in *tranquille*, *scille*, *squille*, *imbecille*, *codicille*, *argille*, *gille*, *idylle*, *pupille*, *sibille*, *ville*, *mille*, *vacille*, *oscille*, *distille*, *scintille*, *Achille*, *Lille*, *Pirille*. Andere Wörter in *-ille*, wo *l* mit *l̃* wechselt, finden sich ibid. bei THURROT, 'De la Prononciation Française,' ii, p. 305 ff.

Es ist natürlich die Frage, wie lange sich *l̃* im Auslaut²¹ erhalten hat. Dieselbe wird sich schwer entscheiden lassen, da mit Ausnahme von *il̃*, die Wörter nur mit sich selbst reimen. Doch scheint nach *a, l̃* sich in allen unseren Texten erhalten zu haben. Für *ε+l̃* vgl. AUC. NIC. *viel* 1-2; für *ε+l̃* AUC. NIC. *consel* 7-5; GREG. *conselh* 123-12 neben *conseil* 174-2; DIAL. *consel* v-1 neben *co(n)seil* xii-4; xxxiv-17; für *g+l̃* die Beispiele in MIS. CAR. AUC. NIC. ANIEL, und CLIGES, *vuel, orguel, duel, dol, uel*, etc. Nur muss nicht vergessen werden, dass in denselben Fällen im Inlaut da *ll* für *l̃* geschrieben wird. FÖRSTER, CLIG. p. lxxi hält, dass in jenem Texte *l̃* im Auslaut die Mouillierung verloren hat, und verweist auf BEZA p. 63, der mir nicht zur Hand ist. Bei *i+l̃* lässt sich die Entwicklung in etwas verfolgen. Im ROL. stand sicher noch *l̃*. Im CHARL. ist die Sache schon fraglich, doch wird wohl noch Mouillierung anzunehmen sein; aber für den O. Ps. und die Q. L. D. R. wird sich die Sache kaum entscheiden lassen. Im MIS. haben wir den Reim *peril: soutil: fil: gentil: vil: cortil* xi, CAR. *ostil: peril: vil: cortil: essil: gentil* cxiii, die aber kaum etwas beweisen, da m. E. alle diese Wörter *l̃* haben können; *soutilles* CAR. 21-7 zeigt dass *i* ein *l̃* hervorrufen konnte, und die Form *fill* Car. 147-2 scheint auf *l̃* zu deuten. Im P. MOR. ist *il̃* schon im Schwanken begriffen; *il: nil: peril: mil* 34. Im letztgenannten Worte bestand wohl nie ein *l̃*. Im GREG. ergibt sich dasselbe Resultat aus Formen wie *filh* und *exil*, S. SAP. *ilh* und *il*, JOB. *exilh* und *exil*. Im BERN. und DIAL. lässt sich auch keine bestimmte Antwort geben, da es ja keine Assonanzen giebt. Dagegen herrscht kein Zweifel dass im CLIGES *il̃* zu *il* geworden ist; vgl. 269, 323, 503, 1079, 2971, 522, etc.; *fil: il, il: essil* etc.

Mille scheint die Mouillierung lange behalten zu haben. Im NORMANNISCHEN findet sich bis in die späteste Zeit nur *milie*. Dagegen ist sicher das *l* mouilliert in *mille* MIS. 121-5 im Reime mit *goupille: orille*.

In *miliu*²² CHARL. O. Ps., milieu Q. L. D. R. entstand *l̃* theils aus vorhergehendem *i*, theils aus folgendem *i* (*ε*). In PERIC'LUM war *i* lang, deshalb *peril*. Im AUC. NIC. haben *oissellon* und *dansellon* aus mir unbekannten Gründen *l̃*.

Im WALLONISCHEN sind besonders die Formen des Pronomens *ilh* (= *ils* und *il*) sowie *cilh, icilh, oilh*, (= *oui*) zu beachten. Dieselben finden sich auch in Menge in den von WILMOTTE Rom. xvii p. 568 et seq. abgedruckten Urkunden; vgl. *silh* (= *si il*) 1237; *cilh* 1241; *quilh* (= *qu'il*) 1263; *kilh* 1291, etc.; ja sogar *ilhe* 1277 (= *illa*); analogische Bildung zu *ilh*? vgl. *cille* BERN. 165-19. Unsere Texte schreiben beides *ilh* und *il*. NEUMANN Z. f. R. Ph. viii, p. 264 erklärt diesel-

²¹ In Auslaut nach *i* muss Schwanken zwischen *l̃* und *l* lange bestanden haben, vgl. die Aussprache der Grammatiker des 16 Jhs. bei THUROT, l. c., ii p. 193 ff.

²² Liesse sich dass *i* in *lieu* wohl auf diese Weise erklären? Man sprach *milieu*, und deshalb aus Analogie auch (*li*)*eu*, wo sich, da es ja inf. Franz. sischen kein anlautendes *l̃* giebt, *lj* zu *li* vereinfachte. FÖRSTER, CHEV. ii esp. p. xli schreibt das *i* dem Einflusse des *l* zu. vgl. jedoch Z. f. R. Ph. xiii p. 543.

ben als Satzduppeelformen. *ILLI* cons. > *el*, *ILLI* voc. > *ilh*, und das französische *il* ist dann aus einer Mischung dieser beiden Formen hervorgegangen. Er bezeichnet dieselben jedoch als nur im PROVENZALISCHEN vorkommend.

Ille (INSULA) wird wohl nie *l̃* gehabt haben. O. Ps. hat *illes* 71-15; 96-1; doch findet sich dort auch *brulle* 25-25, wo also *ll* aus *sl* hervorgegangen ist. Doch ist die Sache damit noch nicht abgemacht. *sl* wurde nicht so ohne Weiteres zu *ll*, sondern es trat ein *d* zwischen *s* und *l* ein, dann fiel *s*, und *dl* wurde zu *ll*. vgl. Q. L. D. R. *vadlez* 65-14; *medlez* 279-8; **idle* für INSULA existiert aber meines Wissens nicht. Vielleicht ist die *d* Epenthese zwischen *s* und *l* anglonormannisches Merkmal. Sonst findet sich Q. L. D. R. *ille* 246-8; etc.; GREG. *ihle* 128-9; *illes* 242-14, etc.; BERN. *ille* 64-9 etc.; (vgl. *entremellent* 33-22.) Im ÎLE DE FRANCE hat sich *sl* lange erhalten; *isle* steht noch bei RUTEBEUF; vgl. METZKE l. c. p. 84.

Zum Schlusse seien dem Worte *evangile* noch einige Bemerkungen gewidmet. Dialektisch scheint dasselbe *l̃* gehabt zu haben. Dafür scheint wenigstens MIS. 41-4 zu sprechen, doch lässt sich dies nicht bestimmt beweisen. Die Reime da sind *evangile*: *nobile*: *pîle* (lat. *pila*) *vile*: *guile*: *pîle* (von *pîler*). MAYER schreibt *evangille* und *guille*; *l̃* kann in *nobile* (von NOBILIUM vgl. ROL. *nobilie*) bestanden haben, so wie in *vile* (vgl. P. MOR. *vilhe*). Sonst zeigt dieses Wort die gewöhnliche neufranzösische Form.

Die unbetonte Silbe giebt zu keinerlei Bemerkungen Anlass.

E. *g*+*l̃*.

AELT. DENK. *Pass*: collit 468.

NORMANNISCH. AL.—1 *betont*: *voil* 3-e; *revoil* 38-c; *moilent* 54-b; *oil* 88-a; *voillent* 116-d; 120-b.

REIMP.—1 *betont*: *orgoil* 17-a; 43-e; 50-c; *voillet* 34-e; *voil* 129-b; —2 *nebentonig*: *orgoillosement* 17-c; *recoilli* 22-e; —3 *unbetont*: *orgoillos(e)* 23-c; 63-b.

ROL.—1 *betont*: *orguill* 228; 313; (9 Mal); *orguil* 578; *voeill* 330; 492; (12 Mal); *voeillet* 1244; 1419; 2168; 2220; *voillent* 1626; *oil* 1991; 2011; *voille* 2439; *acoeillent* 3967; —2 *nebentonig*: *acuillit* 689; *recuillir* 2965; *recueillit* 3210; *coillit* 3771; —3 *unbetont*: *orguillus* 28; 474; 2135; 2211.

CHARL.—1 *betont*: *voil* 70; 161; (7 Mal); —2 *nebentonig*: *acuillit* 370.

O. Ps.—1 *betont*: *fuille* 1-4; *foilles* 36-2; *espuilles* 67-13; 118-162; *voilles* 102-2; 118-31; *cuillent* 125-6; *despoilles* p. 237-9; *oil* 9-31; 10-5; (22 Mal); *orguil* 16-11; 35-12; 100-9; *voiles* 36-1; 36-8; *vuiles* 36-7; *voil* 39-11; 72-24; 118-35; —*nebentonig*: *voillez* p. 235-4; *voilanz* 5-4; *voilez* 31-11; 94-7; (8 Mal); —3 *unbetont*: *orguillus* 17-30; 88-4; (12 Mal); *enorguillissent* p. 245-40; *enorguillist* 9-23.

Q. L. D. R.—1 *betont*: *orguil* 7-2; 65-2; *voil* 4-18; 41-7; (10 Mal); *vuil* 143-2; 414-17; *suil* 17-15; 18-3; *oil* 36-8; 54-7; *voille* 84-11; *vuille* 86-13; 383-1; *duille* 86-14; *duil* 123-10; *fuille* 254-15; *vuillent* 262-18; —2 *nebentonig*: *fuilli* 2-24; *fuillées* 2-26; *fuillié(s)* 295-6; 396-13; *recuillèrent*

23-14; acuellit 74-11; voilled 78-9; 302-20; cuillid 82-4; 311-2; 360-8; acuellid 107-11; acuellirent 118-9; 3-7; cuillir 311-8; 389-7;—3 *unbetont*: despuillez 76-11; despuillèrent 119-8; orguellid 280-16; orgueillus 300-2.

PIKARDISCH. MIS.—*betont*: vuel 6-5; 39-2; (14 Mal); voel 197-4; 211-1; 224-8; (veil, voil); fueille 37-4 (foilles); 91-4 (fueille); vuelent 39-6 (voelent); 158-6; orguel 77-7; 83-2; (21 Mal); (orgueil); escuel 89-2 (escueil); uel 89-3; 96-3 (20 Mal) (ueil, oeil); fuel 89-5 (foil); recuel 89-9 (requiel); suel 89-12 (sueil); orguelle 91-1 (orgueille); duelle 91-2 (doille); vuelle 91-5(2) (voille); despuelle 91-9 (despoille); desorguelle 91-12 (desorgueille); toil 157-3; aoille 223-5 (von *ADOCULARE oder *ADOLEARE; MAYER schreibt *saoille*);—2 *nebetonig*: cuellie 59-11; (coillie); orguellose 97-11 (orguellouse);—3 *unbetont*: orguellous 69-4; 79-1; (12 Mal) (orgueilleus); aoilier (*ADOCULARE) 102-3 (avillier); despoillier 102-8.

CAR.—1 *betont*: voel 9-11; 18-7; (7 Mal); vuel 199-4; vueil 201-1; 236-1; voelle 16-3; 126-4; orguel 37-4; 52-10; (11 Mal); uel 71-13; 138-4-9; 220-4; duell 134-6, (vgl. duel 125-12=nfrz. deuil); vuelle 242-1;—2 *nebetonig*: recuellir 54-11; moillier 227-8;—3 *unbetont*: orgillous 36-8; orguillous 177-11.

AUC. NIC.—1 *betont*: voil 6-35-39; 10-53; veul 14-20; 21-10; vout 40-17; foilles 20-3; fuelles 26-14; oiel 23-13;—2 *nebetonig*: accoilli 19-3; foilli 19-4-14; recoulli 41-14.

ANIEL.—2 *nebetonig*: recuellie 27; escuellie 28; recuellir 29.

WALLONISCH. P. MOR.—1 *betont*: orgulh 4-b; orguilh 110-b; orguil 165-d; 204-d; 328-c; 525-b; vulh 11-c; 109-a; 113-a; 189-b; 280-b; 399-b; 551-a; vul 561-a; 564-a; orguillent vii; orguelhet 113-c; uelh 133-d; 500-a; vulhe 174-c; 425-a; vulhet 242-d; 266-c;—3 *unbetont*: orgillos(e) 112-b; p. 224-iv; orguilhos 144-b; 505-b; orguillos 443-a; 469-a; orgillous p. 229-viii; orgalhose 430-a.

POÉS REL.—1 *betont*: orguelh i-26 (i-26); vulh viii-21;—2 *nebetonig*: conquelhir vi-7 (conkelhir vi-7).

GREG.—1 *betont*: vuilhet 13-22; vuilh 14-13; vuelh 20-10; 30-11; 33-19; 47-21; 89-7; 105-19; 157-23; 195-6; 217-13; 251-14; vuel 113-14; vuilhes 46-11; oelh 62-10-25; 149-11; 225-22; orguelh 85-16-24; 95-6; 112-15; 118-17; 120-23; 132-22; 137-6; 252-6; molhet 232-19; 237-23; 238-20;—2 *nebetonig*: voilhanz 21-21; 73-13; 104-2; 271-10; colhit 30-2; 34-20; 63-11; 105-4; 164-10; 181-21; 186-9; 204-16; 208-8; colhie 30-5; 149-23; colhies 186-14; coilhies 134-21; colhir 30-13-20; 186-12; colhir 30-15; molhiet 31-2; 35-2; voilhiez 39-17; moilhievet 95-14; concolhiz 103-1; colhiz 103-22; 104-17; 105-6; orgailhousement 129-8; 130-8; molhiez 146-13; molhie 175-19-20(2)-22; 176-3-7-8(2)-9-11(2)-13-14; concolhie(s) 224-15; 236-24; concolhir 232-15; concolihons 237-4; concolhit 242-6; concolhiz 242-18; concolhiez 243-10;—3 *unbetont*: orgailhous(e) 22-1; 27-21; 53-18; 72-2; 85-11; 243-13-14; despoilhanz 40-2; despoilhat 168-12; despoilhies 259-13; despolhiet 262-15.

SERM. SAP.—1 *betont*: vuelhet 285-26; oelh 286-32; 291-22; orguelh 287-22; 289-1; 291-23; 292-6; 293-1; 294-10; orguilh 292-33; vuilh 287-30; vuelh 295-9;—2 *nebetonig*: recoilhoit 296-29-32.

JOB.—1 *betont*: vuilh 442-6; orguelh 446-9; 450-16; 453-19; 466-9; 501-1; 507-34(2)-37; 508-25; orguilh 446-34; 450-22; 451-1; 471-25; 472-19; 473-1; 476-10; 498-22; 503-36; 507-29; 512-19; orguil 503-24; orguelhent 450-30; oelh 459-11; 480-20; oilh 516-17; 517-2-28;—2 *nebentonig*: orguilhousement 472-2-10; orgailhousement 476-4-15; polhue 483-26;—3 *unbetont*: orgailhous(e) 451-20; 476-1-7; 497-28; 506-37; 507-1-3-7; 508-7; orgailhose 503-28; orguilhouse 472-15; con-coilhast 509-19.

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.—1 *betont*: orgoilles 2-26; orgoil 2-29-32; 12-12; 35-12; 44-37; 71-40; 81-20; 88-2-29-36-38-39; 95-31; 123-17; 158-11; 159-3; 173-34; orgoyl 4-1; 168-30-41; oyl 2-30; 29-30; 95-21; 109-8; 166-27; oil 20-15-18; 21-26; voil 4-23; 19-32; 32-28; 44-35; 76-30; 123-12; 143-13; 162-9; 178-13; voillent 5-27; 118-12; rec oillet 14-26; voillet 26-37; 27-12; 32-15-31-32; 57-13; 83-25; 87-34; 117-37; 119-19-20; 123-19-30(2); 136-16; 160-7; 169-1; despoilles 26-29; foille(s) 37-24; 149-25; 163-9; foylles 174-10; orgoillet 72-13; soil 99-6; voilles 111-25; 149-30; 163-40; toille 143-22; toilles 166-16;—2 *nebentonig*: racoillist 60-10; recoilliz 127-29; recoillir 151-31; 167-26; recollir 167-34; despoillement 172-39; collir 177-39;—3 *unbetont*: orguillous 2-27; 3-35; 4-1; 8-1-9; 12-10; 38-13; 43-18; 44-36; 45-2-3-5-6; 59-33; 72-15-17; 75-15; 85-7; 136-16; 142-29; 147-31; 160-28; 169-14; despoillarent 172-34; orguillousement 161-11; despoilliez 172-34; 173-15-16.

DIAL.—1 *betont*: voil v-8-9-17; tollet viii-12; dollet ix-29; volles xiii-15; suillent xxiv-7; doil xxvii-7; oil xxxi-13; ouy xxxi-15; orguil xxxii-19;—2 *nebentonig*: soillant vi-17;—3 *unbetont*: orguelous vi-3; orguillous xii-22; ergellit xxxii-21.

Yz.—1 *betont*: cuil 16; soillent 118; 238; orguil 342; 1714; 2089; 2329; 2331; 2339; 2691; orgoil 1754; voillent 389; 3381; voil 432; 1220; 1245; 1327; 3547; vuil 516; 703; 873; 1192; 1515; 1534; 2603; 2659; 2852; woil 2878; 2912; 2955; 3362; vuille 476; 729; 1523; 2132; voille 1211; vuilles 511; 1645; 2267; recuil 1963; toille 2822; toillent 3300; oil 3490;—2 *nebentonig*: toillit 457; vuillisse 487; malvoillance 1592; coillir 1845; recoillit 2169; vuillis 2266; acuilli 3179;—3 *unbetont*: orguillousement 2279; despoillarent 2395; despoillies 2781; orguilloient 2946.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.—1 *betont*: vuelle 77; 389; 1844; 3171; 6329; 6343; 6427; voille 5285; acuelle 391; 3172; 6344; orguelle 392; duellent 1877; vuellent 1878; acuellent 2400; moille 4294; soille 4865; toille 4866; fuelle(s) 6116; 6351; 6428; duelle 6330; sonst in vuel 19; orguel 458; oel 495; l'uel 698; s'uel 2071; suel 2289, etc.; eine grosse Anzahl von Fällen die alle *l* zu *l* verwandelt haben.—2 *nebentonig*: voilliez 357; anfoillue (*infoliuta) 6403.

Im NORMANNISCHEN bleibt *q* vor *l* in der Regel; vgl. SUCHIER Reimp. p. xvi. Der ROL. ist eine bemerkenswerthe Ausnahme. AL. REIMP. CHARL. schreiben nur *o*; auch ROL. hat den Diphthongen nicht in allen Fällen; *oil* wird gewöhnlich nur so geschrieben. Ich habe nur zwei Ausnahmen gefunden, *ueil* und *wilz* (= *wilz*) und diese im CAMB. PS. bei SCHUMANN l. c., p. 37; *wil* hätte für *wil=vilis*

gehalten werden können. Mit Flexions *s(z)* steht *oïlz* in *oe* Assonanz, ROL. 298, 3629. MÜLLER schreibt *oelz*, die anderen Herausgeber *oïlz*; FÖRSTER, *Rom. Stud.* iii, p. 177, ändert *oelz* zu *oëilz*; die Aussprache war wohl *oelz*; vgl. RAMBEAU, l. c., p. 214, Anm. Im O. Ps. und den Q. L. D. R. wechseln *u* und *o*, so auch im Allgemeinen im C. Ps., doch finden sich in letzterem Texte auch einige Fälle mit diphthongierten *o*. Der bemerkenswertheste ist *despueilles* mit seinen Varianten *despuilles* und *despoilles*. Dieses Wort wird von FÖRSTER in *Rom. Stud.* iii, p. 183 behandelt, ohne jedoch zu einer sicheren Erklärung der neufrz. Formen mit *ou* zu kommen. Er schreibt es entweder dem folgenden *ï* zu, oder dem Grunde dass *gi* zu *gu* wurde, welches später mit *ou=ø* zusammenfiel. BÖHMER hingegen, *Rom. Stud.* iii p. 191 schreibt *ou* dem Triebe zur Ausgleichung der Verbalformen zu; so auch ROSSMANN, *Rom. Forsch.* i, p. 155. Hierhin gehören auch die Formen von *môliare*, neufrz. *mouiller*. Beispiele mit diphthongiertem *o* habe ich nicht gefunden; dasselbe muss früh zu *ø* geworden sein; vgl. FÖRSTER CLIG. p. lxiiv.

Wir sehen dass Umlaut hier nicht eintritt. Wie ist nun der Wechsel zwischen *oi* und *ui* zu erklären? Dieses *ui* ist nicht ohne Weiteres mit *ui* in Wörtern wie *nuit* zusammenzustellen. Im letzteren Worte ist mit FÖRSTER *Rom. Stud.* iii, p. 180, die Zwischenstufe *nueit* anzunehmen. Es scheint mir, dass die Vertiefung von *ø(i)* zu *ø(i)* (zu *ui*) auf Einfluss des *ï* zu schreiben ist. Beispiele mit *uei* finden sich nicht (in *despueilles* im CAMB. Ps. gehört *i* zum *ll*) und die älteren normannischen Denkmäler haben *oi*, später wechseln *oi* und *ui* ohne Zwischenstufe. In diesem Dialekt hat sich *ø(u)* mit dem *i* (dem Gleiter zum *ï*) zu einem fallenden Diphthongen *uï* verbunden, den auch HARSEIM l. c., p. 294 für den O. Ps. annimmt. Dieser Diphthong ist durch die Schreibweise nicht besonders notiert, wird aber durch die flectierten Formen bewiesen.

Im PICARDISCHEN wird *ø* vor *ï* in der Regel zu *ue*. Dass der Diphthong steigend war, geht aus den flectierten Formen hervor; (vgl. unten). Im Auslaut scheint *ï* schon *l* geworden zu sein, wenigstens nach der Orthographie bei VAN HAMEL. Er sagt darüber p. cxli: "Notre notation à la fin du mot n'est pas assez uniforme (par exemple uel, uell, ueil)." Im AUC. NIC. zeigt sich wenig Regelmässigkeit in der Orthographie. SUCHIER, *Ausc.* p. 59 behandelt diesen Punkt kurz, und sagt, *o* erscheine besonders vor *c*, *r*, *f*, *v*, *l*. Die Schreibweisen *oïel* (für *oëil*) *veul* (für *vuel*) und *voul* verdienen besonders hervorgehoben zu werden. Eine Verschiedenheit in der Aussprache wird wohl nicht zu Grunde liegen.

Im WALLONISCHEN wird *ø* vor *ï* zu *ue*, gesprochen *œ* z. B. *uelh orguelh*, vgl. CLOETTA, l. c., p. 68 und p. 250. In *orgulh* ist der zweite Theil des Diphthongen, wie so oft im WALLONISCHEN, gefallen. Wie sind nun *orguelh* und *orguilh* nebeneinander zu erklären? Eine Form *orgueilh* findet sich nicht, und doch wird nach anderen Vokalen *ï* gewöhnlich *ilh* geschrieben. Ich stelle mir vor, dass *ueïl* wegen *ï* zu *ueïl* wurde, und dass man die Schreibart *ueilh* ver-

meiden wollte, weil dieselbe scheinbar einen Triphthongen *uei* darstellt, und derselbe dem Dialekte fremd ist. *uei* wurde also *uelh* geschrieben, und *uei* konnte nicht anders ausgedrückt werden. Die Reduktion zu *ui* kommt in unseren Texten nur im P. MOR. und den PöS. REL. vor. CLOETTA, p. 65 setzt für *orgulh* und *orguil* beide Mal *orgú(e)* als Aussprache an.

Im LOTHRINGISCHEN bleibt *o*. Auch hier hat sich *o* mit dem *i* des *i* zu *oi* verbunden, wie im NORMANNISCHEN. Nur auf diese Weise erklärt sich *y* vor *i* im BERN.; vgl. auch sonst *oyles* BERN. 114-9; *oyseles* 90-2. Der Copist schrieb *orgoyl*, da er vor der Aussprache *orgol* wahren wollte. Unsere Beispiele²³ stehen jedoch nicht im Einklang mit den von APFELSTEDT l. c., § 71 citierten Formen aus dem LOTH. Ps., wo *o* in regelmässig WALLONISCHER Weise zu *ue* geworden ist. Dasselbst findet sich auch *orgueil*, welches wir oben als Zwischenstufe, so zu sagen, zwischen *orguelh* und *orguilh* ansahen. Wie im NORMANNISCHEN konnte sich *oi* zu *ui* vertiefen; Beispiele im DIAL. und Yz. Merkwürdig ist DIAL. xxxi-15 *ouy* (= *œil*), womit neuwallonisch *ûy* zu vergleichen ist, bei HORNING, *Z. f. R. Ph.* ix, p. 485. Diese Schreibweise scheint beinahe die moderne Aussprache des *i* repräsentieren zu sollen. Es muss jedoch noch bemerkt werden, dass namentlich die unbetonten Formen im DIAL. ein nördlicheres Gepräge tragen.

In der CHAMPAGNE wird *o* zu *ue*; wenn dasselbe in den Anlaut tritt wird *oe* geschrieben. FÖRSTER, CLIG. p. lxxv setzt die Aussprache des *ue* = *üé* und findet natürlich viel Schwierigkeit die Schreibweise *oe* im Anlaut zu erklären. Er kommt zu dem Schlusse dass *o* nur der lat. Etymologie wegen gewählt wurde. *iel* (für *üél*) hätte für *jel* missverstanden werden können, wie *uel* für *vel*. Eine bessere Erklärung weiss ich nicht zu geben, doch ist schwer einzusehen, warum *ue* zu *üé* werden sollte. Sollte es nicht möglich sein, dass bei *o+y* (*uei*) das *u* zu *ü* erst unter dem Einflusse des *i* wurde, nachdem *uei* sich zu *ui* vereinfacht hatte? vgl. die neufrz. Aussprache *uit* für *oui*, (= *HOC ILLE*). Wo hingegen ein solches *i* Element sich nicht vorfand, blieb es mehr oder weniger *u*. Im CLIGES schreibt der Copist von A *boens* und *buens*; in diesem Worte waren also beide Schreibweisen für ihn gleichbedeutend, und beide bedeuten einen Klang der sich der Aussprache *ö* näherte.

In *nebetoniger* und *unbetonter* Silbe liegt die Sache ungefähr wie in der *betonten*. Im NORMANNISCHEN kann gesagt werden, dass *ui* mit Vorliebe der *unbetonten* Silbe angehört. AL. hat keine Belege. REIMP. nur *oi*. ROL. wechselte *betont uil oeill, oil, nebetonig* steht *ui* 2 Mal, *ueill* 1 Mal in *recueillit*, womit *betont acueillent*, zu vergleichen ist, *oi* einmal in *coillit*; *unbetont ui* 4 Mal in demselben Worte *orguillus*. Bestimmter zeigt sich die Tendenz im O. Ps.; *betont oi* 31 Mal, *ui* 8 Mal; *nebetonig oi* 10 Mal, *unbetont ui* 14 Mal. Q. L. D. R.

²³ Auch bei HORNING, "Ostfranzösische Grenzdialekte zwischen Metz und Belfort," § 84 findet sich ein Zweifel ausgesprochen ob *o* in der Verbindung *o+y* in den von ihm behandelten Dialekten diphthongierte.

betont *oi* 13 Mal, *ui* 12 Mal; *nebentonig* *oi* 2 Mal, *ui* 14 Mal, *unbetont* *ui* 3 Mal, *uei* 1 Mal. Hier zeigt sich also ein bestimmter Einfluss des *l̃*.

Im PIKARDISCHEN setzten wir in der *betonten* Silbe einen steigenden Diphthongen *uē*. Derselbe besteht auch *nebentonig* und *unbetont*. Zu bemerken ist CAR. *orgillous* neben *orguillous*. Hier ist der unbetonte Theil des Diphthongen gefallen, und *e* unter dem Einflusse des *l̃* zu *i* geworden. AUC. NIC. zeigt auch hier eigenthümliche Formen. Besonders hervorzuheben sind MIS. *aoillier*, *despoillier*, CAR. *moillier*, AUC. NIC. *recoulli*.

Für das WALLONISCHE bin ich nicht im Stande eine alles umfassende Erklärung zu geben. Die Schwierigkeit wird noch dadurch erhöht, dass die verschiedenen Schreibweisen sich nicht abwechselnd bei allen Wörtern finden. Die Formen vom Stamme *orguil* bieten die meisten Schwierigkeiten. Sonst finden sich im GREG. *oilh* und *olh* nebeneinander, JOB *uilh* und *oilh*. Im Gegensatz zur *betonten* Silbe scheint hier *o* sich nicht diphthongiert zu haben, vgl. GREG. *vuelh*, *voilhiez*; ob es schon zu *o* geworden war, ist fraglich. *orgillous* wird von CLOETTA, l. c. p. 9 besprochen. Die passendste Erklärung ist wohl, dass es *orgilos* mit gutturalem *g* darstellt. Das *i* wird auf ähnliche Weise wie *i* in *besinos* erklärt werden müssen. *orgalhose* P. MOR. 430-a ist mit *orgailhouse* und ähnlichen Formen im GREG. und JOB zusammenzustellen. Hier liegt ein anderer Beweis dass *ilh* in den letztgenannten Texten *l̃* bezeichnet. Muss *a* hier der in den östlichen Texten bestehenden Tendenz den vortonigen Vokal in *a* zu verwandeln, zugeschrieben werden? CLOETTA l. c. p. 84 möchte darin Einfluss des *l̃* sehen. Ein solcher Einfluss ist mir aber nicht bekannt.

Im LOTHRINGISCHEN wechseln *oi* und *ui* wie in *betonter* Silbe. Hieraus folgt dass *o* zu *o* geworden war. Wie schon oben bemerkt, stehen die Beispiele im DIAL. viel besser mit dem WALLONISCHEN im Einklang. Wunderbar ist *ergellit* DIAL. xxxii-21, womit *conkelhir* POÉS. REL. vi-7, und *tesmengnage* bei WILMOTTE, Rom. xvii, p. 560, § 23 zu vergleichen sind.

Im CLIGES kommt *o* in *unbetonter* Silbe nur zweimal vor, und da zeigt sich *o*.

RÉSUMÉ. Aus dem Obigen ergibt sich für die einzelnen Dialekte folgende Aussprache:

Betont: NORMANNISCH *oīl̃* (-*uīl̃*), ROL. -*oel̃*; PIKARDISCH -*uēl̃*; WALLONISCH -*uēl̃*; LOTHRINGISCH -*oīl̃* (-*uīl̃*); CHAMPAGNE -*oel̃*.

Unbetont: NORMANNISCH -*uīl̃* (-*oīl̃*); PIKARDISCH -*uel̃* (-*uīl̃*, -*iīl̃*); WALLONISCH -*oīl̃* (-*uīl̃*, -*aīl̃*); LOTHRINGISCH -*oīl̃* (-*uīl̃*); CHAMPAGNE -*oīl̃*.

F. *o*. + *l̃*.

AELT. DENK: (Keine Belege).

NORMANNISCH AL.—2. *nebentonig*: muillier 4-d; 6-b; 8-d; etc.

REIMP.—2 *nebentonig*: moillier(s) 8-b; 24-d.

ROL.—I *betont*: bruill 714; genuill 2923; Arguille 3259; 3527;—2

nebentonig: muillier(s) 42; 361; 1960; 2576; 3398; buillit 2228.

CHARL.—2 *nebentonig*: muillier 5; 234; 330; 364; 401; 444; 559.

O. PS.—3 *unbetont*: merguillerent 73-8; merguilled 105-36; agenuilluns 94-6.

Q. L. D. R.—1 *betont*: genuil 322-6;—2 *nebentonig*: muiller(s) 1-3; 2-9; (14 Mal.); muillier(s) 102-8; 114-5; (8 Mal.);—3 *unbetont*: agenuillez 264-14; agenuillad 346-15.

PIKARDISCH. MIS.—2 *nebentonig*: bouillon 26-9 (buillon);—3 *unbetont*: verollié 56-11 (veroillie); saoiillé 232-5 (sooiller).

CAR.—1 *betont*: soeille 71-11; (=souille).

AUC. NIC.—1 *betont*: genol 24-22;—2 *nebentonig*: moullier 3-11; mollier 8-28.

ANIEL; (Keine Belege).

WALLONISCH. P. MOR.—2. *nebentonig*: bolant 483-b; molhier 562-a.

POÉS. REL.: (Keine Belege).

GREG.—1 *betont*: genoilhes 184-3;—2 *nebentonig*: bolissant 98-1; 210-11; 242-15; bolissent 230-19.

SERM. Sap.—2 *nebentonig*: molhier 294-37.

JOB.—2 *nebentonig*: boilhanz 469-22.

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.—2 *nebentonig*: buillanz 50-35; 61-24.

DIAL. (Keine Belege).

YZ.—1 *betont*: renoille(s) iii; xxiii; 1123; 1131; xxx; xxxxi; goille 1124 (gouille im Jura; vgl. die Anmerkung von FÖRSTER zu diesem Worte.) ruillent 3490.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.—1 *betont*: agenoillent 338; agenoille 1579; 4293; genoil 6487; fenoil 6488;—2 *nebentonig*: boillant 6004;—3 *unbetont*: agenoilliez 336; 4094.

Betont. Im NORMANNISCHEN steht überall ausser in der REIMP. *u*; die letztere hat *ø*. Die Vertiefung ist durch dass folgende *l* hervorgebracht worden. Man könnte an Umlaut denken, stände *u* nicht auch, wo es keinen Umlaut geben konnte. Ob *u^l* oder *ü^l* gesprochen wurde, wird sich wohl kaum entscheiden lassen. G. PARIS, Al., p. 101 schreibt *u^l*. Der Unterschied zwischen beiden Aussprachen ist natürlich nur ein sehr geringer. Aus Analogie zu den anderen Vokalen (*ái^l*, *éi^l*, *öi^l*) könnte man geneigt sein auch hier die Aussprache *ü^l* anzunehmen. Im PIKARDISCHEN steht *o*, gesprochen *ø*. *soeille* CAR. 71-11 bedeutet nfrz. *souille*. Die Ableitung ist jedoch ungewiss; hier steht das Wort im Reime mit *merveille*: *oeille*. Dieselbe Aussprache *ø^l* besteht im WALLONISCHEN. Für das LOTHRINGISCHE und CHAMPAGNE gilt entweder *o^l* oder *öi^l*, wie im NORMANNISCHEN.

In unbetonter Silbe steht NORMANNISCH *u*, (REIMP. *ø*) PIKARDISCH *o*, *ou* (*u*) also *u*, WALLONISCH *ø*, LOTHRINGISCH *u*, CHAMPAGNE *ø*; die Aussprache war also überall ungefähr dieselbe, nemlich *ø* oder *u*.

G. *u*.+*l*.

Für *u*+*l* giebt es nur wenige Beispiele.

1 *betont*: Puille ROL. 371; CHARL. 102; CAR. 21-12; Pulhe GREG. 118-18; festuil P. MOR. 348-d; aiguille Y. 2137.

Es wurde wohl *ü* gesprochen; *festuil* reimt mit *combatut*. Zu bemerken ist jedoch, dass *Puille* neufrz. *Pouille* ist, was also auf frühere Aussprache *o* (*u*) schließen lässt. Ueber *aiguille* nur, dass es auch *ACŪLEA sein kann. LÜCKING, 'Mundarten' p. 185 und p. 266 giebt ACŪLEONEM als Etymon für *aiguillon* von ACULEUS, ACULIONIS, welches in den REICH. Gl. 124 vorkommt.

3 *unbetont*: aiguillun CHARL. 286. aguillons Q. L. D. R. 44-18; aguillons Mis. 181-5; aguillon(s) GREG. 59-20; 100-11; 139-12; 220-1; aguillon JOB. 455-8; aguillon(s) 483-15; 493-25; 508-24; 514-6-24; auuillon(s) 9-14-20-24-29; 158-21; 177-14; aguillenant Yz. 1771; Puillanie ROL. 2328; Puillain ROL. 2923.

III.

Es gilt einige Unregelmässigkeiten in der Mouillierung zu besprechen.

Wir nehmen zuerst die drei Verba *saillir*, *faillir*, *valoir*. Die Formen sind oben unter *a+ĭ* gegeben. Die Schreibweisen sind oft recht wunderbar; so z. B. *salir* JOB. 503-27, *salit* GREG. 30-1, *asair* P. MOR. 92-c. Die Mouillierung ist wohl aus den stammbetonten Formen SALIO, etc., in den Infinitiv eingedrungen; nur muss die Endung desselben (*ir*) auch einen gewissen Einfluss dabei ausgeübt haben, sonst sollte man auch **vaillir* erwarten, eine Form, welche meines Wissens nicht existiert; (oder deutet *valissant* R. d. CAMBRAI 1452, *vallisant* ALIX. 175-35, *vaillissant*, GAUFR. 1103 bei STIMMING, *Z. f. R. Ph.* x, p. 530 auf einen Infinitiv **vaillir*?). Es gilt auch zu bemerken, dass solche abnorme Schreibarten, wie *salir* in unseren Texten fast nur bei diesen Wörtern, oder Ableitungen von denselben vorkommen. Oft lässt sich auch nicht bestimmen, ob *ĭ* überhaupt vorliegt; vgl. *valent* DIAL. iv-5 mit *vaillent* Yz. 1300; vgl. noch *salent* CHEV. ii esp. 873, bei FÖRSTER, Ausg. p. xlix. Jedoch ist es überhaupt zweifelhaft, ob die Formen mit einfachem *l* mouillierte Aussprache andeuten sollen. Im 16 Jhr. war Wechsel zwischen *ĭ* und *l* ziemlich häufig; vgl. die Beispiele bei THUROT, 'De la Prononciation Française' ii, pp. 300-306. Die aus unseren Texten sich da wiederfindenden Wörter sind *rejaillir*, *bonillir*, *valoir*, *prévaille*, *Itale* (neben *Itaille*). Wunderbarer Weise finden sich *saillir* und *faillir* nicht unter den dort aufgeführten Beispielen. Die Wörter in *-ille* zeigen die wenigsten Ausnahmen; vgl. oben.

FRAGILIS und GRACILIS werden am besten auch hier behandelt. Es finden sich die folgenden Formen. AL. *fraile(s)* 2-d; 14-d; ROL. *grailles* 700; 1004; *graisle(s)* 739; 1319; 1454; 1832; 2150; 2443; 2951; 3113; 3138; 3158; 3194; 3301; 3309; 3820; CHARL. *graisle* 304; Mis. *fraisle* 193-3 (*fraile*); CAR. *graisle* 133-4; *fraisle* 216-3; AUC. Nic. *graille* 12-24; *frales* 2-7; P. MOR. *fraile* 125-c; *frailhe* 428-a; BERN. *fraile* 15-19; 23-21; *fraileteiz* 26-3; 42-4; 145-35; *fraileteit* 23-30 (*fragilitet* 67-5.); CLIG. *gresle(s)* 1476; 1528. *graisle* hat wohl

nie \tilde{l} gehabt; in *grailles* im ROL. muss Assimilation des *s* zu *l* stattgefunden haben; vgl. ähnliche Beispiele, *brulle* O. Ps. 35-25; *illes* (insula) 71-5. AUC. NIC. *grailles* könnte \tilde{l} bedeuten, doch steht dort auch *vallet* 21-7. Anders mit FRAGILIS. G. PARIS. *Rom.*, xv p. 620 Anm. behauptet, dass FRAGILEM unter Einfluss von GRACILEM zu FRACILEM geworden sei, und sich dann gleich diesem entwickelt habe. "FRAGILEM n'aurait donné que *frail*, l'*e* ne s'explique pas." Wie erklärt er dann aber P. MOR. *frailhe*, welches doch sicher \tilde{l} und *e* hat. Analogie zu GRACILEM muss angenommen werden, aber ob dieselbe so früh eintrat wie G. PARIS sie setzt, ist die Frage. Es will mir scheinen, als ob *gráisle* erst *fráisle* hervorgerufen habe.²⁴

Die Verhärtung des *lj* zu *lg* ist NORMANNISCHE und ANGLONORMANNISCHE Eigenthümlichkeit; vgl. *Al. alge* 27-d; *tolget* 101-e; 125-b; ROL. *alge* 187; 390; 1646; 1657; *algent* 2061; *alges* 2978; *algiez* 2673; O. Ps. *parolgent* 33-13; *alge* 38-18; *tolgent* 39-19; *tolges* 50-12; Q. L. D. R. *parolge* 39-5; 169-7; 224-16; 357-3; *alge* 81-2; 124-2; (vgl. auch *cilg* FR. D. VAL).

ALIUD oder *ALIUM hätte *al* geben sollen, was sich aber nicht findet; die gewöhnliche Form ist *el* (Q. L. D. R. 133-9). Es wird wohl von *ALUM herzuleiten sein.

Palie setzt G. PARIS=*palye*, also ohne \tilde{l} . Ihm widerspricht KOSCHWITZ, 'Ueberl. u. Spr.', p. 26. G. PARIS hat aber Recht; vgl. *Al. palie* 28-c; ROL. *palie(s)* 110; 272; 303; 397; 408; 463; 2965; 2973; CHARL. *palie(s)* 210; 268; 273; 281; 294; 301; 332; 697; 706; 746; P. MOR. *pailie* 388-b; *pailes* 146-b; GREG. *palies* 106-19. *l* wurde hier nicht mouilliert, weil das Wort ein Fremdwort war und weil es von *paille* (lat. PALEA) Q. L. D. R. 4-16 getrennt gehalten werden musste.

Ein 'mot savant' ist auch OLEUM. Es zeigt nie die zu erwartende Mouillierung. Die verschiedenen in unseren Texten vorkommenden Formen sind O. Ps. *olie* 22-7; Q. L. D. R. *uetie* 32-8; *ulie* 58-3. CAR. *ole* 35-c; GREG. *oile* 30-12; JOB. *oile* 446-24; BERN. *ole* 25-27; *oile* 134-34; *oyles* 80-3.

IV.

Wir kommen jetzt zur Betrachtung von \tilde{l} + Consonanten. Zuerst

I. \tilde{l} + s(z).

Die Untersuchung muss sich mit den folgenden Fragen beschäftigen: War *l* hier \tilde{l} und warum wurde *z* für *s* geschrieben? Wie wurde der Vokal vor *l* ausgesprochen? Auch hier kommt der Unterschied der Dialekte in Betracht. Wir finden *z* für *s* in EUL., PASS²⁵. 'AL., REIMP., ROL., CHARL., O. Ps., (C. Ps.), Q. L. D. R., BERN., DIAL., Yz., doch findet sich im BERN. einige Male *s*. P. MOR., GREG., JOB, kennen mit wenigen Ausnahmen überhaupt nur *lz* für \tilde{l} + s und *l* + s.

²⁴ vgl. auch RAMBEAU, l. c. p. 100. G. PARIS, *Al.* p. 101 setzt *fraille* noch mit \tilde{l} . STENGEL, *Z. f. R. Ph.* 1, p. 107 nimmt *graille* fälschlich als ältere Form an: so auch SCHWAN, 'Grammatik' § 177. — KÖRITZ 'c vor e und i im Normannischen,' p. 18.

²⁵ In der PASS. steht *ls* für *l* + s und lat. *ll* + s.

Im PIKARDISCHEN stand *ls*: das beweisen einmal die Formen in *us* oder *x*, und es findet sich auch noch hier und da *ls* geschrieben, so namentlich in der Mailänder Hs. des *Mis.* herausg. von MAVER., vgl. auch *perils*, FR. D. VAL. In der CHAMPAGNE ist *l̃* > *u* geworden: doch werden noch immer *us* (= *ls*) und *uz* (= *lz*) streng auseinander gehalten. So würde also die Schreibung *lz* sich auf das NORM. LOTH. und CHAMP. erstrecken, während der Nordosten *ls*, der Norden *lz* überhaupt nicht kennen. Es sind verschiedene Theorien über die Natur dieses *lz* aufgestellt worden. SCHUCHARDT, *Rom.* iii, p. 285, sieht *z* nur als orthographisches Zeichen der Nicht-Mouillierung an, im Gegensatz zu G. PARIS, AL. p. 101, der dasselbe als Zeichen der Mouillierung ansieht. Solche Formen wie *amirailz* im ROL. erklärt SCHUCHARDT, indem er sagt "on conserva l'orthographe, et préféra marquer seulement le changement de prononciation par la lettre de flexion. Si l'on avait supprimé l'*i*, on n'aurait pas eu besoin du *z*; *genols* ou *genoilz*." Die Beispiele weiter unten werden zeigen wie wenig haltbar jene Stellung ist. CHABANEAU behandelt diesen Punkt *Rev. d. Lang. Rom.* vi, p. 94. Er sagt daselbst "le *j* engagé dans la consonne complexe *lh*, si *s* vient de suivre, se détache de *l* pour s'unir à *s* et donner à cette consonne de quoi former 'un son plus sifflant.'" *l̃* bestand also zuerst im acc. sing. und nom. plur. In den andern Casus war das *l* zuerst nicht mouilliert; die Mouillierung schlich sich jedoch durch Analogie bald in dieselben ein. Dadurch verlor *z* aber seine '*raison d'être*', und man schrieb *s*. So findet sich *s* neben *z* im BERN. und im xiii Jahrh. ist *z* ganz selten. (*solelz*, *soleilz*, *soleils*). In andern Texten mouillierte sich das *l* nicht, sondern fiel, (vgl. JOB *fiz*, *solez*) oder wurde zu *u*; eine Entwicklung, deren Ueberreste die Plurale in *-aux* und *-eux* sind. Vor ihm hatte THOMSEN schon beiden, SCHUCHARDT und G. PARIS widersprochen, indem er *Mém. d. l. soc. d. ling. d. Paris*, iii p. 119, dem *z* in diesen Fällen den Klang *z̃* (oder *ž*) zuschreibt, und fragt ob *z* in diesem Falle später *ts* geworden sei, oder ob die Orthographie schon durch Ueberlieferung festgestellt war. Anders erklärt HORNING *Rom. Stud.* iv, p. 627. Nach ihm trat in der Gruppe *lys* ein *d* zwischen *l* und *y* (also *ldys*) dann fiel das *y* und *lds* wurde *lz*. *l* vor *z* könne dann also nicht mehr *l̃* sein.

In folgendem soll ein Versuch gemacht werden, Licht auf die Frage zu werfen, indem wir die Vokale vor dem *l* mit in Betracht ziehen, und die Texte nach Dialekten scheiden.

A. *a* + *l̃* + *s*(*z*).

AELT. DENK. (Keine Belege).

NORMANNISCH. AL. REIMP. (Keine Belege).

ROL.: *amirailz* 967; 1663; 2602; (23 Mal.) *amirailz* 2615; (5 Mal.) *mailz* 3663.

CHARL.: (Keine Belege).

O. P.: *travalz* 9-29; 72-16; 77-51; 87-16; 89-11; 138-10; *travailz* 104-42.

Q. L. D. R.: travailz 205-9; 230-15; nualz 191-7; 308-11; 309-10.

PIKARDISCH. MIS.: travaus 126-7; (travax). CAR. AUC. NIC. ANIEL: (Keine Belege).

WALLONISCH. P. MOR.: travaz 461-d; travas p. 224-iv.

POÉS. REL.: (Keine Belege).

GREG.: travalz 6-25; 31-17; 57-3; 60-15; travaz 63-20; 211-2; (metauz 202-18).

Serm. Sap.: (Keine Belege).

JOB.: travalz 461-12; 467-11; 489-32.

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.: travalz 22-5; 24-5; 62-10; 151-10; travals 70-23; 83-16; 89-1; 105-17; 151-11; 162-3.

DIAL.: travaz xxxii-5.

Yz.: (Keine Belege).

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.: travauz 1518; 4576; 5508; mauz 6027.

Die Sache liegt also doch ganz klar hier. Es wurde *-alz* gesprochen, und wo *-ailz* steht, ist das *i* durch Analogie zu den unflektierten Formen geschrieben; auch im obliquus drückte es in den meisten Fällen ja nur die Mouillierung des *l* aus. Im LOTHRINGISCHEN, wo *ail(le)* wie *êle* gesprochen wurde, wird man annehmen müssen, dass *a* rein blieb, weil *lz* Silbenschluss bildete. *l* war nicht mouilliert; es wäre ja dann in bei Weitem der Mehrzahl der Fälle nicht ausgedrückt. Im WALLONISCHEN und LOTHRINGISCHEN kann das *l* fallen; *metauz* GREG. zeigt ganz unregelmässige Endung. Meines Erachtens zeigen die Beispiele ganz deutlich, dass *l* in dieser Stellung in den ältesten Texten nicht mouilliert war und dass *i* ein späteres wahrscheinlich anglonormannisches Einschleissel ist. Dieser letztere Dialekt scheint eine eigenthümliche Entwicklung eingeschlagen zu haben. Im BRANDAN findet sich der Reim *travailz*:²⁶ *calz*; vgl. HAMMER, 'Die Sprache der agn. Brandanlegende.' p. 30. Bei BENOÎT *muraiz*: *refaiz* 3035; *travailz*: *paiz* 3354; *travaiz*: *faiz* 12605; vgl. SETTEGAST, l. c. p. 33. Schon oben kamen wir zu dem Schlusse, dass im ANGLONORMANNISCHEN der Gleiter vom *a* zu *î* sich zeitig zum selbstständigen Vokale entwickelt haben müsse, wodurch dann *aille* zu *êle* wurde, und mit *ê*+*î* reimen konnte. Zur Erklärung von Formen wie *travaiz* schlägt SETTEGAST drei Weisen vor: 1. Wechsel zwischen *u* und *i*, der bei Diphthongen nicht unerhört ist; 2. Burgundisches *ai* für *a*; 3. oder vielleicht Versetzung des Erweichung wirkenden *i*, die mit jener von DIEZ (Gr. i³. p. 439) vermutheten Bildung von *yeux* aus *eulx* zu vergleichen wäre. Die passendste Erklärung findet sich bei STOCK, *Rom. Stud.* iii, p. 448, dass in der Formel *voc+i+*l+s* das **l* schwand "bei vorhergehendem Diphthongen und folgendem Sibilanten, zur Vermeidung eines Triphthongen, da das Französische Triphthongen nicht liebt." Die Sache gestaltet sich aber noch anders, wenn man mit ANDRESEN, 'Metrum Assonanz und Reim,' p. 23 annehmen darf, dass *-aiz* seinen Ursprung im Reime hat. *-aiz* für *-ailz* ist ganz selten ausserhalb des

²⁶ Warum HAMMER hier das *i* in *travails* ausstreicht ist nicht einzusehen. Selbst neben *travals* in demselben Texte, wäre der Reim *travails*: *calz* möglich.

Reimes, SETTEGAST selbst führt für den ganzen BENOÎT nur *repositaiz* neben unsicherem *averaiz* an. Dann wäre *travalz* unter Einfluss von *travail* (=travêl) zu *travailz* (=travêlz) geworden, und *l* wäre dann nur dem Reime zu Liebe unterdrückt.

B. $\epsilon + \tilde{l} + s(z)$.

AELT. DENK.: EUL. melz 16; Pass. melz 27; 151.

NORMANNISCH. AL.: vielz 2-d; mielz 4-b; 4-e; 97-e.

REIMP.: mielz 63-d; 128-d.

ROL.: mielz 44; 58; 359; 516; 539; 639; 750; 1091; 1475; 1646; 1701; 1725; 1743; 1822; 2473; 3715; 3909; mieilz 536; 2738; vielz 523; 538; 797; 905; 929; 970; 3050; vieilz 171; 1771, 2409; 2615; 2807; miez 2336.

O. Ps.: mielz 12-4; 36-17; 51-7; 64-3; vielz 118-100; viez 104-20; p. 235-5.

Q. L. D. R.: vielz 1-10; 19-2; 89-15; veilz 53-8; mielz 9-15; 49-6; (35 Mal).

PIKARDISCH. MIS. mieus 3-3; 6-5; (23 Mal.) (mix, miex, miels) mius 17-2; vieus 257-1. Die gewöhnliche Form ist *viês* von VETUS.

CAR.: mius 7-9; 65-5; (21 Mal); mieus 210-2.

AUC. NIC.: mix 2-21; 8-18; 14-13; 16-14; 17-16; 20-24; 22-27; 24-84; vix 2-7; sonst vies.

ANIEL: mieus 91; (vies 312).

WALLONISCH. P. MOR.: miez 142-d; xviii; 266-d; 281-c; 286-b; 327-c; 335-c; 402-c; 488-a; 565-d; 578-a; meaz 277-a; c; 469-d; mielz 141-a.

POÉS REL.: (Keine Belege).

GREG. viez 5-14; 30-12; 61-14; 108-8; 143-8; 206-2; miez 7-1; 44-13; 49-2; (22 Mal).

SERM. SAP.: (Keine Belege).

JOB.: miez 448-27; 463-11; 479-13; 485-30; 490-3; 498-32; 511-23; 517-35.

LOTHRINGISH. BERN.: miez 15-1; 17-1; (16 Mal); mielz 37-2; viez 27-18; 106-37; 107-11; 110-12; 138-9; 173-1.

DIAL.: miez v-17; xiii-14; xxii-5; xxx-16-17; xxxi-10; mioz viii-12; miaz xxvii-24; miuz xxvii-36; viez xiii-10.

Yz.: muez 49; 409; (8 mal); miez 50; 599; (29 Mal); viez 562; 1371.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.: miauz 26; 527; etc.

Die Beispiele zeigen deutlich dass *l* nicht mouilliert war. ϵ wurde zu *ie* unter Einfluss der Form ohne *z*. In *mielz*, mit bisher unerklärtem *ie* liegt Einfluss von *vielz* vor. Meine Gründe für Annahme von Analogie bei diesem Worte habe ich MOD. LANG. NOTES, v., col. 104, im Einzelnen dargelegt und gehe deshalb hier nicht weiter darauf ein. *Mieilz* und *vieilz* sind nur analogische Schreibarten; vgl. *vieilz* ROL. 2807 in *ie* Assonanz. Die Formen *mius* und *mix* zeigen die PIKARDISCHE Reduktion von *ieu* zu *iu*. *meaz*, *miaz*, *mioz*, *miuz* sind unter dem Einfluss des alveolaren *l* entstanden. Yz. *muez* zeigt Labialisierung von *i* zu *u*.

C. $\epsilon + \tilde{l} + s(z)$.

AELT. DENK.: PASS. conselz 78; solelz 311; soleilz 390. (vgl. fedels 92; fidels 98; 112; 119; 504).

NORMANNISCH. AL.: fideilz 59-d.

REIMP.: (Keine Belege).

ROL.: fedeilz 29; 84; 505; cameilz 31; 129; 179; 184; 228; 847; cunseilz 604; soleilz 980; 1002; 2459; 2481; vermeilz 999; 1800.

CHARL.: conseilz 73; aisselz 285; soleilz 383; 443.

O. PS.: cunseilz 9-23; 12-2; 20-11; 32-10; 65-4; conseilz 118-24; fedeilz 77-41; 88-36; 100-8; 110-7; 144-14; p. 242-5; soleilz 103-20-23; 120-6; p. 240-17; p. 248-4.

Q. L. D. R.: soleilz 22-20; 127-5; 211-1; 339-9; 354-3; chameilz 53-8; 107-12; 116-9; 301-10; 375-9; cameilz 271-9; cunseilz 181-8-12; 182-19; 408-9; orteilz 204-7; vermez 211-14.

PIKARDISCH. MIS.: consous 31-7; 105-12; 114-2-6; consaus 118-12, (consols, consaus); paraus 126-10; solaus 136-3; vermaus 195-8.

CAR.: solaus 174-5; conseus 194-4-12.

AUC. NIC.: ortex 12-26; soumax 18-5.

ANIEL: (Keine Belege).

WALLONISCH. P. MOR.: conselz 155-b; soloz 389-b; solez 439-d.

POËS. REL.: (Keine Belege).

GREG.: chamoiz 217-2; (feoz 7-10; 18-6; 15 Mal);).

SERM. SAP.: soloz 283-23-24; 286-41.

JOB.: conselz 443-17; 494-34; 497-16-21-34; 504-7; solez 513-31; chamoiz 495-9-16-17-20-29; 501-13-15; 502-9-10-22.

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.: consolz 76-29; 136-4; soloz 6-4; 17-20; 34-15; 48-7(2); 54-37; 86-36; (feolz 23-34).

DIAL.: (Keine Belege).

YZ.: solaz 361; 394; consaz 1545.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.: vermauz 1263; 2760; solauz 1264; 2759; 5008; 6413; consauz 1663; 2637; 3235; parauz 4488.

Für die Aussprache im NORMANNISCHEN sind ROL. 84 *fedeilz*, 999 *vermeilz* beweisend; beide stehen in *ei* Assonanz. Die Orthographie ist auch ganz regelmässig *-eilz* mit der einzigen Ausnahme von *aisselz* CHARL. 285; *vermez* Q. L. D. R. 211-14 steht in jeder Hinsicht allein. Es ist auch hier wieder zu beachten, dass nach ANDRESEN, l. c., p. 24, *-eiz* mit Ausfall des *l* fast nur im Reime vorkommt. Die von HORNING *Rom. Stud.*, iv p. 631-632 geforderte Form *solelz* (wo *i* ausgefallen sein soll, um die Aussprache zu erleichtern,) gehört den östlichen Dialekten an, und zeigt eine andere Entwicklung des Vokals. Für das PIKARDISCHE hat man zwei Reihen zu setzen. Auf der einen Seite wurde *-els* zu *-als* (*solaus*, *soumax*,) (vgl. *aus* von ILLOS bei van Hamel l. c., p. cxiv). Hier liegt ein anderer Beweis dass *l̃* zu gewöhnlichem dentalen oder alveolaren *l* geworden war.²⁷ Auf der anderen Seite konnte *consels* direct sein *l* vokalisieren, und zu

²⁷ *37 consaus* bedeutet nicht *consols* > *consous* > *consaus*, da nach VAN HAMEL l. c., p. cxv Diphthongierung von *ol* > *ou* > *au* in diesen Gedichten nicht stattfand.

consens werden; vgl. AUC. NIC. *ortex*. Neben beiden findet sich noch *consous*. VAN HAMEL, l. c., p. cxv leitet diese Form von **consols* ab. Es will mir jedoch scheinen, als ob *consous* einfach aus der Mischung⁸⁸ zwischen freiem und gedecktem *ó*, welche in beiden Gedichten herrscht, zu erklären sei. Die Gedichte gehören in das zwölfte Jahrhundert; also ungefähr in die Zeit, wo *ou* zu *eu* wurde; vgl. SCHWAN, 'Grammatik' § 284. Im WALLONISCHEN ist erstens *soloz* der Etymologie wegen auszuschneiden. Im übrigen scheinen die flectierten Formen den unflectierten angepasst zu sein. Auf *feoz* kann kein Beweis gegründet werden; die gewöhnliche Form im GREG. ist *feol*, einmal erscheint das fem. *feeiles* 210-7; vgl. auch *feaules* BERN. 23-33 und oft. *ī* hat hier nicht bestanden. Wie für die Wörter mit *-oilh* (vgl. oben) wird man auch hier südlicheren Einfluss annehmen müssen. Dem Dialekte wird hier, wie auch für *-eilh* die Aussprache *-elz* zukommen. Im LOTHRINGISCHEN steht *consolz* für *consêlz* mit gefallenem *e*. Yz. *consaz*⁸⁹ neben *consoit* hat *a* ähnlich wie *aparalle* DIAL. xxxv-6. *consoêlz* wurde zu *consêlz* > *consalz* > *consaz*. *Solauz* im CLIGES erklärt sich durch *solalz*, wo *a* vor *l* auf dieselbe Weise entstanden ist, wie im PIK. *solals* > *solaus*. (*Soleilz* > *solêlz* > *solalz*).

Die Tafel bei ULBRICH, *Z. f. R. Ph.*, ii p. 540 ist unzureichend, weil nicht alle Formen gegeben sind, und weil sie keine Rücksicht auf dialektische Unterschiede nimmt. In folgendem ist dieselbe auf jene zwei Punkte hin verbessert. Ich behalte **SOLICULUS* bei; als Beleg für das WALLONISCHE dient *conselz*, und in den anderen Texten stimmt **SOLICULUS* mit den Wörtern gleicher Gattung überein. Alle in unseren Texten nicht vorkommenden Formen sind mit Sternchen(*) bezeichnet.

⁸⁸ Vgl. die Reime *oïseus : vignereus : prechions : consens*, CAR. 194; *vons : prechions : souffraitous : dous*, MIS. 252; *eu* in *consens* war dem zwischen *ou* und *eu* stehenden Klange so ähnlich, dass der Schreiber auch in diesem Worte *ou* und *eu* wechseln liess, wie in *prechions* und *prechions*.

⁸⁹ Yz. *consaz* lässt zwei Erklärungen zu. Es entstand ähnlich wie in *aparalle* DIAL. xxxv-6 aus *consoêlz* > *consêlz* > *consalz*, oder es ist mit CLIGES *consaus* zusammenzustellen.

D. $i + \tilde{l} + s(z)$.

AELT. DENK.: FR. D. VAL. perils recto 27. PASS.: filz 263; 312; (chamsils 344;) LEG. fils 16.

NORMANNISCH. AL.: filz 11-b; 22-a; (16 Mal); fils 88-b; (gentils 96-c).

REIMP.: periz 18-f; 24-b; fiz 24-a; 37-f; 39-a; 76-c.

ROL.: filz 42; 149; (23 Mal); gentilz 150; 176; (12 Mal); gresilz 1425; perilz 2387.

CHARL.: gresilz 378; gupilz 599; filz 739; 765.

O. Ps.: filz 2-7; 8-5; (76 Mal); fiz 9-1; 10-5; 71-1; gupilz 62-9; perilz 114-3.

Q. L. D. R.: filz 7-10; 35-9; fiz 1-1-2; etc. die gewöhnliche Form. hustilz 44-17; ustilz 244-18; barilz 177-15.

PIKARDISCH. MIS.: perius 6-3; 259-10 (perieus); gentius 64-8; 121-10; 203-1 (gentiex, gentix); soutius 64-10; 113-5; 121-8; 222-10 (soutiex); cortius 64-11; (cortiex); fius 81-11; 122-2; 162-6; 173-1; 217-4-6; 237-12; 240-5; 268-5 (fiex, fius); goupilus 121-6 (goupieix); vius 121-11; 204-1-2 (vix).

CAR.: fius 19-12; 20-1; 62-2; 107-12; 110-3; 234-7; 239-10; soutius 44-7; 62-1; 110-7; perius 59-12; 90-11; 102-8; 239-11; vius 62-9; 103-4; 153-12; gentius 110-6; gresius 160-12; cortius 219-6; 220-2; 223-7.

AUC. NIC.: lis 11-12-31; 19-12; gentis 29-2; gentix 13-6; 27-2; 36-6; 37-10; fiz 1-19-27; 4-14; 8-13-14-26-33; 10-41-45; 24-34; 25-13; 30-7.

ANIEL.: fieus 65; 86; (16 Mal); gentieus 413.

WALLONISCH. P.Mor.: gentiz 69-a; 331-c; 390-c; 444-b; fiz 71-a; 322-a.

POÉS. REL.: fiz i-30; iv-14 (fis i-3; iv-14); fis viii-21.

GREG.: filz 5-9; 17-11; (14 Mal); enfantilz 8-12; vilz 27-22; holpiz 40-19-21; 41-1-2; periz 66-12; 277-20; cortiz 67-13; bergilz 155-15.

SERM. SAP.: filz 284-1; 286-30; (10 Mal); subtiz 289-28;

JOB.: filz 446-9; 463-8; 486-17; 491-31; 492-21-22; 498-27; 499-8; 505-4; fiz 443-23; liz 441-20-23; suptiz 482-1; 496-6.

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.: filz 2-10; 24-18-22-26; etc.; fils 25-36; (gentils 21-12; vils 29-3; subtils 99-23; enfantis 67-23;) lilz 9-14; 166-10; perilz 24-6; 153-24-29; 154-11; periz 14-32; 129-15-20; 143-14-16-18; 154-14; 158-3-6; 159-1; 164-14.

DIAL.: perilz iii-8; ix-20; periz vi-12; xx-11-12; vgl. wunderbares perilsce iii-9; =peril+s; fiz xxvii-75.

Yz.: silz (=cilz) 5; cilz 94; 99; (23 Mal); ciz 3275; soutilz 5; filz 91; 1441; fiz 353; 1429; 2091; 2097; 2633; fils 1419; vulpiz 1609; periz 2597; 2795; vilz 3052.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.: fiz 99; 172; 179; 192; 224; 2136; (fiz 1568 =filum); lis 819; 4913; (jantis 4417).

Zu bemerken ist *filz* AL. 88-b, für *filz*, was wohl ein Versehen ist. *l* konnte im NORMANNISCHEN zeitig fallen; so immer in der REIMP., dreimal im O. Ps. in *fiz* und immer in den Q. L. D. R. in demselben Worte. *filz* ist die gewöhnliche Form dieses Wortes auch im acc. sing. doch kommt *fil* auch vor. GRÖBER hat gewiss Recht wenn er sagt, *Z. f. R. Ph.* vi p. 486, dass *fil* (FILUM) den acc. *fil* (FILIUM) ver-

30. *filz* findet sich auch im C. Ps. 106-15 bei SCHUMANN l. c., p. 49.

drängt habe. Interessant ist *fiz* CLIG. 1568 wo der umgekehrte Fall eingetreten ist, und wo *fiz* (FILIUS) FILUM angezogen hat. Im PIKARDISCHEN vokalisierte *l* und dann entstand nach dialektischer Eigenthümlichkeit *ieu* aus *iu*. NEUMANN, Lautl., p. 41 setzt diese Entwicklung ungefähr ums Jahr 1250; vgl. auch TOBLER, ANIEL, p. xxvi. *l* konnte jedoch auch fallen, so im AUC. NIC. *lis* und *gentis*. Im WALLONISCHEN fiel *l*. In unseren Texten ist keine feste Regel eingehalten. So auch im LOTHRINGISCHEN. BERN. hat einmal *fil/s*. *Gentils, vils, subfils* in demselben Texte scheinen zu zeigen, dass *l* in diesen Wörtern nicht *l̃* war. Ähnlich im CLIGES; zu bemerken ist *lis* neben *fiz*.

Es zeigt sich also hier dieselbe Tendenz, wie beim gewöhnlichen *l*. Im NORMANNISCHEN fing *l* nach *i* früh an zu fallen, im PIKARDISCHEN wurde es zu *u*, im Osten sollte es der Regel nach fallen. Das Erhalten des *l* im BERN. ist auffallend wegen des Alters des Textes. *l* war nicht *l̃*.

E. $\varrho + l + s(z)$.

AELT. DENK. PASS.: olz 52; 293; ols 185; orgolz 56; LÉG. ols 154; 171.

NORMANNISCH. AL.: oilz 49-b.

REIMP.: (Keine Belege).

ROL.: oelz 297; 3629; oilz 304; 682; 1131; 1217; 1328; 1355; 1446; 2285; 2290; 2890; 2943; 3645; 4001; orguilz 389; 1549.

CHARL.: oilz 504; (faldestulz 85).

O. PS. oilz 5-5; 6-7; 12-4; (29 Mal).

Q. L. D. R.: oilz 10-8; 304-7; 358-11-15; 367-16-18; 368-10; 414-2; 435-7; uilz 425-10; orguilz 414-17.

PIKARDISCH. MIS.: orguieus 77-10; 78-1-2; (32 Mal); (orguels, orgueils, orgueus, orgueis, orgues); ieus 102-3-4; 133-1; (10 Mal); (oex, ex, iex); kieus 85-10; (quils).

CAR.: ieus 58-12; 81-11; 220-5; orguieus 231-4.

AUC. NIC.: ex 14-12; 15-8; 22-19; 24-17.

ANIEL.: ieus 48; 387.

WALLONISCH. P. MOR.: orguez 126-c; 468-a-c-d; 470-a-b-c; 473-a; orguelz 127-a; uez 360-b; uelz 355-c; 507-c; olz 465-d.

POÉS. REL.: iez vii-7.

GREG.: oez 5-7; 6-10; 24-5; (68 Mal).

SERM. SAP.: oelz 284-25; oez 297-9; orguez 288-33; 291-8; 295-15.

JOB.: oez 441-15; 442-22; 443-14; (33 Mal); orguez 451-9-11; 453-11; 455-4; 504-22; orguelz 453-18.

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.: orgoilz 2-32; 4-2; 58-26; 104-35-40; 156-35; oylz 5-34; 21-21; 36-2; (21 Mal); oilz 3-25; 47-29; 173-34; oyls 118-39.

DIAL.: orgueuz xii-22; orgouz xxxii-25; ouz xxx-26-32; ouiz xxxi-17; oez xxxiii-1-2-4; oiz xxxiii-10.

YZ.: eaz 361; 3115; 3122.

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.: iauz 259; 474; (28 Mal).

Im NORMANNISCHEN ist *oi* (*ui*) die gewöhnliche Schreibweise. Dass im ROL. *oe* gesprochen wurde, dafür spricht die zweimalige Stellung von *oelz* in *oe* Assonanz. Auch vor *l* wird *o* ja dort zu *oe*. In den anderen Texten wurde *oi* (*ui*) gesprochen, wie auch in den unflektierten Formen. Im ANGLONORMANNISCHEN wurde dieses *ui* zu *ui*, da sich bei BENOÎT Reime wie *duiz*: *uiz*, *orguilz*: *nui*z, *oiz*z: *ennuiz* finden; vgl. STOCK, *Rom. Stud.* iii., pp. 459 und 471; *oiz*z: *viz* bei SETTEGAST l. c. p. 23. Formen mit gefallenem *l* finden sich in unseren Texten nicht. Nach ANDRESEN, l. c., p. 26 sind dieselben sehr selten, und dann meistens nur im Reime.

Im PIKARDISCHEN wurde *o* zu *uê*. Dieses muss zeitig seinen ersten Bestandtheil verloren haben, (in *orguicus* ist das erste *u* nur graphisch,) und *ê* diphthongierte in PIKARDISCHER Weise zu *ie*, welches sich mit dem *u* aus *l* zu einem neuen Diphthongen (Triphthongen?) verband. Der Klang muss derselbe wie in *ticus* (TALIS), *vicus* (VETULUS) gewesen sein, denn diese Wörter reimen mit einander. VAN HAMEL, p. cxxi nimmt eine zweifache Aussprache an; *viz*: *ieus*=lat. *i*=*ius*, *ieus*=lat. -ALIS=*ieus*, und *ieus*=lat *ê* und *ô*=*ius* und *ieus*. *ieus* (lat. OCULUM) erkläre ich mir durch *uêls*>*êls* (vgl. AUC. NIC. *ex*)>*ieus*. Wäre diese Form vielleicht der Vorläufer des neufrz. *yeux*, sodass man also nicht Umstellung aus *eulx* anzunehmen hätte, wie bisher mit DIEZ Gr. i³, p. 439 behauptet worden ist. Im Wallonischen steht *êg* (*ôg* im Anlaut). *iez* in den POÉS. REL. zeigt PIKARDISCHE Entwicklung. *l* fällt gewöhnlich. Im LOTHRINGISCHEN besteht ein ähnliches Verhältniss wie im NORMANNISCHEN, wenigstens in der Phase des Dialektes die durch BERN. vertreten wird. Der DIAL. neigt sich zum WALLONISCHEN. *ouiz* und *ou*z sind mit *ouy* und NEUWALL *ûy'* zu verbinden; vgl. oben. Es wurde *oi* zu *oi* und *o* dann regelmässig zu *ou*.³¹ Diese Entwicklung spricht gegen die Annahme dass *ue* (*o*) =*üê* war. Im Dialekt der CHAMPAGNE ist *olz* überall zu *iauz* geworden. FÖRSTER, CLIG., p. lxx leitete *iauz* von *üêlz* ab durch die Mittelstufen *üalz*>*üauz*>*iauz*, mit Wechsel von *ü* zu *i*. Wie wir aber oben gesehen haben, ist es zweifelhaft ob *oel*, für *üel* steht. Die Entwicklung war *olz*>*uêlz*>*êlz*>*ealz*>*ial*>*iauz*. *eaz* im Yz. bietet die Zwischenstufe zwischen *uelz* und *iauz*.

Die Frage ob *l*=*l̃* war, kann nur für das NORMANNISCHE und LOTHRINGISCHE gestellt werden. Die Reime *oiz*z: *viz* bei BENOÎT zeigen das *i* gesprochen wurde, und in späterer Entwicklung selbst den Accent hatte; also haben wir hier dasselbe Verhältniss wie bei *ê+l+z*, und wir können schliessen dass *l* nicht *l̃* war. Im BERN. scheint der Schreiber selbst die Zweideutigkeit eines *oiz* gesehen zu haben, und so schrieb er *oylz*, mit *y* wie in den unflektierten Formen. Diese Schreibweise kommt aber bei anderen Vokalen nicht vor; also dient *y* nicht zur Bezeichnung von *l̃*.

F. *o+l̃+s(z)*.

AELT. DENK. PASS.: genolz 249.

³¹ vgl. APPELSTEDT l. c., § 44, wo eine ähnliche Entwicklung von *oi*=*ê* verzeichnet ist.

NORMANNISCH. AL. REIMP.: (Keine Belege). ROL. genuilz 2190. CHARL.: (Keine Belege). O. Ps.: turuilz 106-16; genuilz 108-23; Q. L. D. R. genuilz 318-19.

PIKARDISCH. MIS.: genous 75-6 (jenous). CAR., AUC. NIC., ANIEL, (Keine Belege).

WALLONISCH. GREG.: genoz 13-1; 22-8; 23-2; 99-20; 184-4; 217-2; 253-20. P. MOR., *POÉS. REL., SERM. SAP., JOB., (Keine Belege).

LOTHRINGISCH. BERN.: genoz 79-41; 94-3; 101-1. DIAL., YZ., (Keine Belege).

CHAMPAGNE. CLIG.: genouz 380; 4369;

Im NORMANNISCHEN ist *i* vor *lz* nur graphisch, wohl aus Anlehnung an die unflektierte Form; oder es könnte auch sein, dass der Gleiter von *u* zu *ī* sich früh zum selbständigen Consonanten entwickelt hatte, (wie bei *a+ī*) der dann in die flektierte Form eingeführt wurde. vgl. oben. Im Osten fiel *l*, im PIKARDISCHEN und CLIGES wurde es zu *u*, welches sich mit *o* zum Diphthongen verband.

Ich glaube also gezeigt zu haben dass in den flektierten Formen zur Zeit unserer Texte in keinem Dialekte ein *ī* bestand. Es gilt nun eine Erklärung des *z* als Flexionszeichen zu geben.

Die Annahmen von SCHUGHARDT, dass *z* ein Zeichen der Nicht-Mouillierung, und von G. PARIS dass es ein Zeichen der Mouillierung war, sind schon von HORNING, *Rom. Stud.* iv, p. 627 zurückgewiesen worden, weil, wie CHABANEAU, *Rev. d. Lang Rom.* v. p. 330 gezeigt hat, *z* bis zum Ende des xii Jahrh. wie *ts* ausgesprochen wurde. CHABANEAU's Theorie, l. c., vi p. 94 et seq., dass *l* hier zuerst nicht mouilliert war, dass aber die Mouillierung sich durch Analogie an den Obliquus einschlich, ist unhaltbar, weil eine Untersuchung zeigt, dass dieses *l* wie alle anderen behandelt wurde; wo *l* zu *u* wurde, vokalisierte auch dieses, wo es fiel; fiel auch dieses. So bleibt also nur noch die Theorie HORNING's übrig, dass *l* hier überhaupt nie mouilliert war, und dass *lz* aus *-lys* mit *d* Epenthese zwischen *l* und *ys* und Fallen des *y* entstand. Die Schwierigkeiten dieser Hypothese sind von GRÖBER, *Z. f. R. Ph.* vi p. 486 dargelegt worden. Epenthese eines *d* zwischen *l* und *ys* ist lautphysiologisch wohl möglich, aber dann sollte man dieselbe doch auch bei *l* und *y* ohne *s* finden; und weiter unten sagt er, "erkennt man *ñ* und *ī* als unzersetzbare Laute an, dann ist die Epenthese von *d(t)* z. B. in *besoinz* ein einfacher lautmechanischer Vorgang, wie in *anz=ant's*." Dagegen lässt sich aber sagen, dass *ī* vor Consonanten wahrscheinlich wohl kein unzerlegbarer Laut war. vgl. oben. Wir haben es mit zwei consonantischen Geräuschen zu thun, und somit fällt auch die Annahme HORNING's, dass das *i* von *ī* wegen des Accentes in die Stammsilbe gezogen worden sei. (z. B. *olys > oldys > oilds > oilz*). Es war kein *i* sondern *ī*. Näher der richtigen Erklärung kam ULBRICH, *Z. f. R. Ph.* ii p. 540. Er sagt *ī* war (BRÜCKE's) *βy'*. Als *s* hinzutrat, fiel von den drei consonantischen Geräuschen zunächst das mittlere, so dass *β+s* übrig blieb. "Nun besteht aber nach *β* derselbe vollständige Verschluss am Vordergaumen wie bei *β* und *dβ*: der Durch-

bruch eines Luftstromes durch diesen Verschluss erzeugt daher ein *z* mit der derselben Nothwendigkeit wie nach *t* und *d*, oder wie nach dem dentalen *n*." Bei dieser Erklärung sind aber einige wichtige Momente nicht in Betracht gezogen. Als in der Verbindung *lys* das *y* gefallen war, sollte man erwarten, dass das so entstandene *l* mit den bestehenden *l* zusammenfallen, also in die guttural-Stellung übergehen würde. Noch mehr; man kann *βs* aussprechen ohne *l*s zu erzeugen, und dies ist der Gesichtspunkt den ULBRICH übersehen hat. Sprechreih *βsuav+s³²*, so ist das Resultat *lz* (nach BÖHMER's Alphabet) i. e. *βsuav+stimmhaftem s*. Um *l*s zu sprechen, muss ich *βfort+s* haben. Dasselbe kam auf folgende Weise zu Stande. In der Combination *lys* widerstand das *l* eine Zeit lang der Tendenz, nach welcher von drei consonantischen Geräuschen das mittlere fallen muss. Die Stimme musste also so zu sagen einen grösseren Anlauf nehmen um *lys* auszusprechen. Durch diese Kraftanstrengung wurde aber aus dem *βy's*, als das *y* endlich dem Gesetze des Ausfalls unterlag, durch Ersatz-Verstärkung, wenn man es so nennen darf, ein *βfort+s*, und dann erfolgte die *t* Epenthese zwischen *l* und *s* ähnlich wie in dem von LÜCKING, 'Mundarten,' p. 132 citierten *Hal(t)s* für *Hals*. Ich neige mich zu dieser Erklärung, trotz der Warnung GRÖBER's nicht etwa anzunehmen, dass *l+s* sich zu *l fort+s* assimiliert habe. GRÖBER stützt sich auf PROV. *trebalhz*, und sagt "das dorsale jotazierte *l* selbst erhielt die *d* Epenthese. *lz* und *ls* im PROVENZALISCHEN sind fortwährend geschieden." Die Schreibweise *-lhz* im PROVENZALISCHEN scheint jedoch gar nicht so allgemein zu sein, wie man nach GRÖBER's Aussprüchen zu glauben, geneigt ist; viel gewöhnlicher ist *lhs*, wenigstens nach BARTSCH, 'Chrest. prov.' Da finde ich nur *fillz* s. v., sonst immer *lhs*. Wenn *z* geschrieben ist wird *l* nicht bezeichnet, wie in *velz* (*vielhs*), *mielz* (*melhs*).

Die obengegebene Entwicklung war jedoch dialektisch. Sie war die regelmässige im NORM. CHAMP. und LOTH. Sehr bald wurde aber auch hier *l fort* wieder zu *l suav*, und später zu *u*, als auch die anderen *l* vokalisiert wurden. Dann hatte aber die Schreibweise sich befestigt, und *z* wurde in der Orthographie beibehalten. Im NORMANNISCHEN war das Fallen des *l* in dieser Stellung sehr selten; wie wir gesehen haben, schreibt ANDRESEN solche Formen dem Einflusse des Reimes zu. Im BERN. finden sich die folgenden Formen mit *s(z)* ist die Regel): *travals* 70-23; 83-16; 89-1; 105-17; 151-11; 162-3; *fihs* 25-36; *oyls* 118-39; ferner *Polz* 46-11 (PAULUS) neben *Polz* 44-15; 47-20. In demselben Texte fängt *l* auch schon an zu fallen (die Regel im Osten). In dieser Schreibweise muss man aber nicht einen Beweis sehen, dass *l* zu *l* oder *z* zu *s* geworden sei. Sie zeigt nur ein Nichtbeachten der traditionellen Orthographie. Im PIKARDISCHEN trat die *t* Epenthese überhaupt nicht ein. *ls* wurde zu *ls*, und dieses *l* wurde wie alle anderen *l* behandelt; vgl. *perils* schon im FR. D. VAL. Das WALLONISCHE kannte überhaupt nur *l fort*. Dort steht *lz* für *ls* und *ls*. Es finden sich die folgenden Ausnahmen. P. MOR. nur

³² Die Ausdrücke '*suav*' und '*fort*' gebrauche ich nach GRÖBER, Z. f. R. Ph., vi, p. 486.

nuls 553-c; sonst immer *z*. *l* fällt ziemlich oft. POÉS. REL.: das Ms. Lat. 1077 hat nur *s*. *l* ist gefallen. GREG.: *vues* (*VOLIS) 30-9; 33-16; 114-12; 157-1-21; 167-20; aber *vuez* 167-23; 273-5; *noeils* 36-16; sonst immer *z*. JOB.: *cols* (=colps) 442-32; 509-7; 514-13; *nuls* 509-15-16-17; 511-22; 512-7; aber *nulz* 509-18; 511-18; *sols* 513-27; aber *solz* 462-16; *grevals* 518-10; sonst *grevalz* 508-2. HORNING ist also nicht ganz genau, wenn er sagt, *z* finde sich nach einfachem *l* nur in solchen Texten wie die PASS. und GREG.; I. c., p. 628. Diese Eigenthümlichkeit erstreckt sich auf den ganzen Nordosten.

In folgendem gebe ich eine Liste der Formen, wo in unseren NORMANNISCHEN Texten *z* nach einfachem *l* steht. Sie erklären sich zum grössten Teil von selbst. Meistens steht schon ein Dental im Stamm. ROL.: *balz* 61; *Tedbalz* 173; *mulz* 185 (auch *mulez*); *salz* 731; *nevulz* 2420; *enchalz* 2446; 3635; *calz* 3633; *jamelz* 3739; CHARL.: *mulz* 82; 89; 220; 340; 846; 850; *blialz* 337; *dulz* 425; *helz* 543; *Ernalz* 566; *polz* (POLLICEM) 811; O. PS.: *volz* 10-8; *dulz* 18-11; 24-9; 118-103; *mulz* (MULTOS) 30-16; 54-20; 70-9; 108-29; 109-7; *halz* 46-2; 98-2; 137-7; p. 232-5; *occulz* 63-3; *folz* 91-6; neben *fols* 48-9; 52-1; *salz* (nfrz. *saule*) 136-2; Q. L. D. R.: *mulz* (MULTOS) 6-12; 24-1; 108-3; 232-11; 355-13; (*multz* 45-15; 166-5; 274-17; 300-27; 398-14); *halz* 15-8; 233-5; (*haltz* 396-15; *d'elz* 34-5; (*els* 24-17; *enchalz* 48-8; 68-9; 115-5; 299-22; *chalz* 83-3; *malz* 191-7; *dulz* 195-6; (*nevoz* 202-3-9; (*tumultz* 225-11; *solz* (SOLIDUS) 244-27; *falz* 290-11; *volz* (*VOLIS) 292-1; *nulz* 308-12; 383-14; (neben *nuls* 309-2; 383-16;)) Im BERN. finden sich *Polz* 46-11; (neben *Pols* 44-15; 47-20; *molz* 70-6; *parolz* 127-30; *halz* 104-23; 136-21; 144-20; DIAL.: *haiz* (ALTUS) x-8; *hauz* xxxii-25; *caz* (*cels*) xi-22; *nuz* xx-21; (*nus* iv-8;)) YZ.: *vuez* (*VOLIS) 16; 1273; etc., *douz* 912; 1179; 1358; *columbeaz* 1215; *beaz* 1358; (*beax* 1429); *corbeaz* 1509; *colz* (COLLUM) 2733; *folz* 3048; sonst steht hier immer *ls*, *us*, *x*, *s*, für *l*, *ll+s*, *lz*, *z* für *lz*. CLIG.: *douz* 245; 379, etc.; *hauz* 365; 2395, etc.; *bliauz* 856; *assauz* 1517, etc.; *fauz* 2344; *Iseuz* 3151; *girfauz* 3855; *chauz* 4089; 6414; *bauz* 4213.

In folgendem fasse ich kurz zusammen was ich als Resultat dieser Untersuchung glaube betrachten zu dürfen:

1. *lz* für *l+s* ist dialectisch, und gehört dem NORMANNISCHEN, LOTHRINGISCHEN und der CHAMPAGNE an.

2. Das WALLONISCHE hat gerade jenes *l fort*, welches von GRÖBER dem Provenzalischen zugeschrieben wird, in allen Stellungen, denn alle *l+s* werden *lz* geschrieben.

3. Das PIKARDISCHE hat keine *l* Epenthese. Dies stimmt wunderbar überein mit dem charakteristischen Mangel an Epenthese in allen Consonantenverbindungen.

4. Weil *lz* für *l+s* dialectisch ist, und weil *l fort* im Wallonischen bestand, darf man das Bestehen eines *l fort* auch im NORM. LOTH. CHAMP. annehmen.

2 *l̃+(d)+r*.

LEG.: meldre 32; ROL.: mieldre 3532; fuildres 1426; CHARL.: mieldre 198; O. PS.: mieldre 62-4; 83-10; fuildre(s) 17-16; 96-4; 134-7;

143-7; p. 247-61; cuildrunt 103-29; coildra 128-6; Q. L. D. R.: fuiladre 207-2; Mts.: mieudre 7-6 (mielldre); ANIEL: mieudres 294; P. MOR.: enmiedreir 340-d; GREG. mielldres 44-14; 69-18; miedre 63-22; meodreir 158-6; meodrant 214-11; SERM SAP.: mealldrent 287-34; mielldres 288-24; enmiedrance 289-11; enmielldret 296-13; enmiedreir 296-18; JOB.: mielldre(s) 451-12; 490-6; 516-4; 517-13; BERN.: mielldre(s) 30-19; 31-10; 67-37; 108-12; 109-37; miedre(s) 170-4; 178-35; Yz.: muedres 841; CLIG.: miaudre(s) 332; 973; 2811; 4958; (foudres 1792).

ī wurde auf dieselbe Weise wie *ī+s* zu *l fort*, worauf die dental-Epenthese folgte. Ueberhaupt verhält sich das *l* sowohl wie der Vokal vor demselben ganz wie oben. Nur die Wörter fuilldres, cuildrunt, coildra (so wie duilz im C. Ps. bei SCHUMANN l. c., p. 39) verlangen einige Bemerkungen. In diesen Fällen hat Metathese des *c(g)* und Erweichung zu *i* stattgefunden. Das so entstandene *i* bildet mit *u(o)* einen fallenden Diphthongen. Man glaube ja nicht dass *il* ein *ī* bezeichnet. Diese Entwicklung scheint jedoch dem NORMANNISCHEN eigenthümlich zu sein. (vgl. foudres im CLIG.)

3 *l+Flexions-t.*

ROL.: merveilt 571; CHARL.: tressailt 183; sailt 195; failt 795; O. Ps.: sumeilt 120-3; Q. L. D. R.: asalt 72-15; alt 337-7; Mts.: faut 40-7-11; bout (inf. boullir) 42-12; esmervaut 88-1; eskeut (inf. escuellir) 91-4; esvaut (esveiller) 153-3; travaut 153-6; assaut 172-8; CAR.: faut 4-11; 56-7; 152-1; deffaut 29-2; fartaut (inf. fartillier) 29-9; travaut 230-12; P. MOR.: assat 59-c; falt 436-d; GREG.: falt 10-3; 196-11; colt (colhir) 57-7; 150-20; bolt 60-12; defalt 63-20; 162-2; 175-12; JOB.: assalt 446-20-30; BERN.: aillet 171-12; travaillet 156-1; resalt 143-34; Yz.: saut 696; default 835; concuit (concuillir) 1975.

Diese Formen sind von WILLENBERG *Rom. Stud.*, iii pp. 410, 411 behandelt worden. Entweder wird *e* als Endung angehängt, und dann bleibt *ī*, oder *t* ist die Endung, und dann wird *ī > l*. Er sagt "Man fasse in allen diesen Formen *i* nicht etwa als Bezeichnung des mouillierten Lautes auf (dann könnte niemals *t* folgen), sondern als mit dem vorhergehenden Vokal einen Diphthong bildend. Dazu zwingt schon der Umstand das ROL. 571 *merveilt* in einer Tirade steht, deren Assonanzvokal *ei* ist, sowie der allerdings ungenaue Reim im COMP. 1073 *merveilt: poeit*. Diese zweite Art der Behandlung des *ī* ist jedenfalls in der älteren Zeit die gewöhnliche gewesen." *esmervaut* erklärt er durch *-elt > -ialt > -iaut > -aut*; dann sollte sich aber irgendwo ein *-ielt* finden. Die Reihe wird wohl *-elt > -elt > -alt > -aut* sein; (vgl. ILLOS > *aus*, FILTRUM > *fautre*.).

NACHTRAG.

In der letzten Textausgabe des ALEXIUSLIEDES ('LA VIE DE SAINT ALEXIS, TEXTE CRITIQUE,' Paris 1885) hat G. PARIS die Wörter mit mouilliertem *l* in etwas verändert. Er schreibt dort immer *ill* im inlaut (mit einziger Ausnahme von *bailie* 42-d) und *il* im Auslaut. S. 59 Z. 18 wäre also in dieser Hinsicht zu verbessern.

Der Vollständigkeit wegen stelle ich hier noch einmal alle Wörter mit *l̃* zusammen, wie dieselben in dieser letzten Ausgabe geschrieben sind.

a+l̃ (S. 63.)—1 *betont*: fraile(s) 2-d; 14-d;—2 *nebentonig*: vaillanz 2-c; vaillant 4-d; aillors 39-d; bailie 42-d; baillie 108-c; baillir 74-a; baillissent 105-a.

ε+l̃ (S. 69): meillors 23-a.

ε+l̃ (S. 70)—1 *betont*: conseil 61-c; 62-d; 66-d; 73-e; merveille 88-e; 89-e; 93-e;—3 *unbetont*: conseilliers 52-c; desconseilliez 64-d; conseilliet 68-c.

i+l̃ (S. 80) filie 8-c; 9-b, u. s. w., fil 3-e; 6-c, u. s. w., gestil 90-b.

ø+l̃ (S. 84)—1 *betont*: vueil 3-e; 30-e; 34-b; 88-a; 117-e; revueil 38-c; moillent 54-b; ueil 45-b; 88-b; vueillent 116-d; 120-b. Diese Beispiele würden sich also, was den Vokal angeht, an die Seite des ROL. stellen.

ø+l̃ (S. 89)—2 *nebentonig*: moillier 4-d; 6-b; 11-e.

ε+l̃+z (S. 95): vielz 2-d; mislz 4-b; 4-e; 97-e.

ε+l̃+z (S. 96): fedelz 59-d.

i+l̃+z (S. 99): filz 11-b; 22-a; 88-b (17 Mal.); gentilz 96-c.

ø+l̃+z (S. 100): uelz 49-b.

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VOL. V.

#2

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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

OF AMERICA

APRIL-JUNE.

SUPPLEMENT.

BALTIMORE:

1890.

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At the Fifth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, held in Cincinnati, December, 1888, it was determined by the Executive Council to publish the Transactions of the Society in *quarterly* instalments; and, furthermore, to add other Papers that may not have been presented at the Convention, provided, in the judgment of the Editorial Committee, they are suitable to appear in the publications of the Association. The following contribution constitutes the Supplement to second issue of volume v of this series, which will be pushed forward as rapidly as the material is furnished to the Secretary and as the funds of the Society permit. These PUBLICATIONS will be furnished to members gratis; to non-members, the price is \$3.50 per annum; single copies \$1.00. All communications relating to the PUBLICATIONS should be addressed to the Secretary of the Association, Professor A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Of the Use of the Negative by Chaucer, with particular reference to the particle ne.

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It is well known that two kinds of *ne* are present in CHAUCER, which are written alike in the manuscripts. These two particles, however, must not be confounded. One of them is *nē* (neque) and the other is *ne* (non). Compare Old French *ne* and *nē* (=ni).

A—The *nē* (neque) which we mark with the sign of a long vowel whenever we wish to make the distinction between it and *ne* is derived from Old English *nē* (Gothic *ni*; Old High German *ni*, *nē*). In O. E. this form is very frequent.

*Nē inc ænig mon
nē leof nē lað beleán mihte
sorghfullue sið. Beowulf 14:510.
nē ðer n: sið ðfre hyrdon. Elene, 21:572.*

In M. E. this *nē* is also frequent.

forlewed men ne conde
langle *nē* jugge. 'Piers the Plowman'. 5:131.
Fro paradys to you I have been brought
Ne never moo ne schul they roten be
Ne lesse here soote savour, &c.
'The lyfe of seynt Cecile.' iii, 36:229.

In the translation of this "aurea legenda" in the Ashmole Ms. 43 (before 1300) we find *ne* and *nē* (cf. 'Orig. and Ana', Part ii), the former however almost always in conjunction with other particles. On the contrary, CAXTON's version of this legend (1483) furnishes no evidence of the survival of *ne* (non). (Cf. 'Orig. and Ana', Part ii).

In new English there are few applications of this *nē*, and these only in poetry. It is an archaic form.

Ne barrier wall, ne river deep and wide
Ne horrid crags nor mountains dark and tall
Rise like the rocks. Byron, "C. H." i, 32.

Generally *nē-nē* in Old English are used in connection with a verb negated by *ne* and this *ne* is frequently contrasted with other words in the sentence. An investigation of the language of CHAUCER will show this rule to obtain for the M. E. as well as for O. E.

B.—*Ne* (non) is used frequently in Old English as an independent negative, just as the *nī* in O. H. G. (cf. *Abhandlung* by WACKERNAGEL), or *ne* in O. F. (cf. *Abhandlung* by PERLE):—

Men ne cunnon secgan 50; ne sorga 1385; weā widscofa . . . ne wendon, 977, Beowulf; þanon ic ne wende, 348; ond mē Israhēla æfre ne woldon, 361. Elene, etc.

But even in Old English a second negation was often added, and this seems to have caused a loss of power on the part of the *ne*, which in some cases seemed entirely superfluous.

In M. H. G. the use was very variable in the thirteenth century, in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries *ne* disappeared entirely. In M. E. *ne* is thrown into sentences already negative partly to strengthen the negation, and in part without noticeable influence. In French the history of the negation is very different, for there the double negation, which obtains today, was not used regularly until during the seventeenth century. In M. E. however we still find cases where *ne* is used as an independent negative particle. In N. E. this occurs very seldom and only in archaic language.

Whilome in Albion's isle, there dwelt a youth,
Who ne in virtue's way did take delight.

Byron, "C. H." i, 2.

It is the purpose of this essay to investigate the use of the particles *ne* and *nē*, to examine the occurrences in CHAUCER, with a view to discover, if possible, some controlling rule or guiding principle to which CHAUCER'S use conformed. Of course there can be no question, in this transition state of the language, of definite rules or of unvarying usage. The nature of the changes the language was then undergoing, renders it impossible for us even to hope for anything approaching steadfast application of rules or crystallized forms of speech. The purpose of this essay is more modest. It aims rather by an exact and pains-taking investigation of the facts of the language and an attempt to arrange these appearances in accordance with certain principles, to contribute something to Chaucer-grammar and to the history of the English language and, further, to

furnish some more competent investigator with a small portion of the material from which the history of the use of the negation in English is to be determined.

Should the classifications seem artificial or to rest upon mere accidental likenesses, let it be remembered that the most important thing is to present the phenomena. A glimpse of these can be better had, in the very nature of the case, by divisions and sub-divisions even if these be not always logical, than by an endless row of unclassified examples. The most entertaining and at the same time the most instructive cases are those in which *ne* appears as independent and sufficient negation, and these with exceptions, etc., will next be considered.

I.

Independent Sentences.§1 *Ne Witen.*

WACKERNAGEL, in his discussion of the Negative Particle *ne* (*Abhandlung*, §6) gives it as a rule that in short sentences *ne* was sufficient for complete negation. He calls attention, however, to the fact that such a rule is inexact because the bounds which determine whether a sentence is short or not are not definitely fixed. By reference to this rule he explains the *ne weiz*, when used parenthetically. We must make reference to a similar rule in order to explain similar cases in the M. E. province. It is necessary, however, to extend the rule so as to cover those cases in which we have another sentence dependent upon this negative sentence. We call attention just here to ii, §8, of this paper.

A. PARENTHETICALLY.

That sodeynly, I nyste how,

Such a luste anoon me tooke. v, 163:272.

Men seyn, I not, that she yaf him hire herte. v. 44:1050.

And gan to motre, I note what trewely. iv, 175:541.

A pouder, noot I wher of that it was

I-maad, outhur of chalk, outhur of glas. iii, 64:138.

Tho vanysshed the olde man, he nyste where. iii, 35:217.

(Compare. "he nuste war he bicom" ('Orig. and Ana', Part ii)).

But in what wyse certeyly I noot. ii, 197:794.

pat it is oner myche ageins kynde pat children have been founden tormentours to hir fadres I not how many. B. 79:2192.

Sed nimis e natura dictum est nescio quem filios invenisse tortores.

In this last example we see the analogy between the use in M. E. and the *nescio* in Latin. To be compared with these, is the *je ne sais (quoi)* in French.

For the sake of clearness the exceptions to this rule are now quoted.

and a lettre
That Ector hadde hym sent to axen red
If swiche a man was worthy to ben dede
Noot I naught who : iv, 222:1700.
Not I not how, but sen that I was wroughte
Ne felt I swich a comfort, dar I seye. v, 48:1167.

and eke to have remembrance of the deth that he
shal receyve he noot not whanne, wher ne how. iv, 222:1700;

In the Harleian Ms. 7334 the words "*wher ne how*" are missing. Of these exceptions only one seems to be an irregular deviation from the rule and the correctness of this reading, "*Noot I naught who*," is called in question by MORRIS. It would probably not be unwarranted to question its correctness simply because it does exhibit an inexplicable deviation from a comparatively positive rule.

In the second example, the speaker wishes to express his comfort and to emphasize particularly its high degree. He does this through a confession of his absolute inability to account for its existence. He desires not only to express his ignorance of its explanation but to emphasize in words his ignorance of its origin, its *how*. He affirms then his ignorance and strengthens the negation of knowledge with regard to its origin by negating the *how*.

In the last example it is a question of contrasting the certainty of death, with the uncertainty, nay, the impossibility of predicting the time, place and manner of its approach. These two contrasted conceptions are best exhibited in opposition by intensified negation.

B.

1—*Ne witen* with following interrogative pronoun.

I not which, ii, 33:181; I noot which, ii, 42:482;

But soth to say, I not what men him calle, ii, 10:284;

But thay ne wiste why sche thider wente, iii, 25:753;

And ek I noot what I sholde to hym seye, iv, 202:1206;

He nyste what he juggen of it myghte, v, 50:1203;

Of which delices I not what ioie may ben had of hir moeuyng.
Quarum motus quid habeat jucunditatis ignoro. B. 79:2182.

In B. 67:1819 is found "but he not by whiche paath", immediately after this however:

*Ryght as a dronke man not nat by which pape he may return
home to hys house":*

Sed ueluti ebrius domum quo tramite reuertatur ignorat.

A dronke man wot wel he hath an hous

But he not nat which the righte wey is thider, ii 39:404;

H. Ms. reads also "not nat", but beyond question this is to be rejected as it seriously injures the metre. For an explanation of these examples, reference is made to i, §1, and attention is called to ii, §8. Examples of double negation in such cases also occur although not frequently.

I not nat what ye wilne that I seye, iv, 230:71;

I not my-self nought wysely what it is, iv, 292:1604;

I ne wiste not what was adversité, ii, 370:156;

I not nought what ye mene, iv, 158:133;

Only in the second example does the negative particle seem to have a special justification; that is, in the negation of a second word in order to limit the assertion of ignorance. The explanation of the other examples, which show two negative particles applied to one word (not very frequently found), is to be sought in the metre.

2—*Ne witen* with following interrogative particle.

It would be easy here to produce innumerable examples; the following will suffice:

I not how ye myght have doo bette, v, 186:1043;

But whether goddesse or womman iwys

Sche be I not, iv, 125:425;

I not if pees shal evermo bitide, iv, 359:1436;

And she noot whi it is, iv, 140:180;

How Troylus - - I not, iv, 154:35;

Not I how long or short, iv, 301:81;

I noot if thow it woste, iv, 208:1366;

He nyst how best hire herte for tacoie, v, 33:782;

I not whether ye the more thank me konne, iv, 212:1466;

Here too several exceptions are found:

I noot ne why unwery that I feynte, iv, 124:410;

Noot I nought why ne what meschaunce it ayled, iii, 273:280;

Yet nostow not wher that they stonde, v, 240:502.

Pepys Ms., 2006, reads in this place, "Yet nost thow where they stonde," a sentence which in itself is more regular and beautiful but which shows a verse too short by one foot.

But why ne how not I that thou were slawe, iii, 214:416;

Not I for why ne how, iv, 266:960;

In these two sentences it is true that there is no second negative in the principal clause but they probably belong here as exceptions because the negation in the dependent clauses can easily have a reflexive influence.

Particularly striking is it that in all the cited examples of *ne* *witen* the principal sentence consists of two or three words, and that the *ne* appears only with the finite verb without auxiliary. In most cases there is contraction (*Verschmelzung*) and where this contraction does not occur metrical reasons account for it and any individual case is easily explained.

In the citation,

The lasse woful of hem both nyste

Wher that he was, ne might o word outbrynge

As I seyde arts, for wo and for sobbynge, iv, 346:1104;

it can not be argued that the sentence is especially short, but there is a two-fold explanation. In the first place it is in reality a sentence dependent upon "As I seyde arst." In the second case, *ne* followed by *nē* is stronger than *ne* alone and is used where the latter would not be sufficient.

§2. Interrogative Sentences.

An investigation of interrogative sentences reveals the fact that *ne* is frequently used, where a reproach, an injunction to realize the opposite, or a wish whose fulfilment is impossible, or improbable, is implied or expressed, (cf. PAUL, §285) and in rhetorical questions. Examples:

Why nade thou put the capil in the lathe? ii, 127:168;

Why ne hastow to thi-selven som reporte? iv, 334:822;

Why nyltow love another lady swete? iv, 320:461;

Why nylt thy-selven helpen don redresse? iv, 32:500;

Why nade I swich oon with my soule ibought? iv, 278:1270;

And seyd, 'Allas, for wo! why nere I dede? iv, 169:409;

Whi nyltow flen out of the wofulleste? iv, 312:275;

Why ne hast thou remembred in thy mynde? v, 361:156;

Whi suffre Ich it? whi nyl Ich it redesse, v, 2:40;

In Strophe vii, in vol. vi, p. 3, the form "whi nyl I?" occurs five times.

Why nyltow cleve, or fallen al atwo? v, 299:53;

Why nyl the lyoun comen, or the bere

That Y myght hym ones meten with this spere? v. 313:289.

A certain blame, a reproach, although often very mildly expressed is traceable in all the cases, and a reproach presupposes the opposite as that which was desired. If the speaker is speaking of himself, every reproach which he makes himself implies the wish that this were not the case; that there were no occasion for this reproof. For example, "why nyl I," "why nere I."—If the speaker is speaking in this form to some one else the reproach is very clearly seen. It deserves mention here that the majority of examples of this kind are taken from the poem 'Troilus and Cryseyde' which furnishes a fruitful soil for such reproaches.

In the sentences which refer to the past, the wish is unfulfilled or not to be fulfilled; in those that refer to the future there is an implied appeal for a realization of the opposite. Only in the words "why ne hastow" do the reproach and the wish for the opposite without any appeal seem to be present.—In the last cited example the innermost wish of a well-armed hunter is expressed with emphasis. In a word, and this is the central point of the whole matter, the preponderating idea in these sentences is the opposite of that which is expressed; or in other words the real conception is positive, the form in which it is expressed is negative. It is, then, simply a formal negation and hence the simple *ne* is sufficient.

Of course, the same is true of the rhetorical questions, which, particularly in CHAUCER'S translation of BOETHIUS, are very entertaining. CHAUCER'S translation of this authority may be called literal, for the deviations are only such, as are rendered necessary by the differences in the idioms of the two languages, and yet he does not hesitate to translate an affirmative rhetorical question by a negative sentence. These real rhetorical questions are usually introduced by *num*, which expects a negative answer. Examples:

Num dubitari potest? per may no man doute, B. 103:29;8;

Num dubitas? ne pou ne doute nat, B. 114:3234;

Num negabis? pou wilt nat pan denye. B. 114:3232, etc.

Further examples of this are, however, unnecessary for the purpose of the rhetorical question is to express the opposite with emphasis.

Besides the examples just cited only two cases have been noted, in which there is deviation from this rule.

Why schuld I nought as wel telle you alle

The portraiture that was upon the walle? ii, 61:1109.

This can easily be construed as a simple question which desires as answer some good reason. Parenthetically it is worth nothing that in this manuscript, which coincides with H. Ms., there is an unaccented syllable lacking between *wel* and *telle*. It can be readily supplied.

Why ne had I nought thy sentence and thy lore

The Friday for to chiden, as dede ye? iii, 245:531.

This presents the double irregularity of an unfulfilled wish in the past expressed in the Indicative and with double negation.

§3. *Ne-but.*

Attention is called to the apparently illogical subdivision of I., in order to anticipate censure. The divisions seem to the writer best suited to lay bare the examples.

WACKERNAGEL (*Abhandlung* §3.) discusses at length the *ne-wan* and similar occurrences in which the negation is accompanied by a word of negative coloring, whether of opposition or exclusion. In O. E., *būtan* frequently occurred after a negated verb. *Būtan*, as preposition, had a locative and privative significance. By degrees the former was lost and the latter became fixed. Cf. 'Beowulf,' 706: ealle buton anum. The conception was always that of exclusion, that is, denying the contents of the preceding with reference to the following. Or better stated, perhaps, the preceding is affirmed with this limitation. This placing of a denied thought in opposition to one affirmed is also characteristic of the conjunction *būtan*. It is then easily conceivable, that with this adversative, negative meaning of *būtan*, or *but*, *ne* alone would be sufficient for complete negation, particularly as this collocation *ne-but* was used to express with emphasis a positive idea. Frequently some word like *other*, etc., is used before the *but*, but this has often fallen out, where it could easily be supplied. PERLE in his essay, proves for Old French that the complement of the negation is regularly suppressed if the negation of the verb is limited by *que*, *forsque*,

etc. CHARSANG (p. 421) quotes the following example from RACINE, *Il ne connaît encor d'autre père que toi*, and remarks in connection therewith; "Mais on pourrait dire aussi, *il ne connaît pas d'autre père*.

Remarque: si l'on peut mettre seule la négation *ne* devant *autre*, on peut supprimer *autre* ou *autrement* dans la locution *ne-que* (équivalent à seulement). Ex. Je n'ai de volonté *que* la tienne (je n'ai *pas* d'autre volonté *que* . . .). The processes seem to have been almost the same as in the Teutonic languages and with the same results. It is therefore, to be expected that in the translations from the French into the English, this favorite construction *ne-que* should be reproduced by *ne-but*. As a matter of fact in the 'Romaunt of the Rose,' falsely ascribed to CHAUCER, there are unnumbered examples of this construction. The arrangement is used with great frequency by CHAUCER, too, and, in many shades of meaning:

Goth forth to Via Apia quod sche
 That fro this toun ne stant but myles thre. iii, 34:173;
 Tho schewed him Cecilie al open and pleyne
 That alle ydoles nys but thing in veyn. iii, 37:285;
 He ne hadde for al his labour but a skorn. ii, 104:202;
 Al his werkyng nas but fraude and deceyt, iii, 71:356;
 I ne say but for this ende this sentence. ii, 204:1041;
 For whiche that wey, for aught I kan espye
 To trusten on, nys but a fantasye. iv, 360:1442;
 For latyn ne kanstow yit but small. Astr., 2:20;
 I nam but a lewd compilatour. Astr., 2:42;
 For every mortal mannes power nys
 But lyk a bladder ful of wynd, iwis. iii, 42:438;
 For which I naxe in guerdon but a boone. v, 25:594.

It need hardly be mentioned that this construction occurs very seldom in BOETHIUS, for there are very few Latin constructions that can be reproduced by this means.

pe wille nis but in ydel and stant for nought, B. 112:3157: *voluntas frustra sit*. *But certys by nature per nys but oon god*, B. 92:2563: *sed natura quidem unus*. Cf. also B. 56:1504.

In these examples exceptions to negated assertions are given by means of *but*. In reality however, it is exactly these exceptions and in no wise the denied assertions, that are to be made prominent. The attention is attracted to this exception to a general proposition and by this device the affirmation of

this excepted, positive thought is made much stronger. In M.E. these sentences are to be rendered by *only* or *but*, where *but* stands for an elliptical construction. Further examples which must be repeated later, are the following:

And but I have hir mercy and hir grace
That I may see hir atte leste weye
I nam but deed, ii, 35:262;

If in the hondes of som wrecche I falle
I nam but lost. v, 30:706;

Ne but I hadde agilt. v, 70:1698;

And seyð him certeyn, but he might have grace
To have Constance withinne a litel space
He nas but deed. ii, 176:109;

And if myn housbond eek might it espie
I ner but lost. iii, 112:185.

This *ne-but* in the apodosis of a condition differs in no essential particular from the examples already given. It is to be noticed that this *ne-but* is to be translated by *but* in N.E. There are very few exceptions to this favorite construction of CHAUCER.

Ther nas no cry but Troilus is thare. iv, 161:196.

This combination, "Ther nys no," "Ther nas no," etc., is one of the most frequent in CHAUCER and hence causes no surprise even in conjunction with *but*.

On the other hand why CHAUCER wrote:

For wórlðly jóie halt nóught but bý a wýre. iv, 290:1587;
instead of

For wórlðly jóie ne hált but bý a wýre,
is not clear. Perhaps it was to throw especial emphasis upon the *nought*. "Ne wight but God" in MORRIS, ii, 184:387, with no mention of textual change, is not confirmed by H. Ms. which reads: "No wight but God," cf. ii, 185:390: "it was no wight but He;" iii, 338: "no thing but, etc."

Side by side with these examples must be placed a few, which are in a measure isolated. "Sche may have mercy, this wot I wel, if sche have wille to do penitence, but never schal it be but that sche nas corrupt." iii, 344. This is at once clearer if, in accordance with H. Ms., the *but* be stricken out so that it reads, "but never schal it be that sche was corrupt," in which the only difficulty is the exceptional use of *ne* alone.

Thynk alle swich taried tyd but lost it nys. iv, 223:1739.

The inversion causes no difficulty.

§4. *Other Cases.*

There are certain cases of *ne* alone in independent sentences (besides in the apodosis of the conditional, which will be discussed later), which do not fall within any of the divisions already made and yet do not seem to require a separate head. a.—Analogous to the use of *ne-witen* is that of *ne recche*, which is found only once with *ne* alone and that used parenthetically.

Or somme wight ellis I ne roghte who, v, 162:244;

an unsymmetrical and halting line, which is either a bad reading, although confirmed by Bodley Ms. 638, or is to be reduced to a normal verse by violent slurring and abbreviation. As a rule this word has intensified negation. Examples:

In hite presence I recche nat to sterve. ii, 44:540;

Thanne rekke I nat, when I have lost my lyf, ii, 70:1399;

I recche nat how sone be the day. v, 71:1733;

He roughte nought what unthrift that he seyde. iv, 317:403.

b.—This day ne herd I of your mouth a word. ii, 278:4,
recalls at once the passage in the Prologue, ii, 24:763.

For by my trouthe, if that I schal not lye

I ne saugh this year so mery a compayne. •

in which the host gives the reason of his welcome. After this model are many examples, but no other than ii, 278:4, without the introductory *for*. The host has just reproached the student for his quiet and modesty, which he likens to that of a maiden or newly married wife; and now, as if to justify his censure and his comparison, he adds

This day ne herd I of your mouth a word.

This sentence then seems to belong to the causal sentences (cf. ii. §1).

c.—Strikingly peculiar is iii, 184:

And the apostil seith, ther nys thing in this world of which we schuln have so gret joye, as whan oure conscience bereth us good witnes.

The non-existence of any thing which surpasses a good conscience, is to be emphasized, and yet the simple *ne* is used and that, too, where there are no conditions of metre to be complied with. It is an unexplained exception to customary usage.

d.—Thei ne were for-pamprid with owtrage, vi, 300:5.

If this is not demanded by metrical consideration it must yield to the other and better reading:

They ne weere nat for-panipred with owtrage, vi, 317:5.

e.—In v, 72:1743, "a word ne koude he seye," it is either *ne*, or the explanation of the *ne* is to be found in the fact that just five lines above it has already been said: "He nought a word ayein to him answarde," and the repetition of this fact does not require a strong negation.

f.—The Imperative is generally strongly negated, that is, by *ne* with some other particle, or by a compound negation as *not*, *nought*, etc. The examples are numerous: ii, 27:841; 135:7; 135:35; iii, 156; iv, 165:302; v, 177:721. On the other hand there are a couple of examples of the Imperative with simple *ne*.

Now blisful lorde! so cruwel thow ne be

Unto the blode of Troye, I preye the

As Juno was v, 25:599.

If this is a simple Imperative sentence, the negation is simply *ne*. If it is sought to explain this as a sentence dependent upon "I preye the," the further difficulty presents itself that *ne* in such cases is not always sufficient. (Cf. ii, §5).

A second example of a similar construction is met with in the Cokes Tale, which is probably not from CHAUCER:

Than answerd the porter, and swor by Goddes berd

Thow ne schalt, Gamelyn, come into this yerde. ii, 149:296.

The easiest reading of the second verse is the most regular, that is, the preservation of monosyllabic anacrusis and the reduction by slurring of the word Gamelyn to two syllables. This produces one irregularity: the *ne* is required to bear the ictus. Is this not a hint to the explanation of the *ne*? Has it not the coloring of a temporal adverb (=never)? At any rate this explanation is in keeping with the emphasis, which the porter would place upon his prohibition and accounts for the unusual ictus.

Attention should be called to

This day ne herd I of your mouth a word. ii, 278:4;

For by my trouthe, if that I shal not lye

I ne saugh this yere so mery a companye, ii, 24:763;

where *ne* in conjunction with *day* and *yere* seems to take on a kind of temporal meaning.

This is clearer in

Not I not how, but sen that I was wroughte

Ne felt I swich a confort dar I seye. v, 48:1167,

in which *ne* recalls New English *ne'er*. Cf. v, 319:12.

Summary.

Before going over to a discussion of the dependent sentences it is necessary to glance at the meagre results already obtained. WACKERNAGEL's rule furnished a clue to the explanation of CHAUCER's frequent use of *ne-witen*.

The interrogative sentences were discussed under §2. and the attempt was made to demonstrate that in such sentences the negation was formal and that the affirmation of a positive idea was the real purpose in view.

In §3. attention was called to the adversative, privative, negative power of *but*, in order to draw the inference that in this word the negative was intensified. At the same time it was emphasized that the real thought in these sentences was strongly positive. The special cases in §4 were examined individually.

One thing further needs to be noticed; namely, that the verb negated by *ne* is generally *witen*, *wilne*, *bee* or *have*. With *ne-but* and in a few other cases other verbs are found.

II.

Dependent Sentences.

The lack of a complete and thoroughly exhaustive discussion of the syntax of the Chaucer-language in general, must be the extenuation for a more minute and exact discussion than would otherwise be necessary of the negation in dependent sentences.

§1 *Causal Sentences.*

CHAUCER's usage in such sentences recalls at once some of the usages which have already been noticed and seems to have no explanation peculiar to itself. It seems, therefore, unnecessary to make any attempt to distinguish between coördinate and subordinate sentences, or between real or logical cause.

For by my faith I nolde . . . iii, 70:323 ; .

for I nolde, etc. iv, 54:90 ;

For by that ilke lorde that made me

I nold a forlonge wey o lyve have be, iv 350:1209.

This occurrence is in no wise surprising for this contraction of *ne* and *wilne* is one of the most frequent in CHAUCER.

To passage ii, 24:764 ; ii, 278:4 ; (cf. i §4) belongs also

Sche made alwey hire compleynt and hire mone

For sche ne saugh him on the daunce go, iii, 8:192 ;

I know what is the peyne of deth thereby
 Which harm I felt, for he ne mighte by leve. ii, 372:237.
 That they ne finde in hire desire offence
 For cloude of errour ne let hem discerne
 What best is. iv, 308-171.

The latter example is in several respects peculiar.

In iv, 54:90 is an example which, according to form is to be placed under this head.

For bothe I hadde thing, which that I nolde
 And eke I ne hadde thing that I wolde. iv, 54:90.

The nature of the negation is clearly caused by the antithesis.

WACKERNAGEL (= *Abhandlung*, §17) shows that *ne* alone is sufficient in M. H. G., when by agnomination the same verb is used twice close together, first positively then negatively.

It would be difficult to find a prettier example to illustrate this rule than the one cited in which *hadde* and *ne hadde*, *nolde* and *ne wolde* not only follow closely upon each other but occupy corresponding positions in the metrical construction of the lines. A similar combination is found B. 70:1914,

*pat pou lakkedest pat pou noldest han lakked or ellys pou haddest
 pat pou noldest han had,*

in which the contrast obtains, but the words do not show it so clearly as above. In the original it runs: uel aberat quod abesse non uelles, uel aderat quod adesse noluisses. WACKERNAGEL includes such an occurrence in his explanation, for he adds that simple *ne* can stand when the same construction is repeated, both times negatived but with a difference, or opposition, in one or the other of the elements of the compound sentence.

A further example is B. 18:408:

*Yif god is, whennes comen wikked thinges, and yif god ne is,
 whennes comen goode thinges* Si quidem deus, inquit, est, unde mala; bona vero unde, si non est.

As a matter of course *ne* is not the only admissible negative in causal sentences. Examples:

For never erst ne saugh sche such a sighte. ii, 288:140.

We have a recurrence here of the usual form *ne saugh* with the *never erst* which is found very frequently.

I ne say not thys by me for I ne kan
 Do no servise. iv, 67:478.

This is, in fact, the regular method of negation in CHAUCER,

that is, the negation of the verb by *ne* and of other words by appropriate particles.

For she ne graunted him in her lyvyng

No grace. v, 202:191;

For she ne parteth neither nyght ne day. v, 287-359;

For certes I not how nȝ when, allas. iv, 285:1430;

For thou ne failest never wight at neede. v, 82:O;

For in effect they ben nought worth a myte. iii, 44:511.

The double negation in its purest form, that is two negative particles with the same word, is found in the following:

Speke thow, for I ne dar nat him yse. v, 80:G;

For trewely I nyl not thus sojorne. v, 20:483.

§2 Conditional Sentences.

Under the discussion of *ne-but* several examples of conditional sentences have already been mentioned. Here it is necessary to cite the examples of *ne* alone in the protasis.

And, as by ryght, they myghten wel sustene,

That I were worthy my damnacioun

Nere mercye of yow, blysful hevenes quene. v, 79:C.

Nere thy tendre herte, v, 85:z; if it nere too long to heere, ii, 28:17; nere that a merchaunt, ii, 174:34; if it nere baptism, iii, 288.

In unreal Conditions of the past or present, the protasis, as in the sentences just cited, is expressed by the subjunctive and denied by *ne*, with or without introductory conjunction.

To be noted are also:

Ne had I hadde mayn and might, ii, 143:143;

And if that God ne hadde (as saith the book)

I-spared him, ii, 350:1056.

*** that if he ne hadde pité of mannes soule, sory songe mighte we alle synge iii, 285; Thanne if I nadde iv, 350:1205; but yif þere ne were oon þat conioigned so many[e diverse] þinges B. 102:2896; Nisi unus esset qui tam diversa conjungeret. Yif þere ne oon þat: nisi unns esset qui B. 102:2900, cf. further 9:1321, 101:2865, etc.

In ideal Conditions the indicative is employed and *ne* is used as the negative particle whether the condition is unfulfilled or still in doubt.

And if thow nylt, wyte al thi-self thi care. iv, 193:1000;

Now wherwith schuld he make his payement

If he ne used his sely instrument ii, 210:132;

If thow thus deye and she noot whi it is. iv, 140:800.

For yif god ne is swiche: nam ni tale sit. B. 89:2489.

Where one of the parts of the conditional sentence is strongly negated, *ne* suffices in the other :

But I wist[e] neuer how fer þine exile was, yif þi tale ne' hadde schewed it to me. B. 23:254 : Sed quam id longinquum esset exilium, nisi tua prodidisset oratio nesciebam,

or :

Haddest thou nought to wommen told thy secré

In al the world ne hadde ther be thy peere. iii, 203:63.

It is worthy of notice that this is the only example of an unreal condition, in which the simple *ne* is not found sufficient. —Exceptions in the case of ideal conditions are not frequent, but are found :

If God ne kepe not iii, 164 ; If he ne may not chast be by his lyf ii, 324:202 ;

And if that thow nylt noon

Lat be, iv, 196:1055 :

Who may not be a fole, if that he love. ii, 36:941, etc.

The examples however of *ne* alone in such sentences are far more numerous.

§3. Sentences of Result.

A.—In Latin the so-called *Relativum Consecutivum*, particularly with negative verbs of existence, is of frequent occurrence and is construed with the subjunctive. (Cf. ELLENDT-SEYFFERT, 'Lat. Gram.,' p. 243). If the subordinate sentence contains a negative, it is clear that by means of this double negation a general positive is expressed ; for example, Nemo est quin : 'everyone,' 'all.' A construction similar to this is met with in CHAUCER, where, however, instead of the relative pronoun, *that* with the personal pronoun is generally used. Examples :

For certvs, lord, ther nys noon of us alle,

That sche nath been a duchesse or a queene. ii, 29:65 ;

For in this world certeyn no wight ther nys

That hé ne doth or saith sometime amys. iii, 3:51 ;

Ther loveth noon, that sche nath why to pleyne. iv, 184:777.

In all this world ther nys no creature

That he ne schuld his lif anoon for-lete ; iii, 102:402.

I owe hem nought a word, that it nys quitte, ii, 219:425 ;

for as much as a cherl hath no temporal thing

That it nys his lordes. iii,, 331.

For ther nys planeté in firmament,

Ne in ayre ne in erthe noon element,

That they ne yive me a yifte echoon. v, 176:691.

Cf. further ii, 359:1411; iii, 149; iv, 346:1112, etc.

Here belongs also the rhetorical question :

Who is it þat ne seide, þou nere ryght weleful ;
Quis non te felicissimum . . . prædicanit. B. 57:944.

For who is that ne wold hire glorifie. iv, 218:1593.

Further are to be compared B. 42:1100; 41:1064. Under this head the following sentences are best placed.

Thou saydest no word sins thou spak to me
That I ne knew therwith thy nicete. iii, 44:495 ;
That in his bed ther daweth him no day
That he nys clad, and redy for to ryde. ii, 52:818 ;
But certes I am nought so nyce a wight
That I ne kan ymagynen a way. iv, 366:1598.
Cf. ii, 19:603 ; ii, 347:952, etc.

The double explanation of this negation is to be found in the combination of the negation and in its formal nature. The formal negative has already been discussed, i, §2. This formal negative here differs, however, in this one and very important particular. There it was a question of simple negation, here it is a question of double negation in a closely knit-together complex sentence. If one examines an example of this kind, it is clear that this double negation serves only to affirm with emphasis. It is not enough to say that the negatives destroy each other. Take for example the sentence

For certes, lord, ther nys noon of us alle

That sche nath been a duchesse or a queene. ii, 29:65,

and eliminate the negative particles and we have left the thought that one of us all has been a duchesse or a queene, whereas the thought is very clearly that all of us have been duchesses, or queens. In other words, by means of this double negation, where one portion of the sentence contains a general negative conception, a general affirmative is attained. In this usage of *ne*, CHAUCER is more steadfast than anywhere else ; for not a single exception has been found. It is, of course, true that the writer may have overlooked some exception but not to have noticed any in a very close reading must at least prove that they are extremely rare, if they occur at all.

B.—The explanation, just mentioned will hardly be justified in cases where no negation is found in the first sentence, although the regular negation is as above stated. In these sentences the relation of cause and effect is visible, or, as PAUL

expresses it: Der Nebensatz bezeichnet den Ausfluss aus der Beschaffenheit eines Gegenstandes oder einer Thätigkeit.

But such a cry and such a woo they make
 That in this world nys creature lyvyng. ii, 29:43;
 That is so heigh, that all ne kan I telle. iv, 279:1274;
 Constreyneth to a certeyn ende so
 Hise flodes, that so fiersly they ne growen. iv, 296:1710;
 So dronk he was he niste what he wroughte. iii, 91:25;
 So confus, that he nyste what to seye. iv, 314:328.
 Cf. ii, 292:5; iii, 82:220, etc.

By the side of such examples, are found relative sentences without negation:

Who-so that nyl be war by other men
 By him schal other men corrected be. ii, 211:180;
 Under an holte that nempnen I ne can. ii, 185:409;
 Under an holte that men nempne can. H. Ms.
 Of oon peril, which declare I ne dar. ii, 320:62;
 As she that nyste what was best to rede. iv, 112:96.

These are beyond question sentences of result for they may be brought under the form *so, of such a nature*, etc., *that*, without disturbing the meaning.

In the lines

That ther nas king nē prince in al that lond
 That he nas glad, if he that grace fond
 That sche ne wold upon his lond werraye. iii, 212:340;

is a beautiful illustration of CHAUCER'S usage. First comes the effect of a previously mentioned cause the superiority of the queen. This result is negated by *ne* and this negation is continued by *nē*. Thereupon follows a clause negated by simple *ne*, as was customary; and, further on, is found a clause with simple *ne* following a positive clause.

The exceptions here are not numerous:

In such a wyse that thou ne wante noon espye ne wacche iii, 144;
 So that the wolf ne made it not myscarye. ii, 17:513;
 So wroth he was, he wolde no word seye. iii, 105:495.
 Cf. iv, 240:338; iv, 280:1296; iii, 68:275.

It seems, then, within bounds to assert that in sentences of result CHAUCER always used simple *ne* after negative sentences, and generally after positive sentences.

§4. *Sentences of Purpose.*

Sentences of Purpose in the negative form happen not to be numerous in CHAUCER. The negation is generally strong ;

Beth war, that by ensample of youre lyvyng,
Outher by negligence in chastisyng
That they ne perische. iii, 78:97.

On the other hand :

Help, that my father be nat wroth with me. v. 80:G ;
For with that faire cheyne of love he bond
The fyr, the watir, the eyr and eek the lond
In certeyn boundes that they may not flee. ii, 92:2133.

§5. *Declarative Sentences.*

The regular introductory particle of such sentences is *that*. The negation varies, being sometimes *ne*, sometimes strong. First, the examples :

Wenyng that God ne might his pride abate. iii, 220:600 ;
I wot thow nyht it digneliche endite. iv, 194:1024.

Wenest þou quod sche þat god ne is almyghty no man is in doute
of it : Demum, inquit, esse omnium potentem nemo dubitauerit
B. 105:2973.

I say not that she ne hadde knowyng. iv, 182:995 ;
But whi he nolde don so fel a dede
That shal I seyn. v, 3:50 ;

Than bad he hym
That he ne schuld hym in the world delyte. iv, 53:66 ;
For when he saugh that she ne myghte dwelle. iv, 369:1671 ;

For various cases with *ne-but*, cf. ii, 206:13 ; v, 193:1261, etc.
As opposed to this simple negation the following examples
deserve notice :

and I saye furthermore
That I ne telle of laxatifs no store. iii, 239:333 ;
They wenen that no man may hem bigile. ii, 126:128 ;
But ferst I pray you of your curtesie
That ye ne rette it nat my vilanye. ii, 23:726 ;
The kyng commaundeth his constable anon
That he ne schulde suffre in no maner wyse. ii, 194:696 ;
The philosophres sworn were everichoon
That they ne schulde discovere it unto man noon
Ne in no book it write in no manere. iii, 74:453 ;
Valirian gan fast unto hir swere
That for no caas ne thing that mighte be
He scholde never for nothinge bywreye hire. iii, 33:150.

Is it merely chance that *ne* alone is used only with auxiliary verbs, whether used as such or as principal verbs, whereas the strong negation accompanies other verbs?

The exception after the verbs *swere* and *commande* was to be expected. Nevertheless it is interesting to notice the heaping of negation after such verbs. Worthy of special attention are the cases in BOETHIUS, in which *negare* is used in the original and that, too, without regard to whether it is followed by accusative and infinitive, or by *quin*.

It may not ben denoyed *pat þilke goode ne is:*

Sed *quin existat sitque negari nequit* B. 18:2464;

May anyman denye that al *þat* is right nis good:

quisquam negabit bonum esse omne quod justum. B. 126:3619.

To be compared with these are 114:3232; 129:3683, etc.

§6. Optative Sentences.

This construction, which is one of CHAUCER'S favorites, gives another occasion for the remark that *ne* seems to find its proper application when the intention is to express a positive thought with emphasis by means of a formal negation. In these sentences, generally used with "Allas!" the purpose is to express a positive wish. Reference is made to i, §2.

O deth, allas! why nyltow do me deye. iv, 310:222;

'Allas'! quod he, 'that I nad heer a knave' ii, 351:1094;

Allas! that he nad hold him by his ladil. iii, 250:51;

Allas! I ne hadde brought here in hire sherte. iv, 304:68;

Allas, that I ne had Englyssh, ryme, or prose,

Suffisant this flour to preyse aryght. v, 278:66;

'Allas, Fortune!

Whi ne haddestow my fader, kyng of Troye

Byrafft the life.' iv, 311:246.

These examples are strikingly like the interrogative sentences in which the poet used the form of a question to express a wish. Here he uses an exclamation for the same purpose. The exceptions are not numerous:

Allas! and I ne may it not amende. v, 29:692;

Alas! and ther ne hath she no socoure. vi, 264:115;

Allas I ne have no langage for to telle. ii, 69:1369

It merits attention that these exceptions are wishes in the present time, while most of the examples with *ne* alone refer to the past.

§7. *Concessive Sentences.*

The number of such sentences is small and the use of the negation is not fixed. For example :

And thogh they ne hadde I wolde thoo. v, 187:1053;
and

Though he hadde nought that oon, he wolde have that other. ii,
166:802 ;

Al nere his herte lighte. v, 4:74 ;

And though he were nat depe expert in lore. ii, 170:4.

In H. Ms. *expert* is lacking.

Though I by ordre hem here rehearse ne can. iii, 53:233 ;

Though I ne can the causes forsothe knowe. iii, 7:159 ;

Cf. Though I ne conne nought sette hem in her kynde. iii, 53:236.

Further :

Algate she ne rought of hem a stree. v, 182:886.

Outside of metrical reasons it would be difficult to find any differences between the sentences with and those without strong negation.

§8. *With Verbs of Fearing, Dreading, etc.*

Related to the usage in sentences of purpose is that in sentences following verbs of "doubting, fearing, restraining, etc.," particularly in translations from the Latin :

Nemo dubitat esse . . . : no man douteþ þat þei ne ben. B. 41:1044 ;
54:1431 ;

dubitare nequit . . . quin : it may nat ben doubted þan . . . ne
B. 44:1147 ;

Nihil igitur dubium est quin . . . : now nis it no doute þat þat
. . . ne. B. 80:2203.

Similarly :

Doute is there noon, Quene of misericorde

That thou narte cause of grace and mercye here. v, 79:D.

Num dubitari potest quin uoluntaria regantur :

þer may no man donten þat þei ne ben gouerned uoluntarily.
B. 103:2938.

In these sentences the idea at bottom is positive. The negation continued by *ne* in connection with the principal sentence, expresses the opposite of that which is formerly said.—To be noticed are further the sentences with *drede* :

At þe leest no drede ne myght ouercome the muses, þat þei ne
weren felawes, etc. B. 4:7.

he mot alwey ben adrad *þat* he ne lese *þat* þing, 43:1132;
with which compare:

As whoo seiþ he mot ben alwey agast lest he lese, 44:1134.

Further:

Yit may it not be with-holden that it ne goþ away when it wol :
Tamen quominus, cum velit, abeat retineri non possit. B. 43:1105.

And I ne can myn herte not restreyne

That I ne love him alwey neveretheles. v. 204:238;

Thou scholdest never out of this grove pace

That thow ne schuldest deyen of myn hond. ii, 50:744.

Without characterizing these cases more nearly, it is sufficient to say that *ne* continues the strong negation of the first sentence. CHAUCER translates *quin*, as in B. 102:2881; *quominus*, B. 43:1105; and *ut-non*, B. 19:432, by *þat* . . . *ne*. Where the preceding sentence is positive; as for example, ii, 5:130, the dependent sentence shows strong negation.

§9. *Special Cases.*

There remain several cases which apparently, or really, do not fall under any of the heads already given.

A.—The correlative sentence, ii, 255:293, is the only example of its kind found.

Now, quod sche, Jhesu Crist, and king of kinges

So wisly helpe me, as I ne may.

In this short clause with *may* the simple *ne* excites no surprise. The clause is clearly elliptical, and the explanation of the *ne* is found in that fact. WACKERNAGEL declares this to be a common occurrence in M. H. G.

B. And thanne thilke thing that the blake cloude of errour whilom hadde y-couered shal lyhten more clerly thanne Phebus hym-self ne shineth. B. 100:2842.

CHAUCER explains this passage in his glossary and uses in his explanation the same construction: more evydently . . . thanne the sonne ne semyth. This construction is not borrowed from the Latin text, which runs

Dudum quod atra texit errois nubo

Lucebit ipso perspicacius Phoebo.

The French translation by JEAN DE MEUNG has not been compared with this, because it was not at hand, but it is probable that CHAUCER'S translation is determined by that work.

Any other explanation of this peculiar construction would be

difficult to find. For the unsettled usage in O. F., *PERLE* is to be consulted in the treatise already noted. For the settled usage in the French of today, compare *CHASSANG* (p. 427 ff.)

C.—V, 319:12, seems at first glance to be temporal clause; with a closer examination it turns out to be a concessive sentence and hence is to be referred to §7.

Ofte swore thou that thou woldest deye
For love, whan thou ne felteste maladeye
Save foule delyte, which that thou callest love. v, 319:12.

In form this sentence is temporal. If, however, the real contents of the sentence be taken in connection with the poet's attempt to paint Jason in the blackest possible colors, it is clear that he opposes to Jason's hypocrisy the fact that this Jason had never loved. Often hast thou sworn that thou wouldst die of love, although thou hast never suffered from love-sickness, except from impure lust which thou callest love. If this be the true interpretation of the passage, then it is another case of *ne* with temporal coloring: *never*.

Summary.

By an examination of the phenomena in dependent sentences, besides the interesting direct results, which have already been discussed, this general result has been reached: that where the preceding sentence is negative the dependent sentence can be negated by *ne*. The clearest illustration of this principle is in the sentences of result, where the usage is without exception.

This rule may be given in general terms, that where one part of the sentence has strong negation, *ne* is sufficient in the other; for the conditional sentences show that the strongly negated element need not precede. This is easily explained and is in keeping with the diminished force of the *ne*, for, of course, no such strong negation is necessary to continue a negative conception as would be necessary to deny this conception in the first instance. With his accustomed acumen *WACKERNAGEL* has discussed this with reference to conditional, or rather subjunctive, sentences and noted that this is the explanation of the French structure: *je ne vois personne qui ne vous loue*. The mood in *M. E.* seems to have exercised no influence upon this construction. The optative sentences, which might have been discussed perhaps in i, §2, give occasion for the repetition of the principle that where a positive assertion of whatever nature is

clothed in negative form, the negation is formal and the particle *ne* sufficient.

It must be stated that in dependent sentences the use of *ne* alone is chiefly with auxiliary verbs. This calls to mind WACKERNAGEL'S discussion of the use with auxiliary verbs, yet it can not be contended that these sentences are short and hence subject to this explanation, nor is anything of the Ellipsis which occurs in M. H. G. noticeable here except in, as I *ne* may, ii, §9, A.

A basis for the explanation not only of these auxiliary verbs but above all of the verb *wite* is to be sought in the fact that the almost invariable contraction bound the verb and the negative so integrally and entirely together that they formed only *one* idea. As in Latin *nescio*, *nequeo*, etc., are found, so in CHAUCER *nyst*, *nyll*, *nys*, etc.

In reference to the contracted forms of *ne-witen* let it be noticed that CHAUCER almost always reproduces the conception, *ignorare* by such forms. Compare *myllynge*, Latin *nolens*.

CHAUCER translates *aliquam uolendi nolendique naturam*, by "any manere nature of willynge or of nillynge"; or, *inest etiam uolendi nolendique libertas*, by "in hem also is libertee of willynge and of nillynge." B. 97:2718; 152:4401.

It is easy to conceive that these contracted forms were so generally used that the two elements of which they were formed were no longer felt, but on the contrary seemed to furnish but one single notion. The component parts, as such, were no longer observed and the presence of a negation no longer emphasized. It was an affirmation of non-existence, or of ignorance, rather than a denial of existence, or of knowledge. It is not necessary to discuss here the metaphysical difference between these two manners of expressing a thought, for a justification of this view is not to be found in a psychological fact but in a grammatical form. If these contractions be positive then CHAUCER'S usage is normal.

But there are many cases in which this contraction did not take place; many in which it could not take place, and here the matter presents increasing difficulty. Grant that these contracted words stood as the representatives of single ideas and not of two separate ideas, and it is not hard to believe that metrical demands, which sometimes broke up these words into their parts, did not interfere with the oneness or affirmative nature of these notions.

Now, then, in form *ne wolde, ne wiste, ne schulde, ne myghte*, etc., are alike, and analogy would in a measure explain the forms which could not be contracted and which did not express a single idea.

It must be confessed that this whole theory, if it is to be dignified by such a name, springs from a desire to find some foundation for a more thorough explanation than a merely external one, of CHAUCER'S usage. It is an attempt, however, unsatisfactory and far-fetched, to trace this usage in CHAUCER to its source and origin.

Where and under what circumstances the poet makes use of *ne* has, it is hoped, been clearly presented.

III.

Multiplied Negation.

Unhindered by any law forbidding the use of double, or manifold, negation CHAUCER scattered negative particles throughout the creations of his genius with freedom and with lavishness. He had to consider nothing but the demands of metre, and the effect to be produced by a skilful style. With what full appreciation of their usefulness did he apply them to elevate the style, to throw emphasis upon some important word and above all to give the verse a rhythmical and easily readable form! But exactly this freedom in the use of such particles renders it almost impossible to discover the principles that determined the intensification of the negation, or the insertion of a *ne*; for the conditions, and particularly the metrical conditions, that demanded the presence of an unaccented syllable in one place and forbade it in another, were in the very nature of the case never the same and hence the usage varied with these varying conditions. It is not to be expected then that much definite information is to be gained here, nor is there any prospect of a satisfactory and exhaustive discussion of this point in this paper. If this is to be reached at all, it must be by an exact criticism of the literary and poetical art of this great author. The purpose here is simply to observe some of the external signs of the determining factors in this usage.—As a preface to the heaping of negative particles the following transition may be noticed.

§1. *Figurative Negation.*

If the first chapter had not been particularly concerned with

the use of *ne*, it would have been fitting to discuss this figurative negation in connection with *ne-but*. In those sentences in which, before *but*, some word like *other* has fallen out, the same kind of comparison obtains as is found here, and for the same purpose; namely, to provide some opinion with peculiar emphasis.

In one case *ne-but* is found:

It nys but bene-straw and gret forage. ii, 323:178.

More usual is it to make the given object of thought subordinate to some object which is confessedly worthless. By this means the speaker's indifference to the matter in hand, or his low valuation of it, is made very clear. This is done very frequently by *worth*, where the value of a worthless object is denied to the object in question. Examples are:

Al thys nys worthe a flye. iv, 68:501;

But thilke text hild he not worth an oystre. ii, 7:182;

But ther as I was want to hote Arcite

How hoothe I Philostrate, nought worth a myte ii, 48:700;

The clerk whan he is old, and may nought do

Of Venus werkis, is not worth a scho. ii, 227:708;

But that tale is not worth a rakes stele. ii, 235:93;

Such arrogaunce is not worth an hen. ii, 240:255;

Thomas, that jape is not worth a myte. ii, 267:253;

. and suche folye

As in our dayes nys nought worth a flye. iii, 14:404;

The goos seyde tho 'Al thys nys worthe a flye. iv, 68:501;

'Noon other lif,' sayd he, 'is worth a bene.' ii, 319:19;

Akin to these are the examples with *recche*.

This Absalon ne roughthe nat a bene

Of al this pley. ii, 116:584;

But natheles I recche nat a bene. ii, 172:94;

Algate she ne roughthe of hem a stree. v, 182:886;

He ne roughthe not a myte for to dye. vi, 265:126.

The same contempt for the object in question is present in these examples with other verbs.

He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen. ii, 6:177;

Of al the remenant of al myn other care

Ne sette I nought the mountaunce of a tare. ii, 49:712;

Of al here art ne counte I not a tare. ii, 126:136.

Aleyn answerd, 'I count it nat a flye. ii, 130:272;

For he ne countede nat thre strees
 Of nought that Fortune koude doo. v, 177:717;
 For al hir compleynt ne al hir moone
 Certeynly awayleth hir not a stree. v, 220:362;
 And if to lese his joie, he sette not a myte. iv, 259:783.

In this long list of examples, which however may not be complete, indifference, or low valuation, is in all cases the principal idea to be expressed. With this construction are to be compared such words as *pas*, *point*, *mie*, *goutte*, etc., in French, which are discussed in the treatise by PERLE, and in CHASSANG (p. 411 ff.) In New English and New High German, as is well known, numerous like expressions exist, particularly in the folk-language.

§2. *Heaping of Negative-Particles.*

The discussion here, of course, goes beyond the limits of a simple treatment of *ne* (non) and takes in, as well, all negative words. It has already been seen in the examples cited above that several negative particles, or negative expressions, frequently occur in the same sentence; it is in place to notice here that CHAUCER was accustomed under ordinary circumstances to provide his sentences richly with negative particles. Exactly how these were placed, or what form they took, depended upon the necessities of each individual case. Yet it is clear that a favorite method was this: to negative the verb by *ne* and, in addition, to place appropriate negatives before the principal words. This led to the so-called "heaping of negatives."

Nature ne art ne couthe him nought amende
 In no degre. ii, 361:190.
 for west nor (H. Ms. *ner*)este.
 Ne saugh I never er now no bryd ne beste, ii, 369:114;
 He never yit no vilonye ne sayde
 In al his lyf, unto no maner wight. ii, 3:70;
 To love hym best ne shal I never repente. vi, 274:370;
 Ne of hir doughter nought o word spak sche
 Non accident for noon adversité
 Was seyn in hir, ne never hir doughter name
 Ne nempnyd sche, in ernest ne in game. ii, 297:158;
 For-why to tellen nas not his entente
 To nevere no man. iv, 138:739;
 Ne no soþer þing ne may not ben said. B. 8:2370.

The double negation with one verb is by no means so frequent

as a separation of the negative force. Cf. "But he nat not," ii, 40:405, etc. By the side of such cases is found comparatively often two negative particles with a compound verb; for example, "I nyl not kepe," ii, 207:46; "ne schuld he nought have" ii, 220:463. In these cases there is, strictly speaking, a division of the negation for these particles refer to separate parts of the verb; but, of course, they both together deny one idea. Where two negative particles occur separated by the verb alone, it will not do to conclude without further thought that they both belong to the verb. On the contrary such combinations as "Ther nys noon," "Ther nas no man," "Ther nis no more to seye," "Ther nas nothing," are far more frequent. Of course there is no fixed rule that *ne* must always be one of the particles. The other negative words have full power and do not need *ne*.

It seems impossible to find any intensifying power in the *ne* itself. "Ther nis noon" and "ther is noon," seem to have equal force, but by the insertion of a *ne* it is often possible to make a negative, which would otherwise be construed with the verb, have immediate reference to some other important word, and by this means the negation is made clearer and stronger.

Of al here art ne counte I nat a tare. ii, 126:136.

It is to be noticed, however, that the increased power of the negation depends upon the negated word and only in a limited degree upon the *ne*.

Some of the cases in which *ne* appears among the negative particles are the following:

a.—If the sentence formation is inverted, particularly if a descriptive clause precedes, or if the predicate precedes the subject. It frequently happens that there is already a negation in this preceding clause and it is only necessary to continue the negation, or rather to extend it to the whole sentence.

In al this world ne was ther non him lyk. ii, 14:412;

No berd ne hadde he, ne never scholde have. ii, 22:689;

Nothing ne knew he that it was Arcite. ii, 47:661;

As in this world right now ne know I non. ii, 86:1935, etc.

b.—With *nē-nē*, or *nē*, other negations are generally found, sometimes *ne*; as, in

Ne of his wo ne dorst he nat bygynne. iv, 128:503;

Ne never in al thy lyf ne schaltow speke. iii, 258:193.

Sometimes *nat*, *not*, *nought*, etc.; as in

Ne for the drede of deth schal I not spare. ii, 44:538.

c.—When *nē-nē* comes after the verb, the verb is generally preceded by *ne*, just as in French *ne . . . ni . . . ni*.

Ne yeve us neyther mercy ne refuge. ii, 53:862 ;

And I ne may ne nyght ne morwe. v, 155:22.

The negation with the imperative deserves special attention. As after the words *swere*, *commaunde*, etc., (cf. p. 128) the negation is almost always strong. There is usually a strong particle with or without *ne* (or *nē*).

. . . . lat be your schamfastnesse

Ne studieth nat. ii, 27:840 ;

Ne bryng nat every man into thyn hous ii, 135:7 ;

Be thou nought wroth, ii, 143:145 ; Thou schalt not be forsworen, ii, 152:379 ; Ne drede hem not, ii, 315:25 ; Ne take no wif, ii, 320:52 ; Beth nought agast, ne quaketh not, iv, 165:302 ; Ne seye noght soo, v, 177:721.

§2. *Results of the Investigation of these Multiplied Negatives.*

From the examination of this "heaping of negatives" it is possible to reach the conclusion that the weakening of *ne* (*nē*) had already been carried to a great extent, and the loss of its power was simply a question of time. In CHAUCER it would be difficult to find any case in which the place of *ne* and another negative particle might not be fully supplied by this negative without *ne* ; not taking into account, of course, reasons of metre and style. In the course of time this negation, this negation of the verb, was lost and the negation of any other word was sufficient to deny the whole sentence. On that account "Ther nys noman" and "ther is noman" stand side by side. Even in CHAUCER the reverse of this is very rare: "Ther nys nothing," and "ther nys thing," iii, 184 (cf. I.§4). In CAXTON in the Legend of Saint Cecilia' there is no *ne* (non).

In M. H. G. the double negation was of common occurrence. Cf. ez enhete nimmer der künic Gunther getân. 'Nieb. Lied,' 33-4 ; in N. H. G. this double negation is still frequent, although not regular :

Es ist kein Haar an keinem unter euch, das nicht in die Hölle fährt.
SCHILLER, 'Räuber,' iii, 3 :

Mit unseren Weibern ist es ein übel Spiel

Sie haben nie kein Geld, und brauchen immer viel.-GOETHE.

Er erklärt, ohne Liebe habe niemand weder Tugend noch Ehre. Scherer, 'Lit-Gesch.', S. 169.

On the other hand the Middle English tendency seems to have reached its limit in New English; for, since SHAKESPEARE the double negation is very seldom in written language. It is however very common in the spoken language of uneducated people.

Cf. There is no harm intended to your person, Nor to no Roman else.—SHAKESPEARE. Jul. Cæsar iii. 1.

I have one heart and that no woman hath, nor never none shall mistress be of it.—SH., 'Tr.', iii, 1.

As evidence that the *nē* in CHAUCER was very weak, it is only necessary to notice the occasional interchange of *nē* and *or*:—

I trowe at Troye, whan Pirrus brak the wal,
Or Yleon that brende Thebes the citee,
Ne at Rome for the harme thurgh Hanibal
That Romayns han venquysshed tymes thre
Nas herd such tender wepyng for pité. ii, 179:190.

Why CHAUCER changed from *or* to *nē* is not at all clear. The citation presents us three cases which bear no relation to one another. It is true that the construction is peculiar, but this gives us no clue to an explanation of this unexpected *or*. Can it be connected with the insertion of a sentence between two sentences of similar construction, that is, with the parenthetical nature of this inserted sentence.

Whan sche had heard al this sche nought ameer vyd
Neyther in word, in cheer or countenance. ii, 293:51.

In this case *nē* would be expected. Where CHAUCER repeats the same idea in another word, he uses generally *or*:

Sche *not* do that vilonye or synne. ii, 238:106;
Thay mighte nought dono no vilny or vice. ii, 240:282.

Yet he writes:—I can not telle ne declare, iii, 294, where the same occasion for *or* is at hand.

Ne scryvensysh or craftily thow it write. iv, 194:1026, can be explained as *vilonye* or *synne* above, for *scryvennyssh* (scriven like) means according to the method of a professional writer; that is, craftily. It would not have been surprising, however, if CHAUCER had used *nē* here. On the other hand, *nē* as negation in the following sentence is practically meaningless.

That ther nys water, erth, fyr ne eyr,
 Ne creature that of hem maked is,
 That may me helpe ne comfort in this. ii, 39:390.

It is impossible to lend this *ne* a negative coloring and at the same time preserve the evident meaning. In the first place, the words *helpe* and *comfort* have, as used here, such nearly related meanings that, according to the use mentioned above, *or* would be expected; further, the negation of *comfort* here disturbs the sense and robs the sentence of meaning. The reading is probably correct; if so, then the *nē* is clearly very weak. The case iv 368:1639, is of this kind:

For trusteth wel that youre estat real
 Ne veyn delite, nor oonely worthinesse
 Of yow in werre or tournay marcial,
 Ne pomp, array, nobley, or ek richesse,
 Ne made me to rewe on youre distresse,

It would be more in keeping with CHAUCER's style to read *ne ek richesse*, while a *nē* between *werre* and *tournay* would be justified.

IV.

General Remarks and Metrical Observations.

§1. *Elision.*

The elision of the *e* in *ne* occurs when *ne* comes before a word beginning with a vowel, and is very common in CHAUCER, but generally with the same words. For example, *nam*, *nevere*, *neyther*, *nys*, *nay*, *naxe*, v, 20:5941; *ny* v, 42:1003; *narte* v, 79:D; *navailleth*, *nacheveth*, *nof* v, 19:447.

Some of these words, of course, are so common in their elided forms that they exist as independent words, for example, *neyther*, *nevere*, *nay*, etc. It is not always necessary that this elision be shown by the writing. There are many lines where, in order to obtain an easily explained reading and one in accordance with the metre, it is necessary to shorten the line by one syllable, although the words are written without elision. However, it is not safe to assert that this is a complete and thoroughly accomplished elision, even if the conditions of elision obtain. Rather in the cases where *ne I*, *ne at*, *ne of*, etc., are found by the side of *ny*, *nat*, *nof*, there seems to be a question of reducing two words to one syllable, without losing the effect of either vowel. This is a kind of slurring. In what cases complete elision is permissible and in what cases both vowels, though

weakened, must be heard, will be determined by the poetical feeling and judgment of the reader. Unquestionably there are many cases in which even though the conditions of elision obtain, the elision does not occur. In other words hiatus is allowed in order to prevent the reduction of syllables. This hiatus occurs frequently with *nē*.

This wyf was nat affered ne affrayed. iii, 119:400;

Ne of noon other wyfes never the mo. ii, 227:691;

How pore he was, ne eke of what degre. ii, 225:626;

Ne may the venym voyde, ne expelle. ii, 85:1893;

Ne of his wo ne dorst he nat bygynne. iv, 128:503;

Nature ne art ne couthe him nought amende. ii, 361:189.

TEN BRINK, 'Sprache und Verskuust,' S. 153, Anm., etc., remarks that with *ne* (non) absolutely no hiatus is allowed, on the contrary *nē* admits hiatus freely.

The examples just cited, as well as numerous uncited examples, prove the latter part of this remark. It is also true that *ne* (non) usually suffers elision; perhaps as TEN BRINK says, it always requires elision, but there are several examples, which seem to oppose this general statement. It is possible that these be read otherwise, or that the reading is false. The most difficult exception is the following:

Ne every appel, that is fair at ye

Ne is not good, what so men clappe or crye. iii, 58:411.

This reading of the Harleian Manuscript presents in the second line a *ne*, which is clearly *ne* (non). If one approaches this sentence without any warning, he will doubtless read it with monosyllabic anacrusis. This will throw the first ictus upon *is* and the construction is thoroughly regular. If on the other hand it is denied that hiatus can occur here, then the line will be read with elision and without anacrusis, and the verse retains only this irregularity of being without anacrusis. Moreover, the first line may be read with elision in order to preserve the equilibrium of the two lines. The first reading given seems more pleasing and less artificial.

On the other hand in

I ne aught nat for that thyng hym dispice

Sith it is so he meneth in goode wyse, iv, 182:720,

an *e* may be added to either *ought* or *thyng* and the regular

sequence of accented and unaccented syllables will be preserved with the elision or slurring of *ne*.

Conseyllen the of that thow ert amayed

Ek the ne aught, not been yvel apayed. iv, 134:648.

The combination *nē ek* is in no wise seldom in CHAUCER. Although the position here indicates *ne* (non), the construction of the sentence allows *nē* (neque). If it is to be construed as *ne* (non), then hiatus may be avoided by omission of Anacrusis. —How a written hiatus in prose is to be read cannot be determined, nor is it a question of much importance. Is iii, 140: Ye ne oughte nought, to be read as it is written, or with elision?

§2. *Contraction (Verschmelzung).*

Elision with aphæresis is called in German *Verschmelzung* (TEN BRINK, 'Sprache und Verskunst,' §271), by many grammarians synizesis. Perhaps the English word contraction is sufficient. Contraction is limited to a small number of words, but with these it occurs very often. At the end of ii, attention has been directed to the closeness and intricate nature of this union. The chief contractions are: *not*: ne wot, *nas*: ne was, *nerē*: ne were [nar(e)], *nath*: ne hath, *molde*: ne wolde, *nillynge*: ne willynge, *nist*: ne wist, *noot*: ne wot, *nyste*: ne wiste, *nad*: ne had, *nadde*: ne hadde, *nost*: ne wost, *nat*, ne hat, *nyllow*: ne wyltow for ne wylt thow. These contractions take place in Old English. Cf. *nāst nāt*, *nas*, *nytan*, etc.

§3. *Slurring.*

This is a kind of incomplete syncope or apocope. (TEN BRINK, 'Sprache und Verskunst,' §272). Among the frequent examples of slurring are many cases which involve the negative. TEN BRINK, in the place mentioned, has cited many examples. To these the following may be added:

I ne wiste not what was adversité. ii, 370:156;

Why ne had I nought thy sentence and thy love. iii, 245:530;

I ne say but for this ende this sentence. ii, 204:1041;

He ne roughte not a myte for to dye. vi, 265:126;

I ne saye not thys by me for I ne kan. iv, 67:477;

Whi ne haddestow my fader, kyng of roye. Tiv, 311:248;

Alas I ne have no langage for to telle. ii, 69:1369;

Algate she ne rough of hem a stree. v, 182:886;

ne held me never digue in no manere. ii, 303:34.

§4. *Can ne (non) Have the ictus?*

Beyond question *nē* (neque) can have the ictus. This is proven by the following examples among others:

I wolle noght serven Venus ne Cupide. iv, 73:652;

Agayne thy ladys plesire ne entent. iv, 15:429;

And leeteth nought, for favour ne for slouth. iv, 199:1136;

There was namore to skipen ne to traunce. iv, 253:641.

The line

For neyther with engyn ne with lore, iv, 176:565,

can be read either without anacrusis, or by supplying the failing syllable by an added *e*. In the first case *nē* has the accent; in the second, this will depend upon the position of the added *e*.

There is no lack of examples of this use. On the other hand there seems to be no case, in which *ne* (non) without question has the ictus.

This seems to be the case, it is true, in the spurious "Cook's Tale of Gamelyn," ii, 149:296,

Thow né schalt Gámelyn come intó this yérde,

but it must be borne in mind that this *ne* is peculiar. Cf. I, §4.

In the line,

I ne aught nat for that thyng hym dispice, iv, 182:720,

if the hiatus, as written, is to be preserved, then *ne* (non) must have the ictus, but the reading is suspicious and the correction lies so near at hand, that it would be wrong to attempt to justify the hiatus.

§5. *Use of the ne in Verse-Building.*

In the preceding pages of this paper the effort has been made to find the rules, or principles, controlling the use of *ne* (or *nē*), and for that reason the influence of the metre has been left out of consideration as much as possible in order to avoid complications. Notwithstanding in several cases it has been necessary to call the laws of metre to aid in explaining some difficulties. It is now time to say expressly that the influence of metre is of the very greatest moment and even where the prose quotations have justified given explanations, or theories, there is no escape from noticing the modifications due to metrical conditions. Reference has already been made to the lavish use of negative particles, by which CHAUCER attained to a fuller and more rounded style. This heaping of negatives is far more frequent in his poetry than

in his prose. It often occurs in the latter, it is true, but almost always for the purpose of intensifying the negation. For example, in order to reproduce the passage in BOETHIUS, which runs as follows: Fateor, inquam, et hoc nihil dici uerius potest, and in which the position of the words and the use of the comparative make the negative strong, CHAUCER applies his method of heaping negatives.

I graunt(e) wel, quod I, ne no soþer þing ne may nat been said,
B. 85:2370.

In his poetry on the other hand, it is by no means always possible to trace this strengthening. Nor is it the intensity, which commands attention, but rather the surpassing skill, with which he places these particles so as to accomplish a definite purpose.

It has been seen that *nē* (nec) may bear the ictus, that *ne* (non) most probably may not, but both of these words find their normal positions in unaccented places; that is, between the ictuses. Thus placed, they throw the accents upon important words:

Good ne harm, ne this ne that. v, 257:476;

He ne ete ne dronk ne slepe ne worde seyde. v, 60:1441;

Ne of his wo ne dorst he nat bygynne. iv, 128:503;

Allas! and I ne may it nat amende. v, 29:692;

I ne helde me never digne in no manere

To ben your wyf, ne yit your chambereré. ii, 303:34;

Ne never so trewe ne so debonaire. iii, 255:88.

Middle English was much more richly provided with negative particles than the language of to day and the poet had at command choices which no longer exist. It is true that this treasure of particles consisted mainly of words differing merely in form but with the same meaning. Whether the poet used *not*, *nat*, *nought*, *naught*, *naht*, or the copyist of any special manuscript left one or the other of these forms, the meaning suffers no confusion. But a confusion does arise, not in meaning, but in the metre and often in the search for rules, when the author uses one of those forms instead of an expected *ne*, or the reverse, which however very seldom occurs.

The manuscript used as the basis of this essay has shown many deviations from rules. If this manuscript be compared with others, the deviations are multiplied; for the readings, par-

ticularly with regard to the points discussed here, show innumerable variations from one another, and the different negative particles possible in any given case will each have in one or the other manuscript a representative.

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This examination is based upon—'The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer,' published by RICHARD MORRIS, London, 1885. From this edition are taken all the poetical citations, which are given by volume, page and line; as, iv, 15:412.

As a control the following have been used. 'The Harlein Manuscript 7334 of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales,' edited by F. J. FURNIVALL for the CHAUCER SOCIETY, 1885.

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'A One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems,' lxi, 1 Series 1880.

In the examination of the prose were used;

'A Treatise on the Astrolabe, etc., by Geoffrey Chaucer,' 1391, edited by W. W. SKEAT for the CHAUCER SOCIETY, 1872. 'Chaucer's Translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*,' edited by RICHARD MORRIS for the EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY, 1868. This translation has been compared with the original,

'Amicii Manlii Severini Boetii, *Philosophiae Consolationis*, etc.,' recensit RUDOLFUS PEIPER Lipsiae mdccclxxi.

References are made in the body of this paper to the following Works and Treatises:

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'Über die Altdeutsche Negation *ne* in abhängigen Sätzen,' von H. DITTMAR, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*. Ergänzungs-Band, herausgegeben von Höpfner und Zacher. Halle, 1874.

'Die Negation im Altfranzösischen,' von F. PERLE, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*. S. 1, ff. und S. 407ff. herausgegeben von Dr. GUSTAV GRÖBER, 1878 (ii Band).

For the negation in New French. CHASSANG, 'Nouvelle Grammaire Française, Cours Supérieur.' Paris, 1885.

WACKERNAGEL mentions a treatise which the author of this paper has not been able to procure.

In *Taal-en dichtkundige Verscheidenheden* iii, (S. 8-22), Rotterdam, 1822.

The following books have also been mentioned or quoted:

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'Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst,' von B. TEN BRINK, Leipzig, 1884.

'Englische Metrik' von Dr. J. SCHIPPER, i Theil; Altenglische Metrik über Chaucer (ss. 434-479). Bonn, 1882.

'Etude sur Chaucer,' SANDRAS. Paris, 1857.

Several citations are taken from,

'Béowulf' von MORITZ HEYNE. 4 te Auflage, Paderborn, 1879.

'Cynewulf's Elene,' von JULIUS ZUPITZA. 2te Auflage, Berlin, 1883.

The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, etc., edited by W. W. SKEAT. Oxford, 1881.

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Vowel Measurements.

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In an paper addressed to linguists and phoneticians, it were superfluous to dwell upon the importance of phonetics. All scholars interested in philological research or in modern language instruction must be aware that the teaching of living tongues is greatly improved by a knowledge of phonetics, and that without this science the satisfactory pursuit of comparative philology is impossible. Whatever be the system we adopt in the French and German courses of our colleges and schools, we must admit that pronunciation is an essential element; and the intelligent teaching of pronunciation demands an acquaintance with the physical action by which the sounds of human speech are created and modified. The American teacher, if he have exceptional advantages and an unusually delicate ear, may perhaps be able by mere imitation to acquire a correct foreign accent himself, but neither he nor the foreigner can ever, without a knowledge of phonetics, tell his pupils how to reproduce it. As for the science which we commonly call philology, it consists mainly of the study of sound changes; and the only solid foundation for such study is, obviously, a thorough mastery of the principles of sound-production.

Knowing these things, we cannot but regret that such an important branch of learning is, in spite of the wonderful achievements of a few investigators, neither widely pursued nor firmly established. In fact, much remains to be done before phonetics, as a whole, can be acceptably presented to the public. This being the case, is it not the duty of everyone concerned with philology to do his share toward the development of the parent science? It seems to me that it is, and that belief has impelled me to contribute my mite to the neglected cause.

Before entering on a course of original research, one naturally makes the practical inquiry: which part of the subject is

in greatest need of more light? In respect to phonetics this question is easily answered: what we most want is accurate information concerning the pronunciation of vowels. The acoustic relations of both vowels and consonants have been thoroughly studied; and, although the reports of various experts disagree, we know as much about this topic as is necessary for philological or pedagogical purposes. Phoneticians are, in the main, agreed as to the formation of the consonants; some matters, such as the tongue-positions for *s* and *sh*, are not quite clear; but in most cases tongue-painting has furnished us with conclusive evidence.¹ With regard to the vowels, however, there is, owing to our imperfect knowledge of the subject, a sad lack of harmony. Admirable work has been done by several men; without their studies such further investigation as I am about to propose would be inconceivable; and if they have failed to convince the learned world, or even fully to agree among themselves, it is perhaps because they and their followers have had to contend with three drawbacks. In the first place, being so few, instead of confining themselves to their own dialects, they felt obliged to attempt the analysis of a host of foreign sounds, many of which must inevitably have been ill pronounced. This broad method was doubtless necessary at first; but, thanks to the results obtained by it, we can now demand something more precise. Secondly, they adopted, in general, no system of real measurement, but trusted mainly to sensation and to ocular observation. Now there are very few vowels during the emission of which we can look well into the mouth through its normal aperture; and if we lower the jaw more than usual, we cannot utter the sounds in a natural way.² For most vowels, then, mere ocular examination is an unsafe guide. Still more uncertain is sensation; for feeling depends far less on the actual movements of the organs than on the preconceived idea in the

¹ See TECHMER, *Internationale Zeitschrift*, i, 1, Tab. iv.

² See an article by Prof. SHELTON and myself, called 'Phonetic Compensations,' in *MOD. LANG. NOTES*, iii, 6. This kind of compensation is, I think, illustrated in the chart that accompanies Dr. TECHMER's pamphlet 'Zur Veranschaulichung der Lautbildung' (Barth, Leipzig, 1885): if I remember his pronunciation rightly, the author forms *a*, as I do, with the tongue lying nearly flat in the bottom of the mouth; but in the drawing, which represents a man uttering *a* with his mouth stretched open to its widest extent, the middle of the tongue is violently raised, evidently to compensate for the enlargement of the mouth-cavity through unnatural jaw-lowering. Similar compensations are to be noted in *Phonetische Studien*, ii, 2, 'On the BELL Vowel-System.

observer's mind.³ So far as I know, the only actual measurements of any importance made hitherto are those of MERKEL⁴; and even his are really systematic and trustworthy only for the movements of the jaw. The third hindrance to which I referred is the well-nigh irresistible tendency to construct theories on insufficient data. Many investigators have, I fear, designed their system first, and then pared off the toes and heels of their facts to make them fit the symmetrical slipper into which they were to be thrust. It should, nevertheless, be said that the systematizing tendency has brought forth good as well as evil; for without it we should scarcely have seen that scheme of vowel-classification which has made modern phonetics possible.

If, then, we wish to improve on the work done hitherto, we must observe these four rules: begin your examination with a mind free from all prejudice; restrict yourself, in your publication of positive results, to your own dialect or to one with which you are equally familiar⁵; make no unqualified statement that is not based on careful measurement; conduct your investigations in such a way as not to interfere with the natural utterance of your sounds.

For several years I have been pursuing a series of experiments with a view to ascertaining the best method of vowel-measurement, and I have finally hit upon one that seems to promise good results. I offer it to my fellow-workers such as it is, hoping that, bettered by their criticism, it may prove useful to other investigators.

The subjects of my research are the principal vowels of my native Boston dialect, as I pronounce them in careless speech.

They are:—

1. \bar{u} ⁶: as in 'boot', 'suit'. I measure the second half of the vowel, which is somewhat more rounded than the first. The

3. How far a really good observer may be led astray by "sensation" is sadly apparent in some parts of the article 'On the BELL Vowel-System,' by the late W. R. EVANS, *Phonetische Studien*, ii, 1.

4 See 'Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache,' 1866, pp. 68, 82, 85, 86, 89, 91, 93, 98, 103. See also, however, VIETOR, 'Phonetik,' 1887, p. 36; and BRÜCKE, 'Grundzüge der Physiologie und Systematik der Sprachlaute,' 1876, pp. 37, 38.

5 In *Phonetische Studien*, iii, p. 114, SWERT says: "The only observations that can be fully relied on are those made by trained observers on themselves."

6 The "long" and "short" marks are used in this article merely to distinguish different vowel-qualities: they have no reference to quantity. The correspondence of my symbols with those used by the American Dialect Society is as follows: my \bar{u} = Am. Dial. Soc. \bar{u} , \bar{u} = \bar{u} , \bar{a} = \bar{a} , \bar{o} = \bar{o} , \bar{e} = \bar{e} , \bar{i} = \bar{i} , \bar{e} = \bar{e} , \bar{i} = \bar{i} , \bar{e} = \bar{e} , \bar{i} = \bar{i} .

latter part of my \bar{u} sounds nearly like German u in *gut* and French *ou* in *doute*, but it has less energetic lip-rounding, and seems to be pronounced a little further forward in the mouth.

2. \bar{u} : the vowel in 'bull', 'hoof'. It regularly takes the place of \bar{u} before any sound written r or *er*, as in 'doer', 'endure', 'insurance', 'newer', 'poor.' A variety of \bar{u} regularly precedes \bar{u} when that vowel is final or followed by a voiced consonant, as in 'do', 'room', 'rude', 'rule', 'through' (pronounced *dūū*, *rūūm*, etc.).

3. \bar{o} : as in 'boat', 'note'. I measure the second half, the first half being less rounded.⁷ The latter part of my \bar{o} is very similar in sound to German o in *not* and French \bar{o} in *côte*.

4. \bar{a} : as in 'all', 'bought', 'daughter', 'for', 'law'; somewhat similar in sound to French o in *tort*, but with less lowering of the jaw and no real rounding.

5. o : the vowel called (when heard in such words as 'boat', 'road', 'stone') "short New England o ". In my dialect, however, it exists only in the following cases: first, in the word 'whole' and its compounds; second, in the diphthong $o\bar{z}$ in 'boy', 'moist', etc.; third, instead of \bar{o} before any sound written r or *er* (as in 'door', 'roaring', 'slower', 'store.');

fourth, in unaccented syllables of some words oftener seen than heard (as 'phonetic'=*fonētic*, 'November'=*novēmbe*; but 'polite'=*pelait*). A sound intermediate between \bar{o} and o regularly precedes \bar{o} when that vowel is final or followed by a voiced consonant, as in 'bowl', 'home', 'road', 'so' (pronounced *boōl*, *hoōm*, etc.). My o seems somewhat similar to French o in *bonne*, *botte*, *homme*, *poli*, but is apparently pronounced further back in the mouth.

6. u : as in 'but', 'come', 'enough', 'squirrel' and sometimes in 'got', 'what.' It is also the vowel that takes the place of an r (except r between spoken vowels) or final *-er*, after \bar{u} , \bar{a} , and o (as in 'sure' or 'shoer', 'nor' or 'gnawer', 'sore' or 'sewer': pronounced *shūu*, *nūu*, *sou*).

7. \bar{e} : as in 'bird', 'nerve', 'nurse', 'pearl', 'sir'.

8. δ : as in 'hot', 'John', 'tomorrow'. My δ is unrounded, and hence unlike that of SWEET and of some Americans, from which it seems to differ also in other respects. When pro-

⁷ See SWEET, 'Primer of Phonetics', 1890, p. 75.

nounced with the mouth very wide open, it sounds strikingly like French *â* in *pâte*.⁸

9. a: as in 'ask', 'far', 'father', 'hard', 'pass', 'quarrel', and sometimes in 'got', 'what.' A forward variety of it forms the first element of *aɪ* (as in 'I', 'die', 'eye', 'height', 'light'); a slightly retracted variety forms the first element of *aʊ* (as in 'cow', 'out', 'plough').

10. e: the unaccented vowel in 'again', 'better', 'ogre', 'sofa'. It takes the place of an *r* (except *r* between spoken vowels) or final *-er*, after *ɪ* and *ɜ* (as in 'dear', 'payer', 'there': pronounced *dɪe*, *pɛe*, etc.).

11. i: as in 'eat', 'feet', 'receipt', 'suite'. I measure the second half of the vowel: the first half tends slightly towards *ɪ*.

12. ɪ: as in 'beard', 'Erie', 'fit', 'merely', 'near', 'steer', 'win'. An *ɪ* that tends somewhat towards *i* regularly precedes final *i* and *i* before a voiced consonant, as in 'fee', 'feed' (pronounced *fɪi*, *fɪid*.) When *ɪ* is unaccented, as in the last syllable of *sɪtɪ* ('city') or *nɛkɪd* ('naked'), it is slightly flattened and retracted, approaching *ɛ* in sound. Compare SWEET's 'Primer of Phonetics', pages 15, 74, and 77.

13. é: as in 'fate', 'great', 'straight'. I measure the second half: the first half tends slightly toward *ɜ*.

14. ɛ: as in 'bet', 'fare', 'mayor', 'men', 'stair', 'tear', 'their', 'where'. A variety of this *ɛ* regularly precedes final *ɛ* and *é* before a voiced consonant, as in 'afraid', 'bathe', 'blaze', 'name', 'rail', 'rain', 'say', 'they', 'weigh', (pronounced *ɛfrɛéd*, etc.). Compare SWEET's 'Primer of Phonetics', page 74.

15. ʌ: as in 'cat', 'man'.

These fifteen vowels, then, are to be analyzed. What are the organs whose positions we must determine? The raw material of all spoken vowels is, as every one knows, the sound borne in the vibrating breath that rises from the larynx. This sound passes, on its way to the outer air, through a large resonance-chamber and a comparatively small orifice. Sometimes there are two spaces and two openings. What we must ascertain for every vowel is the size, shape, and place both of the cavity or cavities and of the narrow passage or passages. These factors are determined by the form and position of the lips, jaw, tongue

⁸ See *Phonetische Studien*, i, 2, p. 171; and SWEET, 'Primer of Phonetics,' 1890, pp. 76 and 85.

epiglottis, and soft palate. If the larynx perceptibly rises and falls as we go from one vowel to another, its movement must change the dimensions of the pharynx, and should therefore be noted also.⁹ In my case, however, this motion of the larynx is altogether too slight to be measured. The protrusion and retraction of the hyoid bone are connected with the movements of the tongue, and need not be separately studied.¹⁰ There remain, then, the five organs just enumerated, whose changes of shape and location we must carefully examine.

The easiest measurements are, obviously, those of the lips and jaw: with these we shall begin. In performing the following experiments it is of the greatest importance to pronounce the vowels naturally. It is perhaps best to look away for a few moments from the mirror before which all these investigations must be pursued, and speak over and over again a common word containing the desired vowel; then, by glancing suddenly back at the glass, the real lip-position can be caught. To draw the outlines of the lips correctly, four measurements, which can be taken with a slip of paper, will probably be found necessary—those marked in Figure 1¹¹ AD, BC, *ad*, and *bc*. The rest can be drawn free-hand. I give figures showing the lip-positions for all my vowels. It will be seen that the general outlines are always the same: this is, I think, a characteristic feature of English vowels. My *ū*, *ō*, *ū*, *o*, and *ē* are rounded.

The jaw-lowering can be noted by a simple device. On a strip of pasteboard, an inch long by a quarter of an inch wide, is marked a scale of millimeters, with the zero at the bottom. This scale is glued, in a vertical position, to the most prominent part of the chin. A slender stick, about a foot long, is then suspended from the upper part of the face in such a manner that it will hang alongside the pasteboard. The stick is held steady at the lower end by the hand of the experimenter, who now fastens a little pointer to it at such a spot that when the jaws are firmly closed it will be just opposite the zero. This being done, the vowels are pronounced, and the pointer indicates in millimeters the amount of jaw-lowering. The measurements for my vowels are given in the drawings at the end of this article.

⁹ MERKEL ('*Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache*', p. 103) notes a very decided rise and fall of the larynx. TECHMER (*Internationale Zeitschrift*, i, 1, Tab. iii) indicates something similar.

¹⁰ See MOD. LANG. NOTES, iii, 6, p. 364.

¹¹ See end of this article.

It is worthy of note that the difference in mouth-opening between my closest and my widest vowels does not exceed four millimeters. In French and German the difference is, of course, far greater.¹²

We next come to the difficult subject of palate and tongue. Here the greatest drawback is the unwillingness of the organs to perform their natural functions when in contact with any foreign substance. Only by long and patient practice can the rebellious tongue and palate be entirely subjected to their owner's will. It can, however, be done. In the course of varied experiments I have gained sufficient mastery over these sensitive organs to make, at will, either of them assume the correct position for any vowel in my dialect, and retain that position in spite of the presence of a finger or an instrument. Before beginning any systematic measurements it is well thoroughly to explore with the finger all parts of the mouth and as much as possible of the pharynx, with a view both to training and hardening the organs, and to gaining a general knowledge of the movements of tongue and palate. Much can be learned in this way; in fact, for some measurements I have discovered no better method.¹³ Before long it will be found expedient to pronounce the sounds mentally rather than aloud; for when the organs are in the proper position for a vowel, the presence of a finger in the mouth of course diminishes the size of the resonance-chamber and so alters the sound; and the observer, catching this false note, involuntarily shifts his tongue. A helpful instrument in all these researches is a tiny electric light that can be held in the mouth.¹⁴ With the aid of this burner the outline of the tongue from side to side can be observed from the mouth-aperture, and can be drawn with sufficient accuracy free-hand. Drawings of these outlines for my vowels accompany the representations of lip positions and longitudinal tongue-profiles at the end of this paper. Those for *i*, *ɪ*, *é*, *z*, and *æ* were made with the head thrown

¹² MERKEL ('*Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache*', p. 103) makes the difference between *i* and *ä*. PASSY (*Phonetische Studien*, i, 1, p. 24) gives diagrams which seem to indicate a little more jaw-lowering. WESTERN ('*Englische Lautlehre*', 1885, pp. 5 and 83) implies that the distinction between *i* and *ä* is almost entirely a matter of jaw-position.

¹³ In his introduction to the *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, i, 1, the Abbé ROUSSELOT says, in the course of an 'Analyse des sons', in speaking of the vowels (p. 13): "Je ne tiendrai compte ici que des mouvements de la langue et de ceux des lèvres. L'explorateur que j'emploie est tout simplement le doigt."

¹⁴ I have made use of a small glass bulb enclosing a one-candle-power incandescent burner connected by two thin wires with a three-cell battery.

back, and represent the passage between the front part of the tongue and the roots of the teeth; the others represent the highest part of the tongue that can be seen, and the section of the palate that is over it.

For our main investigations the starting point must be the upper teeth and the hard palate. The first thing to be done is to make an outline drawing of the whole palate from front to back. A cast of the immovable hard palate can be obtained from a dentist, or constructed by the observer himself from a pulp made of tissue paper. After having carefully measured in the mouth the distance (Figure 2, *bc*) from the lower edge of the upper front teeth to the middle of the arch that forms the inner limit of the hard palate, we can take the front part of our outline from the cast. The drawing should include a cross section of one of the upper front teeth. The back portion of our line, consisting of the profile of the soft palate, will vary with the different vowels. For every vowel it is best to make several measurements. If we look into the widely-opened mouth, we see that the way into the pharynx leads through a double arch, broken at the top; from the centre of this arch hangs the uvula. After setting the soft palate in the correct position for the vowel,¹⁵ we take a long, narrow strip of wood, and measure the distance from the edge of the upper front teeth, first to the inner (*bf*), next to the outer (*bc*) pharyngeal arch, and then to a point half-way between the outer pharyngeal and the palatal arches (*bd*, Figure 2).¹⁶ These points being fixed, we can draw the outline of the soft palate. To complete the drawing (cf. Figure 2), a section of the lower front teeth should be added in the proper position. The lips may, if desired, be outlined also.

Such a drawing as this having been prepared for every one of the fifteen vowels, we can now proceed to the tongue-measurements. For these I have constructed a set of instruments consisting of card-board ovals varying in length from five to

¹⁵ The soft palate can readily be trained to take the proper positions. It is well to begin by watching its movements in natural speech, and then to try holding the tongue down with the finger and uttering the vowels mentally. Before long the tongue will stay down of its own accord, and the soft palate will move independently of it.

¹⁶ For the sake of greater accuracy (as these data are of the highest importance), we may make some supplementary measurements. Open the mouth wide; determine the exact position of *a* (Figure 2) with reference to *b*; then measure *af*. The positions of *a* and *b*, and the distances *ab*, *af*, and *bf* being known, we can find the exact location of *f*. Similarly we can, if necessary, calculate the positions of *e* and *d*.

twenty-five millimeters, each of which is firmly fastened to a piece of pliable silver wire about six inches long, which projects at right angles from the centre of the ellipse. The observer sits at his desk with the proper drawing before him, and with pencil, mirror, and instruments at hand. He selects the largest instrument that can, so far as he is able to judge, be used for the vowel in question; bends the wire so that it will hold the upright oval as nearly as possible at right angles to the tongue; places the card-board at the very back of the wide-open mouth; then raises the jaw, and, while pronouncing the vowel naturally, pulls the oval forward until it touches simultaneously the palate and the tongue.¹⁷ Thereupon he stops, marks with his thumb-nail the point of the wire that is in contact with the lower edge of the upper front teeth, and then takes the instrument from his mouth and applies it immediately to his drawing, being very careful not to bend the wire. When the instrument occupies on the drawing a place exactly similar to that which it held in the mouth, the top of the ellipse being opposite the palate line, he marks with a dot on the paper the position of the lower end of the oval, thus indicating the point where it rested on the tongue. After that, he takes the next smaller instrument, performs the same experiment, and makes another dot; and so on, until all the available instruments have been used. Then he changes the process, beginning at the big cavity just behind the roots of the teeth, and moving the instruments both backward and forward. For some vowels, of course, he will find that only one of these two sets of measurements will be possible. Finally, by connecting all the dots he has made on the paper, he obtains the longitudinal profile of the tongue for the desired vowel. The shape of the root of the tongue; the size of the pocket between it and the epiglottis, and also the distances between the raised edge of the epiglottis and the back of the tongue on the one hand, and the inner wall of the pharynx on the other, can best be ascertained with the finger.¹⁸ When these distances are considerable, I have found it a good plan to swing the end of the

¹⁷ Great care should be taken, especially in measuring \hat{e} , \hat{i} , \hat{e} , and \hat{a} , lest the card-board sink into the back of the tongue and thus indicate a false position. If this digging into the tongue cannot be avoided, some allowance must be made for it. Much care is required, also, to keep the oval perpendicular to the tongue.

¹⁸ To admit the finger the mouth must, of course, be opened wider than usual; but this jaw-lowering, which amounts to three-quarters of an inch at the teeth, is far less perceptible at the back of the mouth.

finger gently from one object to the other, to continue this movement until it becomes, so to speak, habitual, and then, on taking the finger out, to reproduce the swing before a ruler or on the drawing. In this way a tolerably reliable measurement can be made.

The drawings obtained by these methods form the last and the most important portion of this contribution. I would call attention to the fact that the large figures represent a section of the *middle* of the mouth: that is, the highest part of the palate, the lowest part of the central groove in the tongue, the greatest approximation of the front teeth, and the widest lip-opening. The uvula has been omitted. It must be remembered, too, that if the jaw be abnormally lowered, the tongue will be correspondingly raised: hence observers looking into their mouths will not be able to see all the tongue-positions as they are depicted here. Students of Phonetics will observe that in my dialect there is nothing corresponding to SWEET'S definitions of "narrow" and "wide".¹⁹ I have no doubt that such a distinction exists in the speech of some persons; I can; if I try, make something like it myself for *i* and *ɪ*, *é* and *ɛ*;²⁰ but it does not seem to be my natural way of creating a difference between "close" and "open" sounds.

My *a*, *ø*, and *ɛ* are also widely different from SWEET'S descriptions;²¹ my *u* is probably²¹ pronounced further forward; I have not, to the best of my knowledge, his "narrow" *æ* (a vowel between *ɛ* and *ə*), although I often hear it from Americans. My drawings show, further, that most pictures of the tongue-positions for *i*, *ɪ*, *é*, *ɛ*, and *ə* represent the tongue as extending too far back: it really descends sharply just behind the highest point, leaving in the back of the mouth a very big chamber, which seems to be the distinguishing feature of "front" vowels.²² This chamber is, in the case of *i*, *ɪ*, and *é*, connected with the outer air by a long, narrow passage; but for *ɛ* and *ə* the space before the tongue is so widened as to lose its tunnel-

¹⁹ My drawings appear to show a regular gradation from *d* to *i* and from *d* to *u*: nearly all German phoneticians have maintained that this was the case with their vowels.

²⁰ See JESPERSEN, 'Articulations of Speech Sounds', 1889, p. 17. SWEET himself says, 'Primer of Phonetics', 1890, p. 18: "The distinction between narrow and wide is not so clear in the back vowels."

²¹ SWEET: 'Handbook of Phonetics', 1877, p. 16; 'History of English Sounds', 1888, p. 3; 'Primer of Phonetics', 1890, pp. 21, 72, 73. In the last work, p. 72, SWEET says of his "mid-back-narrow" *u*: "This vowel is slightly advanced."

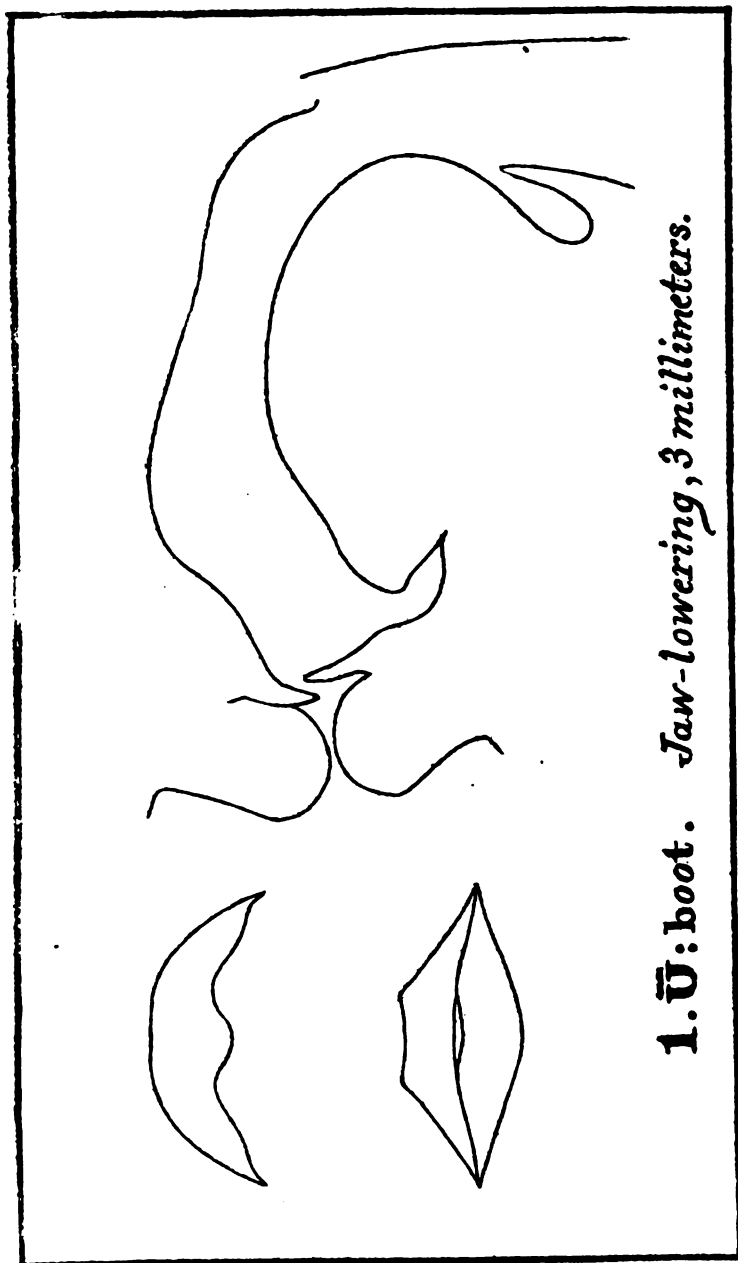
²² See *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* for 1884, pp. xxxviii-xl.

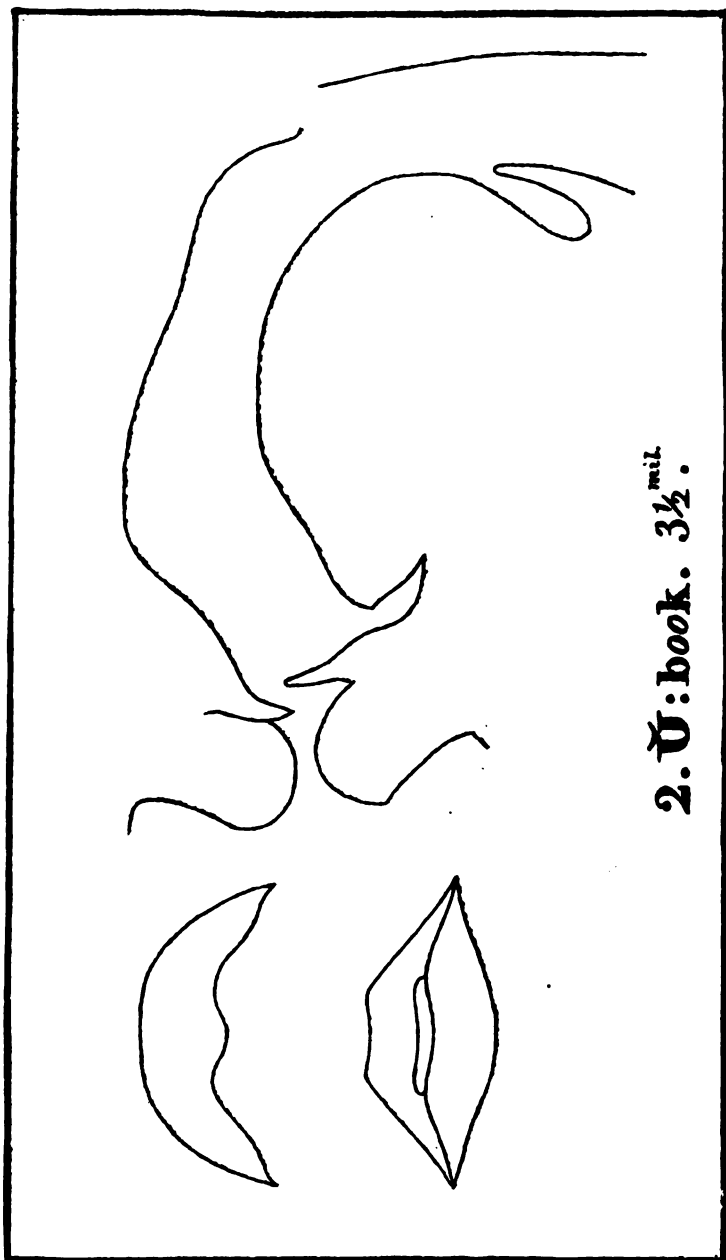
like character. \bar{U} , \bar{u} , \bar{o} , and \bar{a} have their principal mouth-cavity in front of the highest part of the tongue: we may, then, aptly call them "back" vowels. My "front" and "back" vowels form two nearly parallel and vertical series. In the case of \bar{o} , \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} , \bar{u} , and \bar{e} the mouth-chamber is above the whole tongue; but while \bar{o} , \bar{a} , and \bar{e} leave the tongue almost perfectly flat, \bar{o} , \bar{u} , and \bar{e} require a hump in some part of it. The elevation for \bar{e} seems to be thinner from front to back, and the tongue less retracted, than for \bar{u} and for \bar{o} , which latter vowel is distinguished from \bar{u} only by its rounding and by a slightly higher jaw-position. \bar{O} has a bigger cavity than \bar{a} ; \bar{a} differs from \bar{e} in the slope of the epiglottis and back of the tongue, and has also a larger chamber. The biggest mouth-cavities are apparently those of \bar{a}^{23} and \bar{i} . I have already stated that my \bar{o} is unrounded: I think I may safely say the same of my \bar{a} . My \bar{u} and \bar{o} have, on the other hand, very marked rounding; \bar{u} , \bar{o} , and \bar{e} are less rounded.

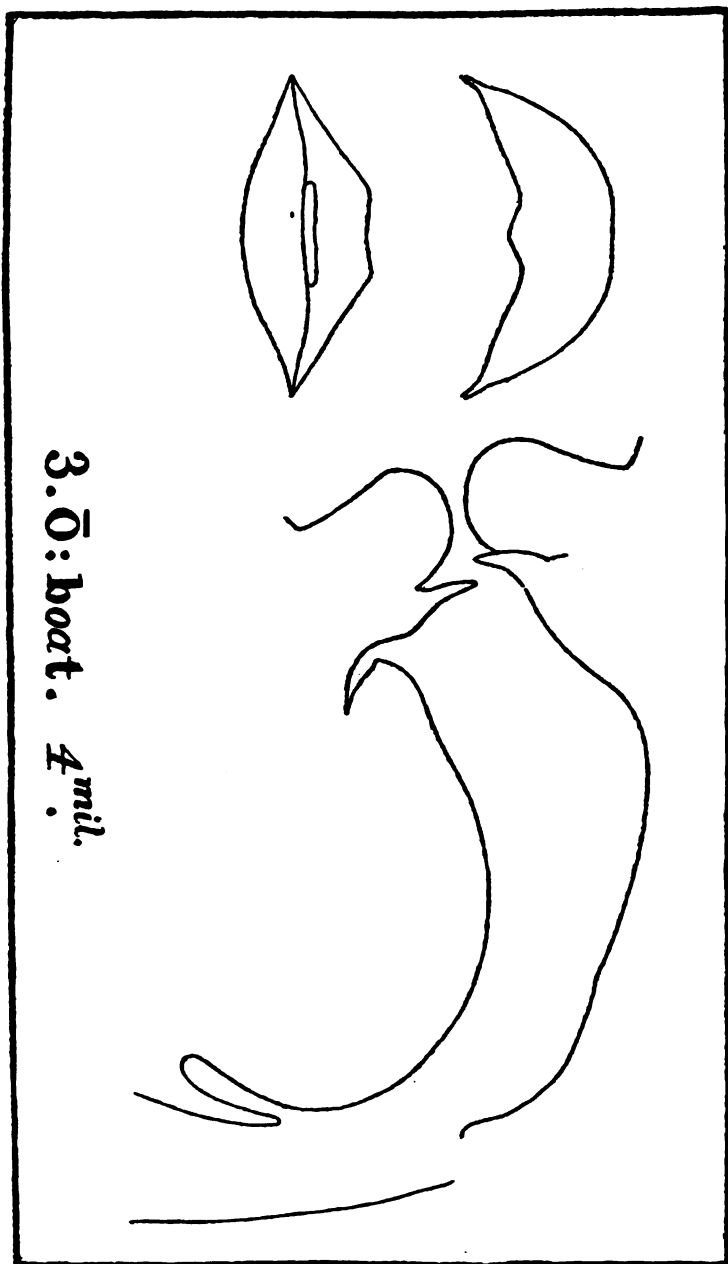
Before concluding, I wish to express the hope that other and more competent observers, and especially scholars of different nationalities, may find time to make, by these or other methods, accurate studies of their own vowels. There are many difficulties to be overcome²⁴—some of them I have pointed out—but the work is intensely interesting, and, on the whole, easier perhaps than this scanty account makes it appear. It is, in my opinion, only through comparing the results of many experiments by many men that we can construct a complete and reliable vowel-system.

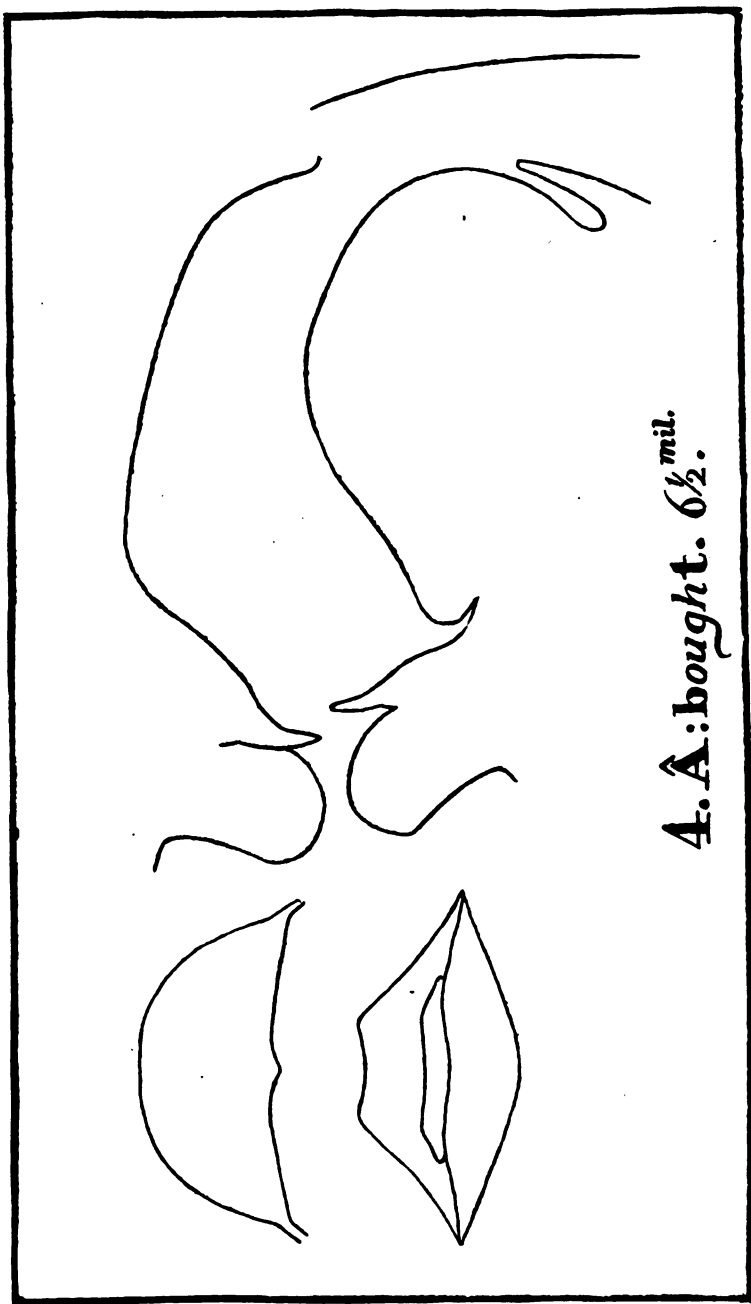
²³ With persons who round the \bar{a} , the mouth-cavity for that vowel is probably somewhat smaller than with me. BRILL, however, says ('Speech Reading and Articulation Teaching', 1890, p. 13): "Enlarge the cavity of the mouth to the utmost Emitted . . . voice will then have the quality of what is called the 'Low Back' vowel". I do not see how VIBERT can say ('Phonetik', 1887, p. 15): "Bei \bar{u} ist der Resonanzraum im Munde am grössten." It seems to me that no back vowel can have a smaller cavity than \bar{u} . The low pitch of this vowel is evidently caused by rounding. Cf. SWEET, 'Primer of Phonetics', 1890, p. 26.

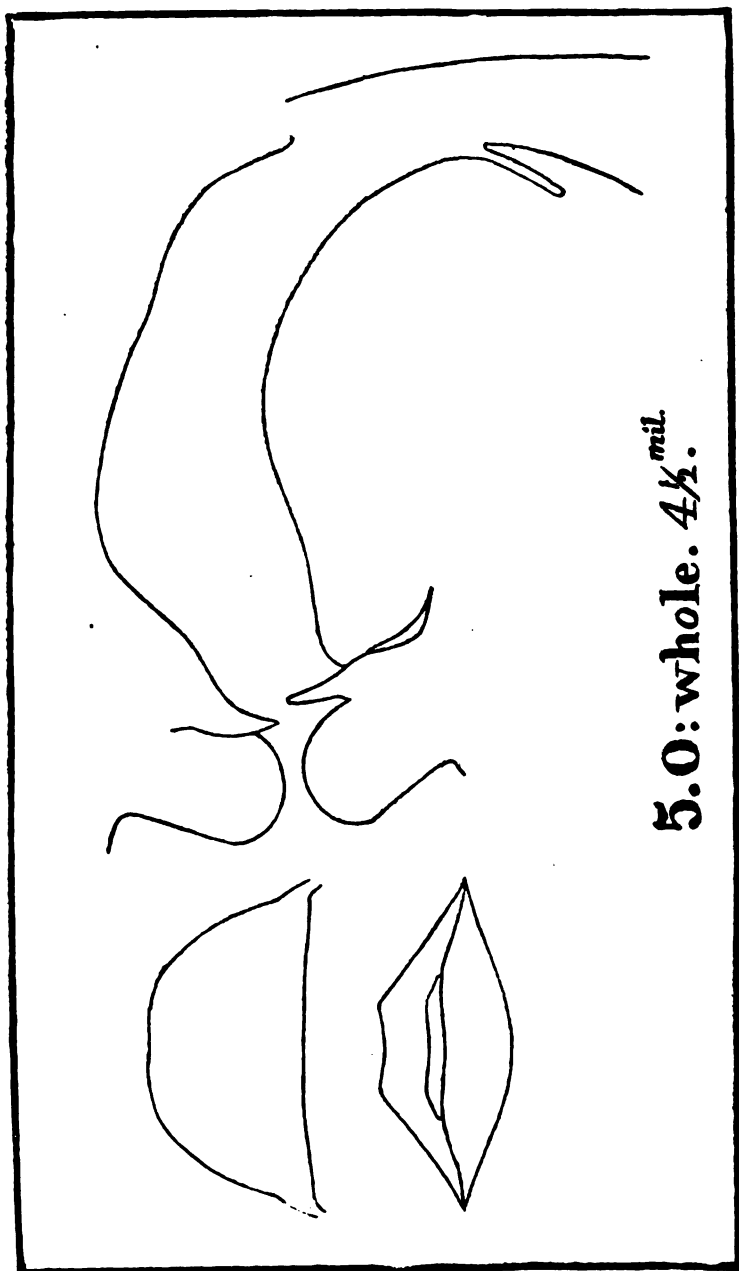
²⁴ I ought, perhaps, to say that I made hundreds and hundreds of preparatory measurements before I thought myself sufficiently skilled to begin on the final experiments, the results of which are set forth in this article. The ticklishness of the soft palate, which, at first, is apt to produce choking and retching, can easily be overcome by a little practice; but the sensitiveness of the pharynx, which, if exploration in that region be long continued, is liable to develop into sore throat and coughing, I have never been able to cure. The difference in the effect of contact on the parts touched sometimes affords a clue to the whereabouts of the end of the exploring finger, when that member is not sensitive enough to distinguish, by its own sensation, the soft palate from the inner wall of the pharynx.

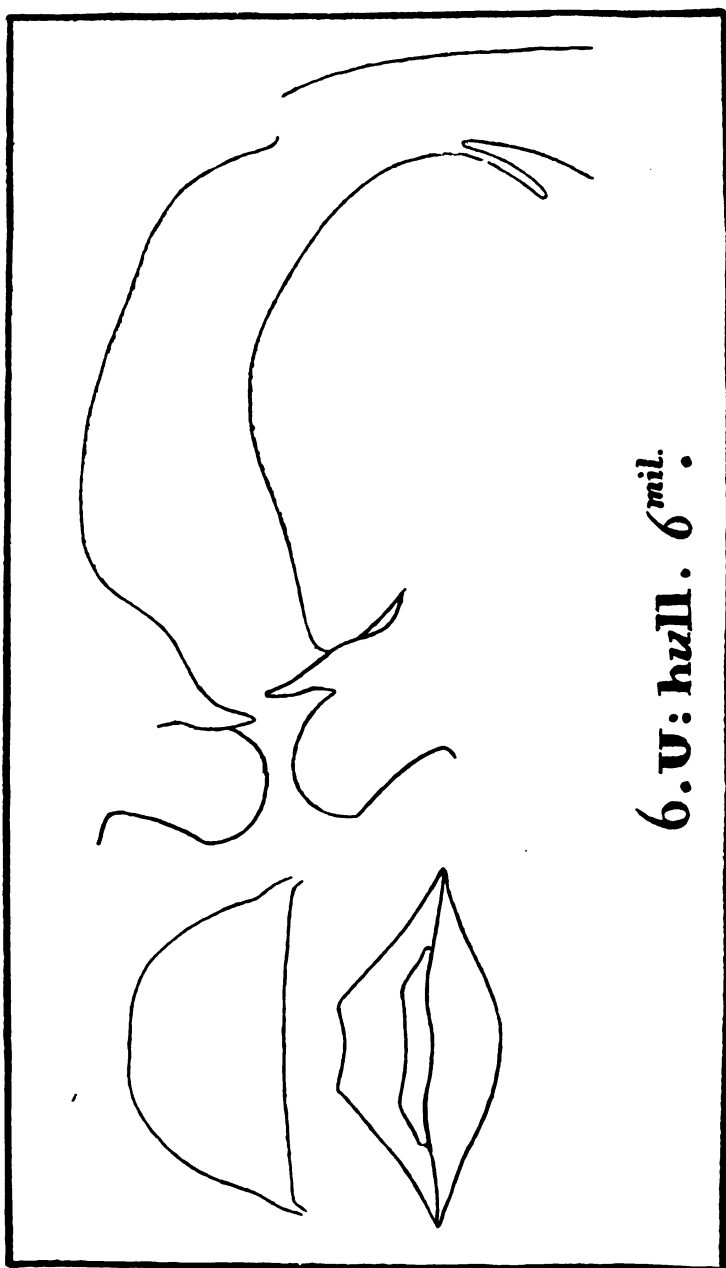




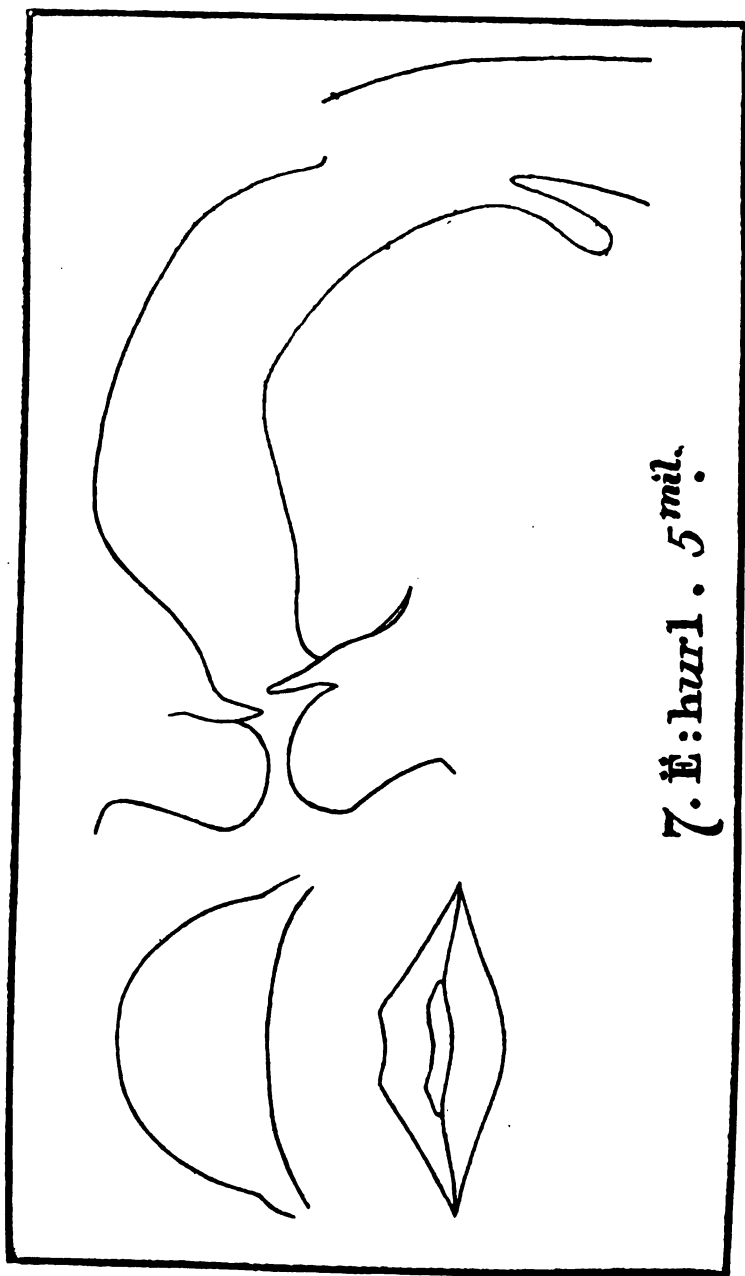


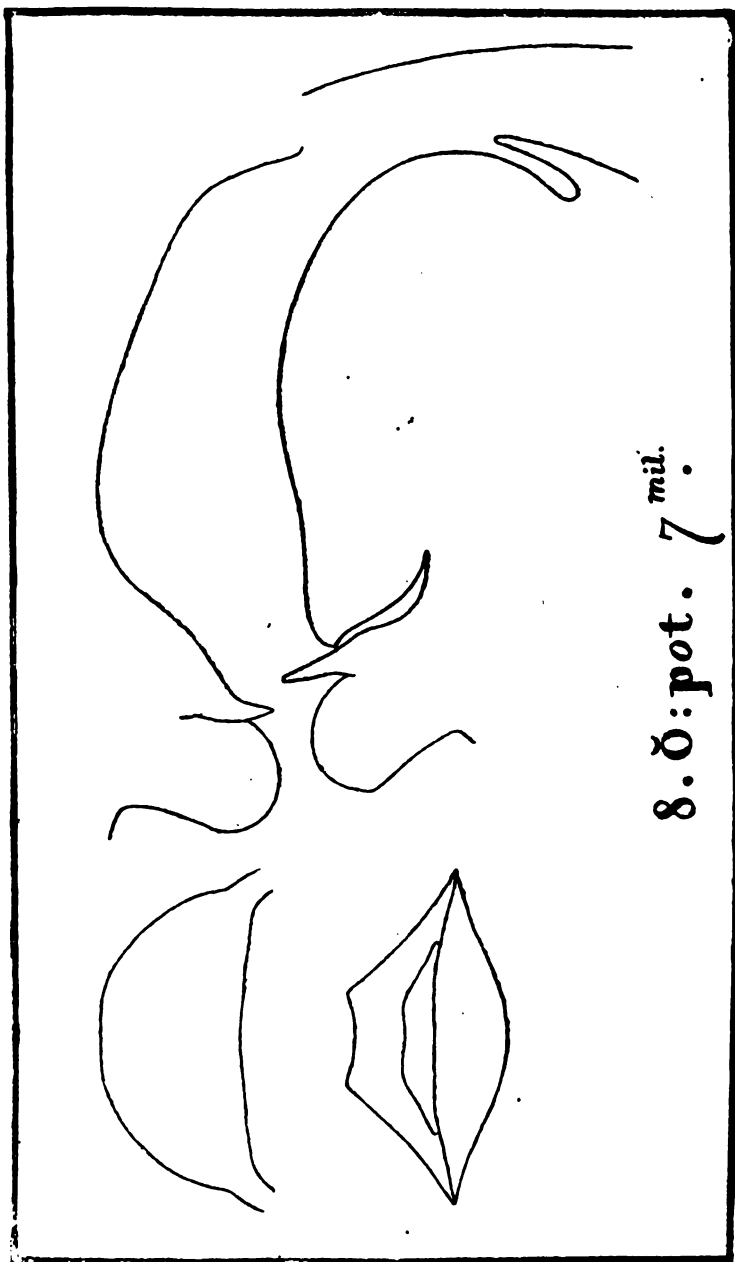


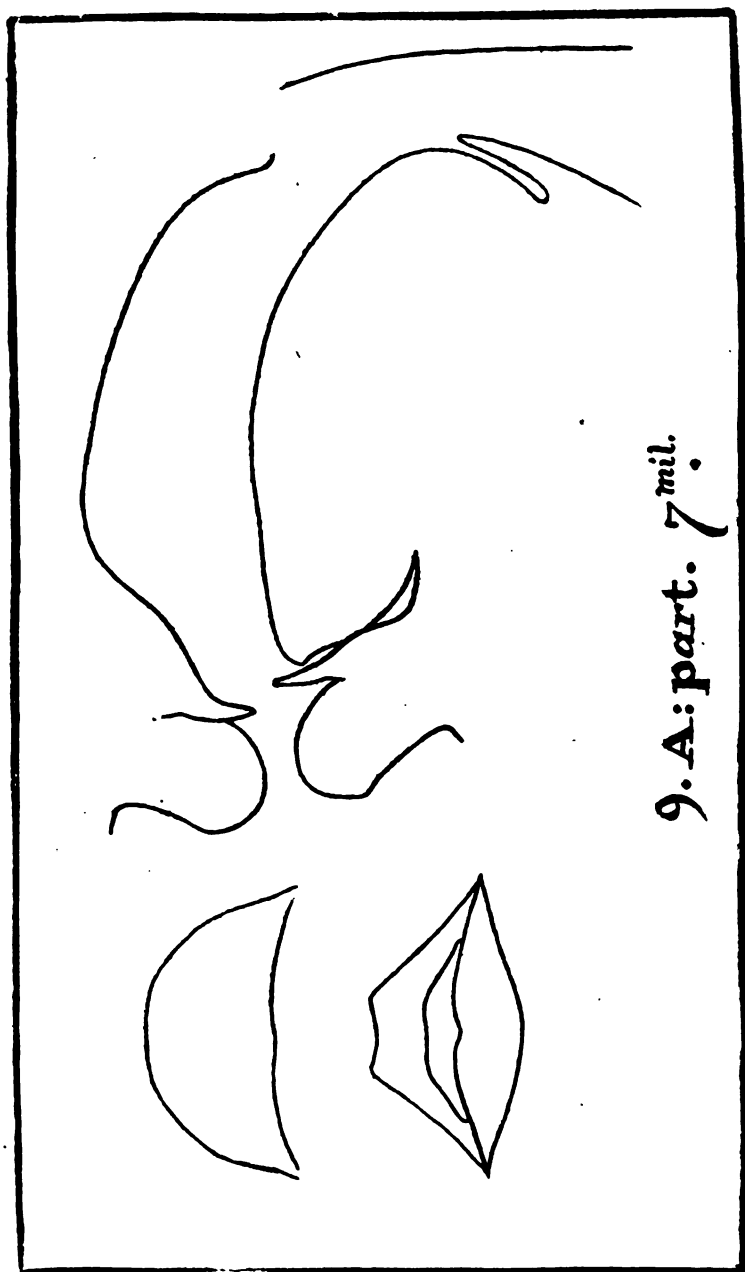


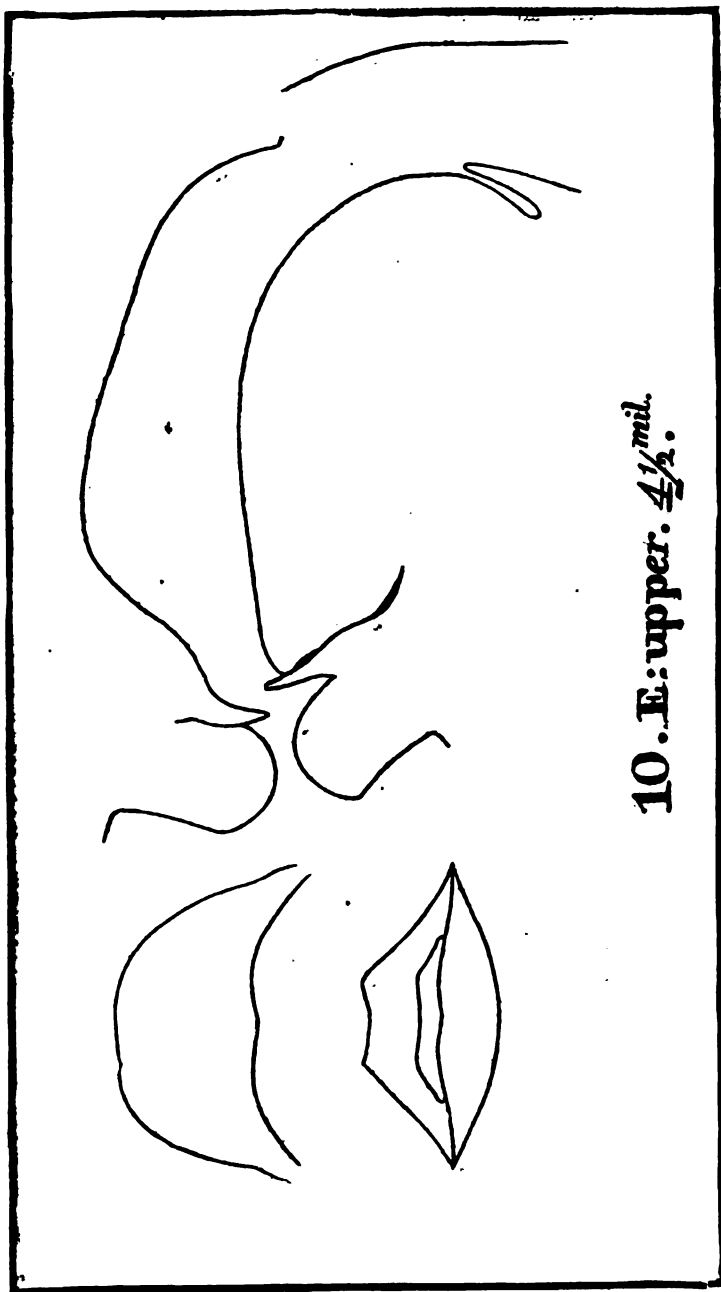


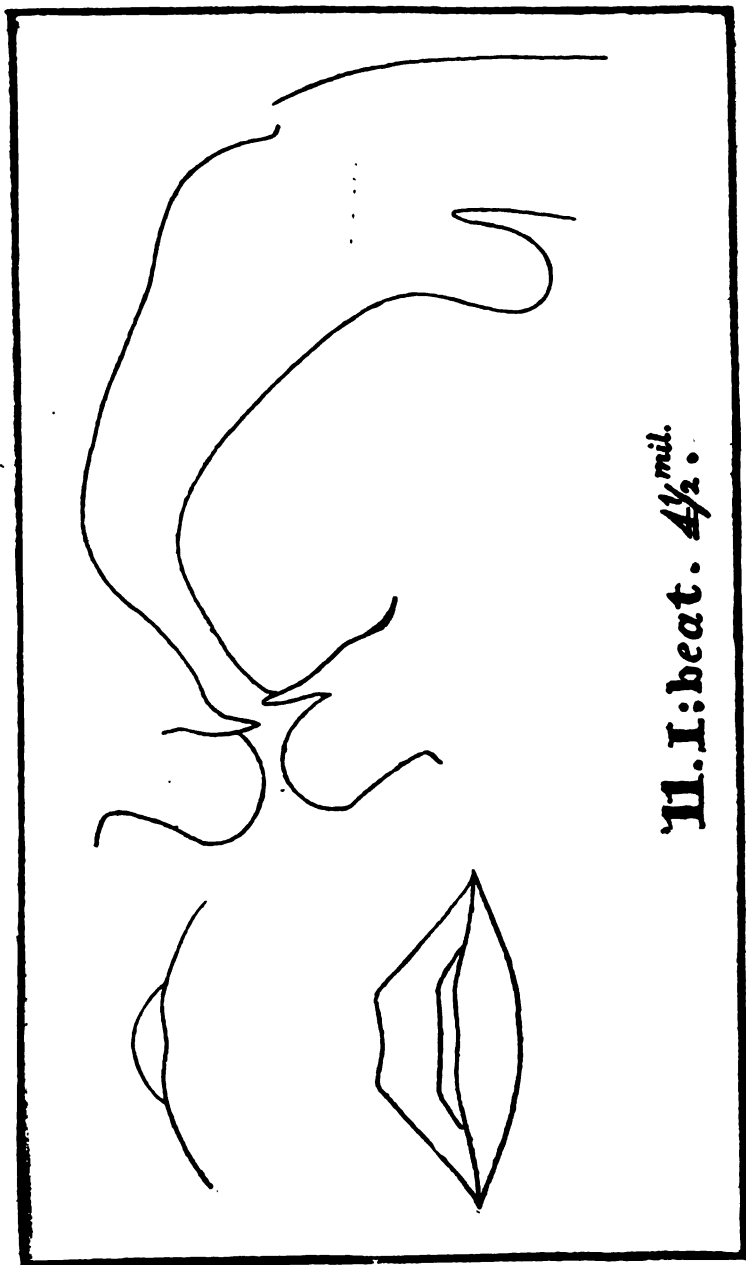
6.U: hull. 6^{mil.}.



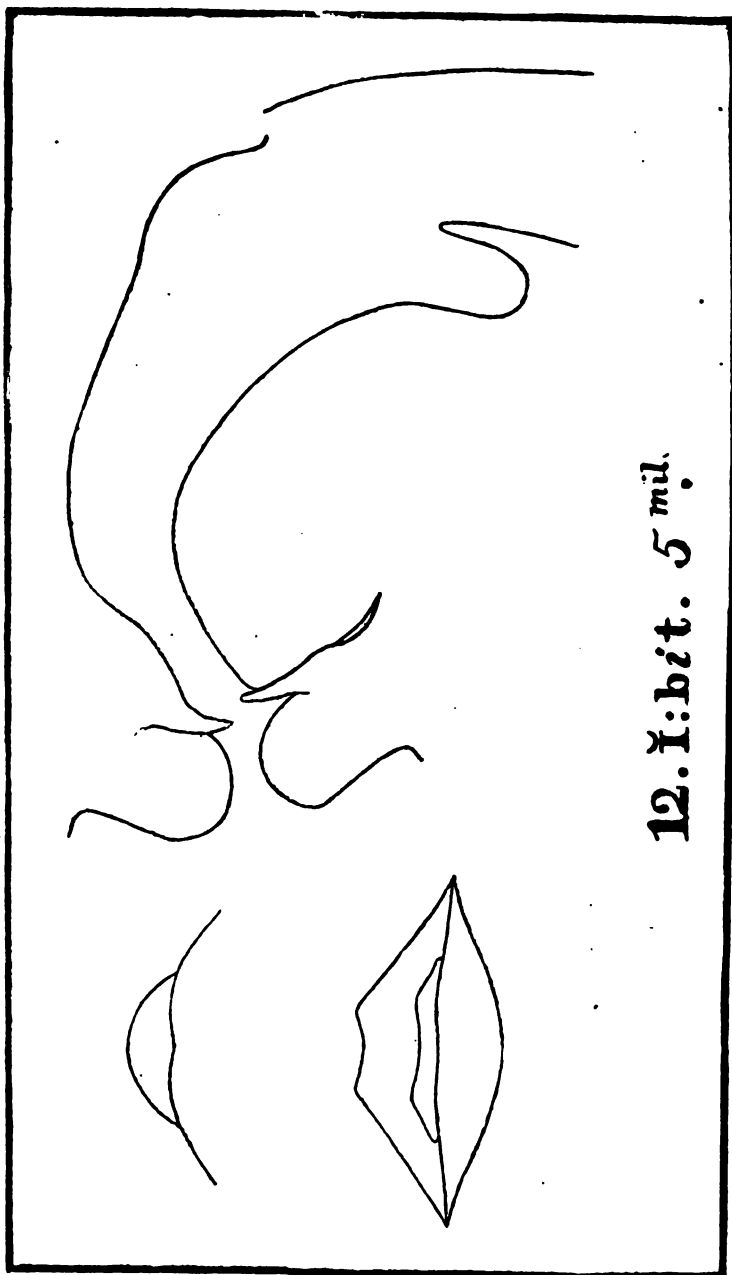


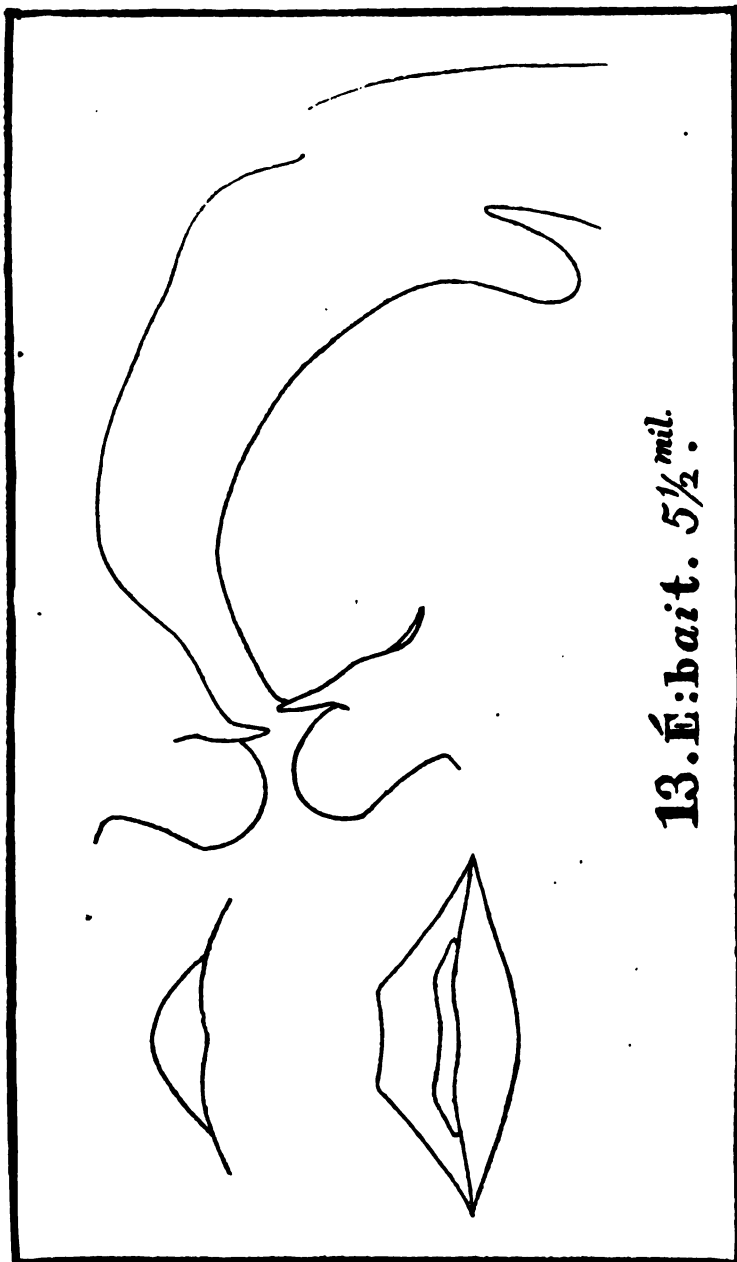


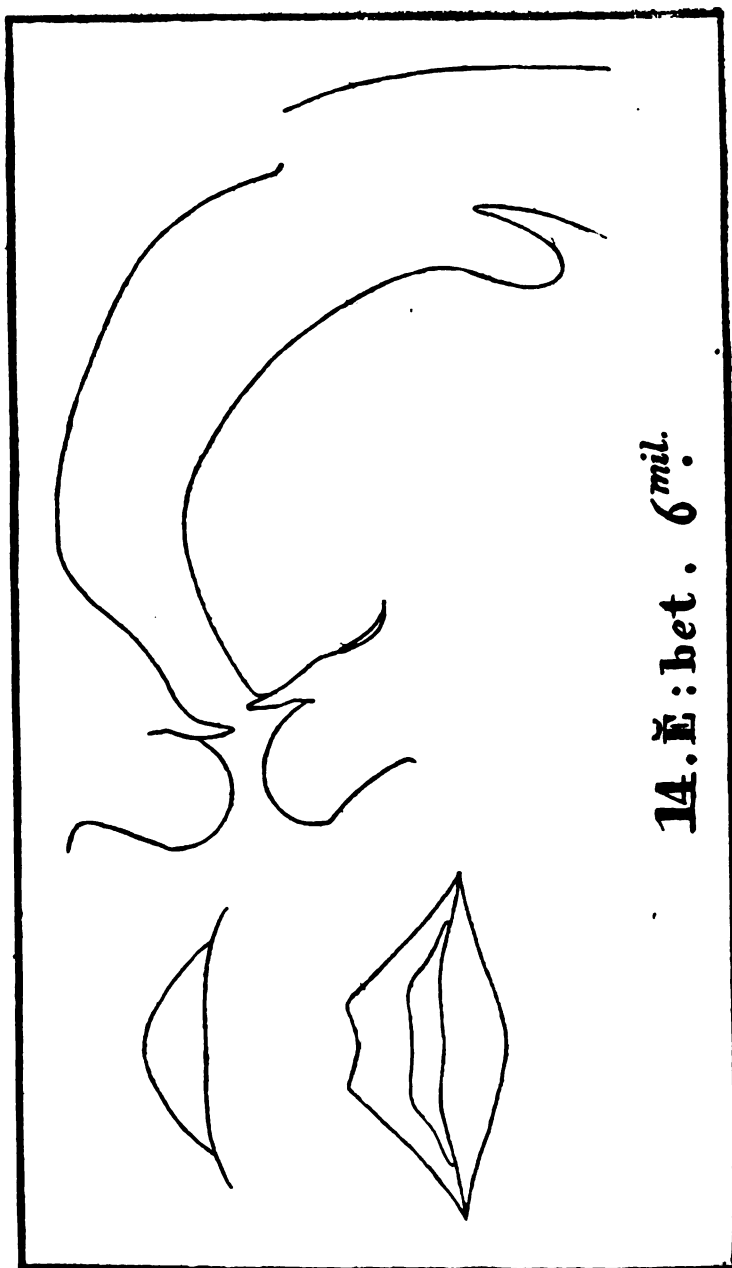


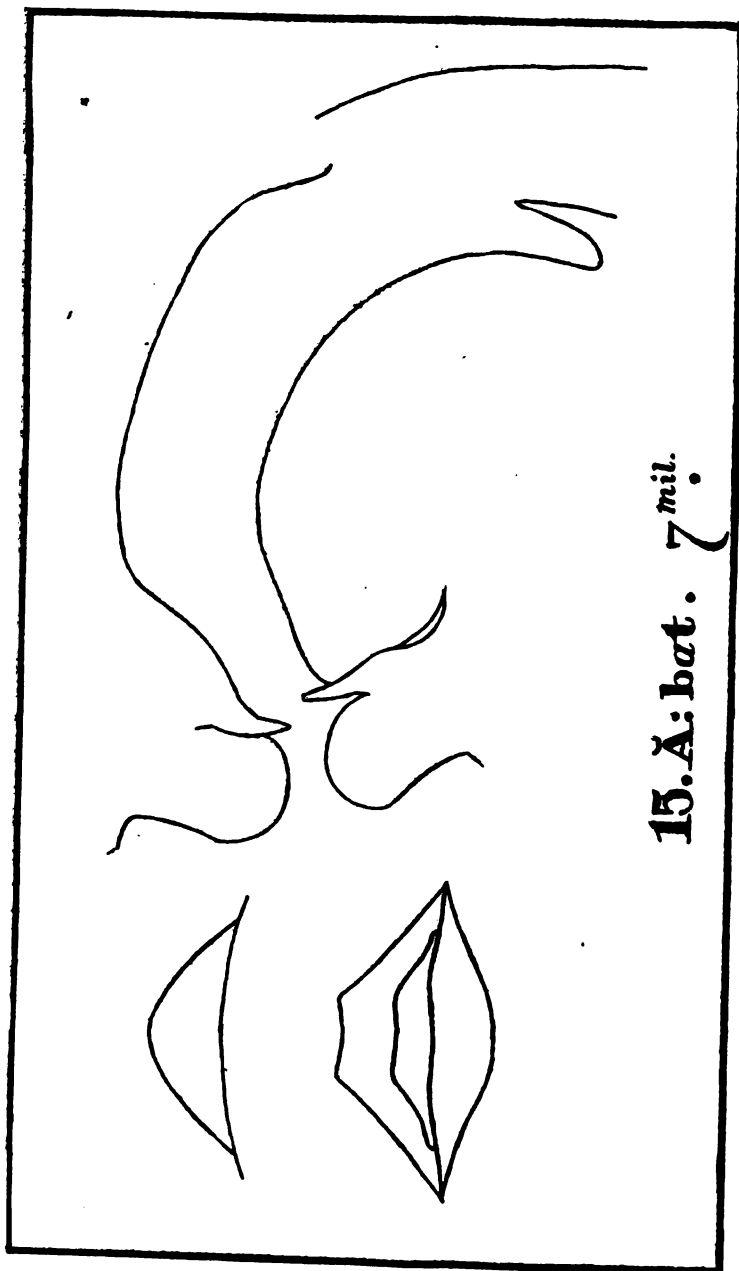


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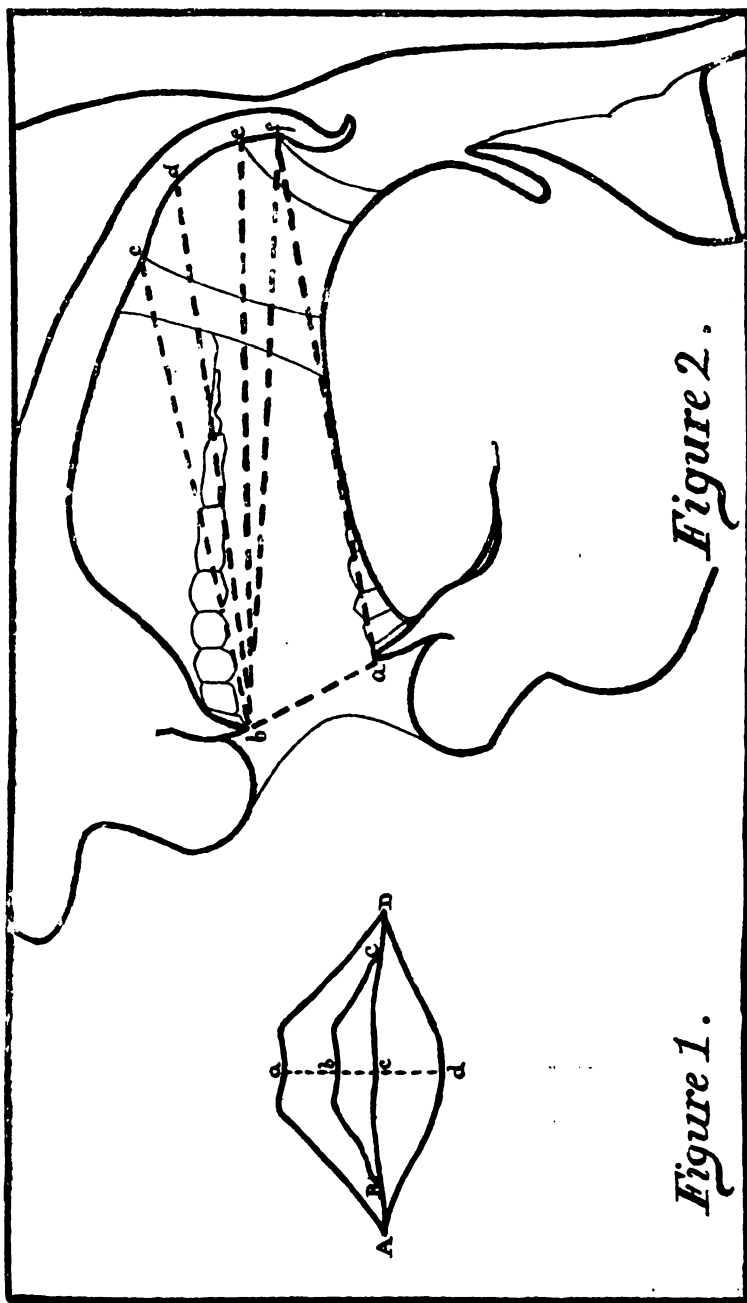








15. Ä: bat. 7^{mil.}



Modern Ideas in the Middle Ages.

By KUNO FRANCKE, Ph. D.,

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF GERMAN IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAM-
BRIDGE, MASS.

The didactic poetry of the Middle Ages, devoid as it largely is of romantic charm and artistic beauty, presents, nevertheless, a phenomenon of no little interest to the historical student. The growth of this species of literature is simultaneous with the decay of chivalric poetry, and it is one of the first manifestations of that commercial spirit which, together with the failure of the Crusades and the break down of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, marks the thirteenth century as one of the great turning epochs in European history. Three features of the didactic poetry are especially significant in this respect. First, what may be called the democratic attitude of the didactic writers. As a rule,¹ they detest war, they abhor the unproductive life and the shallow amusements of the nobility, they extol the honesty and industry of the peaceful citizen; and if few of them go so far as to say with HUGO VON TRIMBERG, that true love of mankind could be found only with the lower classes, since they alone were capable of self sacrifice, yet it is an adequate expression of the prevailing sentiment of his fellow writers when the sturdy ULRIC BONER says that a poor freeman is richer than a rich man in dependence.

Vrlheit zieret allez leben,
Unt kan wol guot gemietete geben;
Vrlheit hoehet wlp unt man,
Den armen sie rîch machen kan;
Vriheit ist der êren hort,
Si überkroenet werk unt wort.

A second trait which these writers, be they German, French or English, have in common, is the opposition against the church of Rome. Hardly a more drastic word has been spoken in Germany before the times of HUSS and LUTHER about the policy of the Holy See than that famous passage in FREIDANK'S 'Bescheidenheit' where the author speaks of the double dignity

¹ DER WINSBEKE and FREIDANK are the most notable exceptions of this rule.

of St. Peter as fisherman and as shepherd. St. Peter's net was destined for the fishing of men, the pope catches silver and gold, castles and countries instead; St. Peter was ordained a shepherd in order to guide and watch over his flock, not, as the Pope does, to shear God's sheep or even to kill them. In France the horrors of the Albigensic wars find an echo among others in the bitter invectives of GUIOT DE PROVINS, inserted in his great satirical review of the social organism of his time. And in England the great trio of GOWER, CHAUCER and LANGLAND needs only to be mentioned to remind one that here also the spirit of the reformation found a literary expression long before the reformation itself, in the didactic poetry of the middle classes.

Finally, it is in this poetry that we first notice a decided influence of classic models upon the literature of modern nations. FELIPPO VILLANI in his '*Liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus*' counts it among the greatest achievements of DANTE that he "first of all united the fanciful creations of the ancient poets with the belief of the christian religion and showed that those ancients not less than we were filled with the Holy Spirit." This "first of all" is not quite correct. Not DANTE, but the didactic poets that preceded him, have a claim to be called the first forerunners of humanism. The '*Welsche Gast*' of THOMASIN VON ZIRCLARIA as well as HUGO VON TRIMBERG'S '*Renner*,' and above all the most famous of all the didactic poems of the Middle Ages, the '*Roman de la Rose*,' are saturated with Greek and Roman traditions, conceptions and expressions. And although these classic allusions and figures as a rule betray as little of the classic spirit as PERUGINO'S famous frescoes in the exchange of Perugia betray any resemblance to the ancient heros and sages which they were meant to represent, yet the fact remains that in this respect also the didactic poets of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were on the side of those ideas and forces which in the end were bound to overthrow the aristocratic hierarchy of papacy and empire.

It is curious that, although considerable attention has been given to this branch of mediæval literature, this attention should have been almost wholly confined to works in the vernacular. And yet the latin didactic poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are not only numerous and bulky; but, since a good many of them were written before the greater part of didactic

works in the vernacular, they are also not infrequently valuable as furnishing the source of the latter,² and moreover they give us an additional and most conclusive evidence that the most educated part at least of the clergy (the only class of people to whom Latin was accessible at that time) were siding with the friends of reform and progress.

It is on this background that rest three remarkable productions which through a strange mishap seem to have escaped the notice of the historians of literature: the 'Palponista' of BERNHARD VON GEST, the 'Brunellus' of NIGEL WIREKER, and the 'Architrenius' of JEAN DE ANVILLE.

The first of these poems, the author of which was living as a canon at Münster, Westphalia, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, is so completely forgotten that not even a mention of it is made in any history of German literature, and there exists no edition of it later than the seventeenth century.³ And yet, few productions of the Middle Ages reveal such a thoroughly democratic spirit, few give us a more vivid and realistic picture of the life of the time, in castle and town, in tavern and market-place. And it is especially interesting as one of the earliest expressions of that hatred and contempt for the follies and sins of the ruling aristocracy which a hundred years later was fanned into the violent outbursts of the Jacqueries and Wat Tyler's rebellion in France and England, and of the guild revolutions in Germany. The author represents himself as enjoying the quiet retreat of his garden, far removed from the busy world, when an old adventurer with gray hair and a weather-beaten face accosts him and asks why he is so averse to the life of a courtier. To him, the adventurer, it seemed the very best of lives. Old as he was, at the nod of his master he would do anything, endure cold and heat, play the juggler or the clown, the soldier or the servant—not, as he expressly states, out of any attachment for his master, but simply for the sake of a rich reward. The canon is of course indignant over this mercenary talk, but the courtier goes on and reveals himself still more unmistakably. The court, he says, knows neither of heaven nor hell; therefore you must look out and get what you can for yourself. Some of the tricks by

² Thus the character of Genius in the 'Roman de la Rose' is taken from ALAIN DE L'ISLE's 'De Plāntu Naturae.'

³ Some information about the author and the editions of the "Palponista" I have given in 'Zur Geschichte der lat. Schulpoesie des 12ten u. 13ten Jahrhunderts.' München, 1879.

which you can cheat your master, I will tell you. Of course your master is stupid and very proud of his family. That you must make use of. You tell him for instance: "I know count so and so, your cousin. That is a man! a wolf in battle, a lamb in peace, and how munificent! The other day he presented with most luxurious garments and with rich donations in land five hundred knights who had done some fighting for him. Frequently he speaks of you and wishes you well; truly, you would delight him and his wife highly, if you sent them a little present, even if it were only a falcon or a hawk." Now, of course, this is all lies, and the truth is that this affectionate cousin of your master's hates him to such a degree that it gives him the qualms to hear his name. . . Then you must not forget to praise the outward appearance of your master. If he is short, then you say: "A heavy body makes one slow, a light one favors quickness of mind." If he is tall, then you say: "Only such a body is fitting for a ruler, ridiculous would be a short-legged knight." Is he thin, then you observe that only thin people live long, whereas stout ones are apt to die suddenly. Is he stout, then you comfort him by saying: "What benefit do thin people derive from all their eating? you certainly show that you have lived to some purpose"!—But the best way to insinuate yourself into your master's esteem is to help him out of his debts, and the best way to accomplish this is to find out an opportunity for him to extort money from his subjects. For instance, a row has taken place in the town. There, as you know, all sorts of people come together; rich and poor, foreigner and citizen, master and servant will drink there together in the same inn. At first a quiet conversation is carried on about affairs of war and peace, about the quality of the wine, about the character of the prince and so forth; gradually, as the tongues become heavier, the scene becomes livelier and the talk more heated. A rundown merchant tells in a bragging way of his former travels on land and sea. "At that time, he says, my vessel was heavy with precious ware; nowadays the grocer, who hasn't ever ventured more than a hundred yards outside of the city walls, thinks himself my equal, nowadays the cobbler and the weaver drinks his wine, walks about in scarlet, and rides on horseback and would refuse my daughter even if I gave him a lump of silver into the bargain." Such talk of course is irritating to the common people and one of the crowd gives it to the merchant.

"You miserable braggart, what's the use of all this high-flown rodomontade. After all your boasted adventures on land and sea, what has become of you? A good for nothing wretch. And that is because you always have been cheating and always will cheat." This is too much for the merchant. He pours his wine into the face of his defamer and lets his bumper land on his skull. Now a general fight ensues, with fists, boots, candlesticks, chairs they belabor each other, and there is a good deal of blood and many bruises. Finally, they get tired and calm down, they ask for more wine and drink cordially in honor of the reconciliation. "Only, they say to each other, let us keep this quarrel quiet, lest our master, the count, hear about it and call us to account." But you have been on the lookout for such a thing and you report it as quick as you can to the count and tell him that this is a splendid opportunity to make the people bleed. "For the more you trim the tree, the better it grows; and the more you fleece the common people the better do they work."

Somewhat more attention has been given of late to the second of the above-mentioned poems, the 'Brunellus' of NIGEL WIREKER, an English Benedictine monk of the end of the twelfth century. TH. WRIGHT has inserted it in his 'Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century,' and Prof. MORLEY devotes some pages in his 'English Writers' to an analysis of it. Yet no one, as far as I know, has pointed out that in this grotesque composition we have a most striking mockery of the whole scholastic life, a fanciful play of irony with what to most of the poet's contemporaries must have appeared as the very foundations of society. The hero of the poem is an ass, named Brunellus, who is very much grieved to have such a short tail. He, therefore, asks the wise Galienus (Galenus) to procure him a new one by performing an operation. Galienus tries to dissuade him, but when he finds that the ass has set his mind on it, he apparently consents to his plan. "Go to Salerno," he says, "and buy there the following medicines: Marblefat, some goosemilk, some snail-swiftness and wolfsfear, a pound of peacocksong, fresh-fallen snow from St. John's night. All this do well up in boxes and then come back to me. May water and thistles be plentiful on your journey, may hail, snow and rain protect you, and may your friend the bulldog accompany you everywhere. Goodbye." Gratefully and contentedly poor Brunellus trots

off, but soon a dog proves indeed fatal to him. For while one day he is passing a Cistercian monastery near Lyons, he is attacked by the watchdogs, and when they let him loose the unfortunate tail is entirely gone. Now from sheer despair the ass resolves to study theology and law. He goes to Paris and stays there seven years. But at the end of this time he has not even yet learned to pronounce the name of Paris. Finally he decides to become a monk; but as he cannot find an order which altogether suits him, he is going to found a new one himself, which is to be a caricature of all the existing ones. From the Templars he is going to adopt the preference for fine horses, from the Hospital brothers the practice of lying, from the *Cluniacenses* the permission to eat fat on Fridays, from the Carthusians the scarcity of masses, from the secular canons the concubines, from the *Premonstratenses* the soft tunic, and so forth. While the ass is still dwelling on these reformatory plans, his old master appears and drives him back to his work in the mill.

Although it seems strange that two poems of such marked individuality, as the 'Palponista' and the 'Brunellus,' should have attracted so little attention, yet it is much more curious that the same fate has befallen a work for which it is not claiming too much to characterize it as a forerunner of BUNYAN'S 'Pilgrim's Progress.' And it is hard to see why its author, JEAN DE ANVILLE (or Hauteville), a Cistercian monk of Norman descent who lived at or near Rouen towards the end of the twelfth century, should have been deprived thus far of a place in the history of French literature. It is an epic poem in nine cantos, entitled 'Architrenius,' and written in that turgid and pompous Latin which was the bane of all mediæval imitators of VIRGIL and LUCAN. The following abstract is made from several manuscripts of the work at Rome and Perugia, which I compared,⁴ and from TH. WRIGHT'S edition in his 'Satirical Poets.' Architrenius or Archweeper,—this is the name of the hero as well as the title of the book,—having just reached his full manhood, sets himself to thinking how he has employed his life so far and what he has accomplished. To his grief he finds that he has not been one day without guilt, and the tormenting question forces itself upon him whether nature has condemned man from the outset to a sinful existence, whether there is no rescue from

⁴ Cf. *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* xx, pp. 475-502, and *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xi, pp. 80-87.

the curse of evil. To put an end to his doubts, he resolves to go in search of Nature herself, to inquire for the reason of her wrath, and as a loving son to appeal to her motherly heart. So he sets out on his journey and wanders all over the world, through deserts and dense forests, over rocky mountains and through lonely valleys, until at last he gets to the golden house of Venus, situated on a high summit. The goddess herself, who barbarously enough is described as sitting with a torch and a fishing rod in her hands, does not seem to attract the attention of Architrenius very strongly; all the more however he is impressed with the charms of one of the girls who sit in a circle around her. To an analysis of her beauty and to the description of Cupid who from a slope near by is sending his arrows upon this company, is given the rest of the first and a part of the second canto; and although this passage is entirely without poetical value, it gives us interesting information about the costume of fashionable young people in the twelfth century. Especially Cupid with his long pointed shoes, with his wide, luxurious pantaloons (*ritu Teutonico* as is added), with his slit sleeves, his bracelets, and his diadem is unmistakably represented as a chevalresque young courtier. Architrenius seems a good deal affected by the presence of Cupid, and it takes all his resolution to tear himself away from this scene, but at last he recalls the purpose of his journey and takes it up again. Next he comes to an inn where a crowd of young fellows indulge in noisy carousing. It is a scene that reminds one of the *Carmina burana* and other songs of the *vagantes*, that shifting class of traveling students among whom the famous

Mihi est propositum

In taberna mori

first originated. 'Wesheil,' 'wesheil,' it sounds from all sides in the student slang of the time, and a song in honor of Bacchus gives expression to the general feeling.

Bacche corymbiferis Phrygiae spectabilis aris
 Quem Iove majorem Thebae venerantur alumnum
 Parnasusque deum, cunctis deus inclyte terris,
 Quam bonus es! meliusque sapis, plus sole sereni,
 Plus splendoris habes auro, Phoeboque nitoris, etc.

This time Architrenius remains entirely faithful to his purpose, and while continuing his pilgrimage, he bewails the dissipation and gluttony of the young men, declaims against man's desires

as the disfigurers of all pure nature and beauty, and praises the sobriety of the Cistercians, the moderation of the Roman Fabricius, and the frugal table of Philemon and Baucis. At the end of the second canto he arrives at Paris, and the whole following canto is devoted to a most vivid description of the miserable life which the poor scholastics led there. Paris itself, to be sure, must have possessed even at that time a charm of its own. Architrenius calls it "*altera regia Phoebe*," "*mundi rosa*," "*balsamus orbis*"; and he extols highly its beautiful surroundings, its fertile vineyards, its good-natured people. But alas! the unfortunate scholastic derives no benefit from all these attractions. His life is wasted in fruitless plodding and incessant abnegation. He is the true picture of a grind; pale, shortsighted, with unkempt hair, always in the same shabby antiquated dress, so he lives on, year after year, in his gloomy den. His meals consist of peas, beans and cabbage; next to no care is taken of his room; his bed is a hard mattress lying close on the floor; sitting on it at night he is surrounded by books, and when at last the candle has burnt down and he lies back to seek rest, even then his studies pursue him and keep him awake until the early morning hours. It is no wonder that such a life cannot have a great charm for Architrenius. After having again given vent to his feelings by passionate declamations and profuse tears, he travels on and with the beginning of the fourth canto, suddenly steps out of the most tangible reality into the shadowy realm of Allegory. A mountain arises before his eyes, covered with beautiful groves of the rarest trees and fragrant with the perfume of the choicest flowers. From its summit runs a crystal brook over pebbles of gold and silver, and on its highest peak there stands a vast and luxurious castle. This is the Mount of Ambition. Ambition herself, and with her other states of mind and faults of a similar nature such as Hypocrisy, Anxiety, Adulation, are thought of as monsters creeping all over the surface of the mountain and lurking from under the trees and bushes, whereas still more repelling vices such as Fraud, Perjury, Cruelty, reside in the castle in company with a large crowd of devotees and worshippers. The sight of all this prompts Architrenius to profuse lamentations about the temptations and evils of court-life, with which the fourth book closes. The fifth canto brings him to the Hill of Presumption, inhabited by a large number of people who in some way or other assumed a dignity or position

which they had no right to hold. Among them Architrenius notices Niobe, Phaeton, the Titans, Persius, the dabbling imitator of Horace, and Old Age which had dared, as the poet says, to creep over the face of Henry II, the then-reigning king of England and duke of Normandy. On the highest summit of this hill, Money is enthroned, the mother of all presumption and elation, and on a peak near by Arrogance, who, once a goddess, was together with Lucifer ejected from heaven, and is now visiting the palaces of the great on earth, but frequently, also, steals into the monastery and hides under a monks gown. Here the narrative is strangely interrupted through the sudden appearance of a knight, called Walganus, who without the slightest provocation proceeds to tell the tale, well-known to the readers of that time through the chronicle of GEOFFRY OF MONMOUTH, of the fabulous expedition of the Roman Brutus and his followers to England. And equally sudden is the change of scene which takes place with the beginning of the sixth canto. For here we see Architrenius on the island of Thule, which is represented as a region of eternal spring and happiness, in the midst of an assembly of Greek and Roman philosophers conversing about moral and theological questions. The speeches of these philosophers, nineteen in number, take up the sixth, seventh and a large part of the eighth canto. The first twelve, by Archytas, Plato, Cato, Diogenes, Socrates, Cicero, Plinius, Crates, Seneca, Boethius, Xenocrates, Pythagoras, are directed against vices. Then follows a pitiful complaint of Architrenius about the eternity of the punishments of hell, in answer to which the Seven Sages speak about the love of God and the humility and devotion of a Christian. At the end of all these speeches, Architrenius lifts his eyes and sees in a lovely garden, surrounded by a circle of saintly looking old men, the goddess Nature herself enthroned in imperial state. He approaches her, and is about to lay his doubts and troubles before her when she takes the words from his lips and tries to comfort him through a long exposition of the wisdom and order of the universe, which extends over into the ninth canto. Architrenius, however, is not in the least edified by this lecture on natural philosophy. On the contrary, he complains bitterly to the goddess of her injustice. "If you are so wise and powerful," he says, "as you describe yourself, why then do you not end my sufferings and let me share in the happiness of the universe"? And now Nature, at last, is in-

duced to give to the weary pilgrim a visible proof of her kindness. She tells him that he needs a wife; and in most glowing terms, she describes to him a girl, called Moderantia, who would be a suitable mate for him. Architrenius recovers from despair; Moderantia is introduced and the wedding of the happy couple is celebrated, the birds accompanying the sound of the harps, and all the Virtues attending in a chorus.

Considered as works of art neither the 'Palponista' nor the 'Brunellus' nor the 'Architrenius' offer much to attract our attention. As historical documents they bear important witness to the growth, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of that spirit of individualism which is the soul of all modern life.

The Pronunciation of Fredericksburg, Va.

BY SYLVESTER PRIMER, PH. D., PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Prof. EDWARD A. FREEMAN—writing or speaking to a friend in regard to a young American who was going to the University of Jena in order to study Anglo-Saxon—remarked: "Why does he not go to Orange County, Va., instead of to Jena? They speak very good West-Saxon in Orange County."¹ This statement may serve as an introduction to my remarks on the pronunciation of Fredericksburg, Va. For Stafford, Spotsylvania, and Orange Counties have about the same pronunciation and have preserved to a remarkable degree the older English sounds brought over in the seventeenth century by the early settlers of this region.

The earliest permanent settlements of the English in Virginia were along the banks of the James, Rappahannock, and Potomac Rivers and the early pioneers soon penetrated into the country now known as Stafford, Spotsylvania, and Orange Counties. In 1669 "the whole State of Virginia, except such parts as had been specially patented, was made over for a time to Lord Culpepper" (Bishop MEADE in 'Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia,' ii, p. 105, to whom I owe most of the information about the early settlers of this region). The complaints were, however, so great and the opposition so threatening "that the King withdrew (1673) the grant of proprietorship of the whole State, and restricted it with limitations to the Northern Neck," which "begins on the Chesapeake Bay and lies between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, and crossing the Blue Ridge, or passing through it, with the Potomac, at Harper's Ferry, extends with the river to the heads thereof in the Alleghany Mountains, and thence by a straight line crosses the North Mountain and Blue Ridge, at the head waters of the Rappahannock. By common consent this is admitted to be the most fertile part of Virginia, and to abound in many advantages, whether we consider the rich supply of fish and oysters in the

¹ Communicated to me by President H. E. SHEPHERD of Charleston College, Charleston, S. C.

rivers and creeks of the tide-water portion of it and the rapid growth of its forests and improvable character of its soil, or the fertility of the lands of the valley, so much of which is evidently alluvial."

"There were settlements at an early period on the rich banks of the Potomac and Rappahannock by families of note, who took possession of those seats," etc., (ibid.). Lord Fairfax married Lord Culpepper's daughter, who inherited this whole region, which thus passed into the hands of the Fairfax family. Fredericksburg lies in this section and the three countries already mentioned take a prominent part in the history of the early settlement of this portion of the state. In its original dimensions—extending to the Blue Ridge, Stafford first appears as a county in 1666. In 1730, Prince Williams County was formed from the "heads of King George and Stafford." Among the early names of the county are the Rev. Alexander Scott and Rev. Mr. Moncure. Mr. Moncure, the descendant of a Huguenot refugee in Scotland, emigrated to Virginia in the eighteenth century and became pastor of the Old Acquia Church which still exists. In 1757 the minister and vestry of the church were Jon Moncure, minister; Peter Houseman, John Mercer, John Lee, Mott Danithon, Henry Tyler, William Montjoy, Benjamin Strother, Thomas Fitzhugh, John Peyton, Peter Daniel, Traverse Cooke, John Fitzhugh, vestrymen. Their descendants still live in different parts of the country. Spotsylvania was founded in 1720, from Essex, King William, and King and Queen Counties. It extended westward to *the river beyond the high mountains*,—the Shenandoah. Some of the more prominent names from 1725 to 1847 are Smith, Chew (frequent), Taliafero (frequent), Thornton (frequent), Lewis (frequent), Grayson, Beverly, Robinson, Curtis, Waller, Carter, Washington, Herndon (frequent), Willis, Sharpe, Weedon, Strachan, Maury, Mercer (late), Carmichael (late), Moncure (late?), J. B. Ficklin (late). The County of Orange was separated from Spotsylvania in the year 1734. It was "bounden southernly by the line of Hanover County, northerly by the grant of Lord Fairfax, and westerly by the utmost limits of Virginia." The principal families in Orange in Colonial times are the Barbours, Bells, Burtons, Campbells, Caves, Chews, Conways, Daniels, Madisons, Moores, Ruckers, Shepherds, Taylors, Taliaferos, Whites, Thomases, and Waughs. All of

these families are still represented in different parts of Virginia.

As early as 1675 there was a fort on the present site of Fredericksburg, but it was not incorporated as a town till 1727, on what was originally called lease land, and contained when first laid out fifty acres. The neighboring village of Falmouth was founded at the same time. "When Fredericksburg was incorporated there was a warehouse on the site. The act appointed John Robinson, Henry Willis, Augustine Smith, John Taliaferro, Harry Beverly, John Waller, and Jeremiah Clowder, trustees. Gen. Hugh Mercer and Gen. George Weedon, both of the army of the revolution, resided here before the war. Fredericksburg was also the home of Col. Fielding Lewis who married Elizabeth, sister of Washington. Their children were Capt. Fielding Lewis, Capt. Geo. Lewis, Elizabeth Lewis, who married Charles Carter, Esq., Maj. Lawrence Lewis, and Captain Robert Lewis. Though born in Westmoreland, Washington passed his childhood on the Washington Farm upon the banks of the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg in Stafford County. There are still living representatives (relatives) of the family in the same county and they probably use nearly the same pronunciation as their ancestors. Lewis Littleplace was born in Hanover, but died in Fredericksburg and John Forsyth of Georgia was born at Fredericksburg in 1781. Conway, Fitzhugh, Moncure, Taliaferro (pr. Tólivr), Waller, Slaughter, Mason, Thornton, Ficklin, Edrington, Peyton, Willis, Mountjoy, Strother (in the State), Carter, Lee, are still prominent names in and about Fredericksburg. From a list of justices in Stafford County (old dimensions) extending from 1664 to 1857 we select the following familiar names many of which are still common. Williams, Alexander, Mason (frequent), Osburn, Fitzhugh (frequent), Waugh, Washington (frequent), Thornton, Lee, Carter, Peyton (frequent), Daniel (frequent), Scott, Waller, Mercer, Strother, Moncure, Edrington, Mountjoy, Ficklin, Lewis, Grayson, Cooke, Conway, Slaughter.

Descendants of the Fitzhugh family own farms in this section of the country. The Alexander family became extinct only a few years ago. The Lee family settled farther up the river on the Arlington Estate, though they are still represented in Stafford County. In Fredericksburg itself, descendants of Carter Braxton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, are still living. A comparison of the earlier names with those

of the present inhabitants shows that the present families represent almost exclusively the earlier families. Intermixture from without has not been great, foreigners have rarely sought homes here and immigration from other states has been limited.

"Early settlers of Virginia were men of education, ministers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, Huguenots, farmers, Cavaliers in the time of Cornwell. Ministers could not generally be ordained without degrees from Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin, or Edinburgh. Lawyers studied at the Temple Bar in London; physicians in Edinburgh. For a long time Virginia was dependent for all these professional characters on English education. Those who came over to this country poor and ignorant, and dependent, had few opportunities of educating themselves. . . . Sir William Berkeley in his day rejoiced that there was not a free school or printing-press in Virginia, and hoped it might be so for a hundred years to come. . . . Private Schools at rich gentlemen's houses, kept perhaps by an unmarried clergyman or candidate for orders, were all the means of education in the colony, and to such the poor had no access.

"There were no libraries in 30 parishes, except in one the Book of Homilies, the Whole Duty of Man, and the Singing Psalms. . . . Education was confined to the sons of those who, being educated themselves, and appreciating the value of it, and having the means, employed private teachers in their families, or sent their sons to the schools in England and paid for them with their tobacco. Even up to the time of the Revolution was this the case with some. General Nelson, several of the Lees and Randolphs, George Gilmer, my own father and two of his brothers, and many besides who might be mentioned, just got back in time for the Revolutionary struggle. The College of William and Mary, from the year 1700 and onward, did something toward educating a small portion of the youth of Virginia, and that was all until Hampden-Sidney (Jan. 1st, 1776), at a much later period, was established" (Bishop MEADE, *ibid.* Vol. i, pp. 190-191). However poor the school system of the colony and young State was, the education of the superior class has ever been a matter of pride. Virginia had produced, up to the late war, more great men than any other state and her intellectual life has ranked high. She has won for herself the proud title of the "Mother of Presidents."

Little progress was made in the sixteenth century in settling

Virginia, the first permanent settlement dating from 1607. I shall therefore base my comparison on the English of the early part of the seventeenth century, though with proper regard to the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, both of which exerted some influence upon the development of the present pronunciation. As a means of comparison, I shall here insert extracts from early documents of Virginia and give the approximate pronunciation of that day. It will thus be easy to trace the relation between the present and the earlier sounds and show the line of development. The first extract is from *The First Assembly of Virginia*, held July 30, 1619 (in WYNNE and GILMAN'S 'Colonial Records of Virginia,' pp. 10, 11):

The most convenient place we could finde to sitt in was the Quire of the Church Where Sir George Yeardley, the Governour, being sett downe in his accustomed place, those of the Counsel of Estate sate nexte him on both handes, excepte onely the Secretary then appointed Speaker, who sate right before him, John Twine, clerke of the General Assembly, being placed nexte the Speaker, and Thomas Pierse, the Sergeant, standing at the barre, to be ready for any service the Assembly shoulde comaund him. But forasmuche as men's affaires doe little prosper where God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses tooke their places in the Quire till a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, the Minister, that it would please God to guide and sanctifie all our proceedings to his owne glory and the good of this Plantation. Prayer being ended, to the intente that as we had begun at God Almighty, so we might proceed with awful and due respect towards the Lieutenant, our most gracious and dread Sovereigne, all the Burgesses were intreated to retyre themselves into the body of the Church, wch being done, before they were fully admitted, they were called in order and by name, and so every man (none staggering at it) tooke the oathe of Supremacy, and then entred the Assembly.

The second extract is from "A Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia" (ibid. p. 79. The probable date is 1624):

By all which hath heeretofore beene saide concerning this Collony, from the infancie therof and untill the expiration of Sir Thomas Smith's government, may easily be perceived and plainly understood what just cause he or any els have to boast of the flourishing estate of those times, wherin so great miseries and callamities were indured, and soe few workes of moment or importance performed, himselfe beinge justly to be charged as a prime author therof, by his neglect of providinge and allowinge better meanes to proceede in soe great a worke, and in hindering very many of our frendes from sendinge much releife and meanes who beinge earnestly solicited from hence by our

letters—wherin we lamentable complained unto them—have often besought Sir Thomas Smith that they might have leave to supplie us at their owne charge both with provision of victuall and all other necessities, wherein he utterlie denied them so to doe, protestinge to them that we were in noe want at all, but that we exceeded in abundance and plentie of all things, so that therby our frendes were moved both to desist from sendinge and to doubt the truth of our letters, most part of which weare by him usually intercepted and kept backe; farther giveinge order by his directions to the Govenor heere, that all men's letters should be searched at the goinge away of ships, and if in anye of them weare founde that the true estate of the Collony was declared, they were presented to the Govenor and the indighters of them severely punished.

We must alsoe noat heere, that Sir Thos. Dale, at his arrivall finding himself deluded by the aforesaid. protestations, pulled Capt. Newport by the beard, and threatninge to hange him, for that he affirmed Sir Thos. Smith's relation to be true, demandinge of him whether it weare meant that people heere in Virginia shoulde feed uppon trees.

Our last extract is from Captain SMITH'S 'True Relation' (1608), CHARLES DEANE'S edition, pp. 43, 44, 45.

Powhatan hath three brethren, and two sisters, each of his brethren succeeded othor. For the Crowne, their heyres inherite not, but the first heyres of the Sisters, and so successively the weomens heires: For the Kings haue as many weomen as they will, his Subjects two, and most but one. From Weramocomoco is but 12. miles, yet the Indians trifled away that day, and would not goe to our Forte by any perswasions: but in certaine olde hunting houses of Paspahagh we lodged all night. The next morning ere Sunne rise, we set forward for our Fort, where we arriued within an houre, where each man with truest signs of ioy they could expresse welcommed mee, except M. Archer, and some 2. or 3. of his, who was then in my absence, sworne Counsellour, though not with the consent of Captaine Martin: great blame and imputation was laide upon mee by them, for the losse of our two men which the Indians slew: inso much that they purposed to depose me, but in the midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send Captaine Nuport, who arriuing there the same night, so tripled our ioy, as for a while these plots against me were deferred, though with much malice against me, which Captain Newport in short time did plainly see. Now was maister Scriuener, captain Martin, and my selfe, called Counsellours.

Dhe Færst ÆSEmblŷ Ƴf Værdzhinæ, HEld Dzhulæi 30, 1619.

Dhe moost Kŷnvenient (or KANviniēnt) plææs wii kuud (or kuuld, kould) tæind tu (or tō) sīt in wæz dhe kŷwær Ƴf dhe tshartsh

wheer Sər (or Ser) Dzhɔrdzh JɛrdlEE, dhe Gəvɛrnɔr, biiz set dən in Hiz əkəstmd plæəs, dhooz ɔf dhe kəʊnsəl ɔf estæt nekst Hīm An booth Hændz, eksept oonli dhe Sekretæəri dhen əpɔɪnted Speekər (or Spiikər), whuu sæt rəɪt bɪfɔr (bɪfuər) Hīm, DzhAn Twɛɪn, klærk (klark) ɔf dhe dʒhɛnɛrəl æsɛmblɪ, biiz plæəst nekst dhe Speekər (Spiikər), ænd Tɔməs Pærs (and Piirs), dhe Sərdʒhɛ-ænt, stændɪq æt dhe bæɪr, tu (to) biɪ (bee) redɪ fər ænɪ sərvɪs dhe æsɛmblɪ shuud (shoud) kɔmənd (kɔmaund) Hīm. Bət fəræzmətsh æz (Az) mɛnz æfɛərz duu (doo) lɪl prɔspər wheer GAdz sərvɪs ɪz neglɛktəd, AAI dhe Bərdʒheses tuk (tək) dheer plæəsɛs in dhe kwəɪr tɪl ə preer wæz sEd (sed, seed) bæɪ mɪstər Bæk, dhe Mɪnɪstər, dhæt (dhAt) ɪt wuud (wuud) pleez GAd tu (to) gɔɪd ænd sækktɪfəɪ AAI ʒur prɔsiɪdɪq tɔ Hiz oʊn glɔʒɔri (glAArɪ) ænd dhe gud (gud) ɔf dhe Plæntæəshən. Preer biiz ended, tu (to) dhe ɪntɛnt dhæt æs (Az) wiɪ Hæd biigən (biigjən) æt GAd AAlmɔɪtɪ, soo wiɪ mɔɪt prɔ- siɪd wɪth AAFul ænd diu rɛspɛkt (rɪspɛkt) təu-ærd ʒur moost GrEEshɔs ænd dred səv'reen (sɔv'reen), AAI dhe Bərdʒheses weer ɪntɛrɛtəd tɔ rɛtəɪr dhɛmsElvz ɪntu dhe bɔdɪ ɔf dhe tshərtsh, whɪtsh biiz dən, bɪfɔr dhæɪ weer fulɪ ædmɪtəd, dhæɪ weer kAAlD in AArðər ænd bæɪ nEEəm, ænd soo ev'əri mæn (mAn) (noon stægerɪq æt ɪt) tuk (tək) dhe ooth ɔf siuprɛməsi, ænd dhen ɛntɛrd dhe æsɛm- bli.

æ Briif Deklæræəshən ɔf dhe Plæntæəshən ɔf Vərdʒhɪniə (ibid., p. 79).

Bæɪ AAl whɪtsh Hæth hiirtufoor bɪn sEd kɔnsErniq dhɪs Kɔlonɪ (KAlonɪ) frAm dhe ɪnfænsɪ dheerɔf ænd əntɪl dhe ɛkspɔɪræəshən ɔf Sər (Ser) Tɔməs Smɪths gəvɛrnɪnt, mEE EFzɪlɪ (iizɪlɪ) biɪ pɛrsɛəvd ænd plEEɪnɪ əndərstəd (stəd) whæt (whAt) dzhæst kAAz Hii Ar ænɪ els Hæv tu (to) boost ɔf dhe flərɪʃhɪq estætæt ɔf dhooz təɪmz wheer- in soo grɛet mizerɪɪz ænd kælæ:mɪtɪlz weer ɪndiurd (ɪndyurd), ænd soo fiu (feu) wɜrks ɔf mooment Ar (ər) ɪmpArτæəns pərFAArmd, HɪmsElf biiz dzhæstɪlɪ tu (to) biɪ tshærdzhd æs æ prəɪm AATHər dheerɔf, bæɪ Hiz neglɛkt ɔf prɔovəɪdɪq ænd æləuɪq hEtr miɪnz tu (to) prɔosEEd in soo grɛet (grEEt) æ wɜrk, ænd in Hɪndɪrɪq VEErɪ Mɛnɪ (Mæni) ɔf ʒur frEndz frAm sendɪq mətsh rɛliɪf ænd miɪnz Huu biiz EEɛrEstli soolɪsɪtəd frAm Hɛns (Hɪns, Miège) bei ər lɛttɛrs— wheerɪn wiɪ læmɛntæblɪ kɔmplEEnd (-pleend) əntu dhEm—Hæv Aftɛn biisoot Sər (Ser) Tɔməs Smɪth dhæt dhæɪ mɔɪt Hæv liiv (leev) tɔ sɔpləɪ əs æt dheer oʊn tshærdzh bəʊth wɪth prɔovɪzhən ɔf vɪtlz ænd AAl nɛsɪsærɪz, wheerɪn Hii ætɛrlɪ diɪnəɪd dhɛm soo tu (to) duu (doo), prɔotestɪq tu (to) dhEm dhæt wiɪ weer in noo wænt æt AAl, bət dhæt wiɪ ɛksiɪdɪd ɪn æbɔndæns ænd plɛntɪ ɔf AAl thɪqz, soo dhæt dheerbæɪ ər frɛndz weer muuvd booth tu (to) diisɪd frAm m sendɪq ænd tɔ dəut dhe triuth ɔf ər lɛttɛrs, moost pæərt (part) ɔf whɪtsh weer bæɪ Hīm iuzhɛuæli (iuzhiuæli, Miège) ɪntɛrsɛptəd ænd kæpt bæɪ; færdher gɪvɪq AArðər bæɪ Hiz dɪrɛkshənz tɔ dhe Gəv- ɛnɔr Hiir dhæt AAl mɛnz lɛttɛrʒ shuud (shuuld, should) biɪ SEErtsht æt gɔɔɪq æwEE ɔf ships, ænd ɪf in ænɪ ɔf dhɛm weer fəund dhæt dhe triu estætæt ɔf dhe Kɔlonɪ (KAlonɪ) wæz diɪklæərd dhæɪ weer prɪzɛntəd tu (to) dhe Gəvɛnɔr ænd dhe ɪndəɪtɛrʒ ɔf dhɛm sevEErɪ pɔnɪst. Wɪɪ mæst AAlso noot (NAut) Hiir, dhæt Sər Tɔs. Dæəl, æt Hiz ærəɪvəl fəɪndɪq HɪmsElf deliudɪd (deluud) bæɪ dhe æfoorsEd prɔotestæəshənz, puld (puld) Kæptɛn NiupArt bæɪ dhe bEErd (berd) ænd thrEtenɪq tu (to) Hæq Hīm, fər dhæt Hii æfErmed Sər Tɔs. Smɪths rɛləəshən tu (to) biɪ triu, dimæəndɪq (AA, aa) ɔf Hīm whədħər (wheedħər) ɪt weer MEEnt dhæt piɪple Hiir in Vərdʒhɪniə shuud fiid əpAn triiz.

FrAm Kæptɛn Smɪths Triu Rɛləəshən (1608), Tshærlɪz Diɪnz Edɪ- shən, pp. 43, 44, 45.

PauHæætæn Hæth thrii bredhren, ænd tuu sîsterz, iitsh Ɔf Hiz bredhren saksiiided ædher. FAr dhe Kræun, dheer æirz (EÊrz) in-erit nAt, bæt dhe fôrst æirz (EÊrz) Ɔf dhe sîsterz, ænd soo saksesiivli dhe wimenz æirz (EÊrz): FAr dhe kiqz Hæv æz MENi wimen æz dhæi wil, Hiz Sæbdzhekts tuu, ænd moost bæt ocn (wæn). FrAm Weræmookoomookoo iz bæt twelv mæilz, jEt (jat) dhe Indzhænz træifld æwEE dhæt dæi (dEE), ænd wuud (wuuld, wo:ld) NAT goo tu æur Foort, bæi æni pærswæzhænz: bæt in sertæn oold (æuld, ould, oould) Hæntiq Hæuzez Ɔf PæspeHeg wii lƆdjEd AAl nait. Dhe next moorniq (MArnq) EÊr sænraiz, wii SET Ɔgræd fAr æur Foort, wheer wii æræivd widhin æn æur, wheer iitsh mæn with triuest seinz Ɔf dzhAi dhæi kuud ekspres welkæmd mii eksEpt Mîster Artshær, ænd sëm tuu Ar thrii Ɔf Hiz, whuu wæs dhEn in mæi æbsEns, Soorn (suurn) kounsElAr, dhoo nAt with dhe kƆnsent Ɔf Kæpten Martin: græet blææm (blEEem) ænd impiutææshæn wæz lææd (laad, lEEed) æpAn mii bæi dhæm fAr dhe lAs Ɔf æur tuu men whitsh dhe Indzhænz sleu (sliu): insoomætsh dhæt dhæi pærpoozd tu depooz mii, bæt in dhe midst Ɔf mæi mizeriz, it pleezd GAd tu send Kæptæn NiupArt (poort), whuu æræivq dheer dhe sææm nait, soo tripld æur djAi (djɔi), æz fAr æwhæil dheez plAts (plɔts) ægæinst (ægeenst, ægEEEnst) mii weer defErd (difærd), dhoo with mætsh mæælis ægæinst mii, whitsh Kæptæn NiupArt (poort) in shArt tæim did plEEEnli sii. Næu wæz Mææster (MEEster) Skrivnær, Kæptæn Martin ænd mæiself KAAlid kounsælærs.

A careful comparison of these extracts shows that the approximate sounds of the Virginia English at the beginning of the seventeenth century may be represented by the following tabular view:—For the sake of convenience we shall give the sounds and then the characters which represent them:

I. VOWELS.

SOUNDS (ELLIS).

CHARACTERS.

a	•e (followed by r; clerke).
aa	ai (laide ?); a (Martin).
A	o, a (as, sometimes pr. Az).
AA	{ a before l). o (glory).
æ	au.
ææ	a, ie (?), e (before r).
e	{ a.
ee	ai (laide, maister)
	e, ea, i(? affirm).
	{ e.
	ea (great).
	ei (their).
	ay (prayer).
	ea (? please).
	ai.
	ei (perceived).

SOUND (ELLIS).	CHARACTER.
ee	ea (great).
E	e, ai (said), ea (threaten), i (? affirming).
	ey.
	e.
EE	ai (affaires, plainly).
	a (gratious).
	ay (may).
	ea (beard).
ə	u, o (followed by v), oo (tooke), o, ou (flourishing), i (first, affirm ?), e, (whether ?), [w] a (forward).
i	e.
ii	e, ea, ie, ee.
i	i, y, ei (giveing ?), ye (anye), eo (weomen).
oo	o (morning ?).
o	o (to).
oo	o, æ, (doe, noe), oa, ou [gh] (though, besought), o (one), [w] o (sworn).
o	o, eo.
oo	o (glory).
u	o, oo, u (pulled).
uu	ou, o (before ?), oe (doe).
uu	[w] o (two, sworn).
u	oo (good), u.

II. DIPHTHONGS.

Ai	oy (ioy, joy).
æi	ei (their ?), ey (they), ai (Maister ?).
au	au (comaund).
ai	i, y, [u]i (guide), ie (sanctifie).
EEə	a (name, blame. laide ?).
eu	u (usual, pr. <i>izhæuæl</i> , ew (slew ?).
eu	ew (slew).
əu	ow, ou, o[w] (toward), o (old).
iu	u, ue (due, true), ew (Newport, slew).
iu	u (usual, pr. <i>izhæuæl</i>).
oi	oi.
oi	oy (ioy, joy).
ou	ou followed by l (would, should, old).
ouu	ow (owne), oa (noat), o (old).

The present sounds and their characters, as near as I have been able to ascertain them, are as follows :

SOUND (ELLIS).	CHARACTER.
aa	ay (mayor, maar).
aa	ai (stair, staar).

SOUND (ELLIS).

CHARACTER.

aa	a (demand, ask, calm, etc.).
aa	au (gaunt, daunt, etc.).
aa	a (Martin).
a	e (where, there, whar, thar).
a	e (yes, well, yas wal).
A	o (dog, God? dAg GAd) off, Af.
AA	{ a (before l; all, half, etc.), a (pass, ask, demand, etc.), o (dog, hog, God; dAAg, HAAg, GAAd). au (gaunt, daunt, etc.)
æ	a (man, star, etc.), e, a? (before r, care, dare, etc.).
ææ	a (ask, demand, calm), ai (stair, fair, hair, chair, pair), au (gaunt, daunt, etc.).
ææ	e (there, where, etc.), ea (swear, pear, etc.), ei (their), ay (prayer, mayor).
e	e (met, etc.), ea (eat, head, dead, ready, etc.), æ (aesthetics, Daedalus), ea (jeopard, leopard, feof, etc), ie (friend) œ (assafoetida), and such others as are common in English.
ee	Can be heard in : e (there, where, etc.), ea (swear, pear, etc.), ei (their), ay (prayer, mayor, etc.), a (pare, tare, care, dare, etc.).
e and ee	Offer no peculiarities.
EE EE	The slight shade of difference existing between this sound and e ee is perceptible, I think, in the pronunciation of individual people of Fredericksburg. The class of words is the same.
ə	u (very common as everywhere in Eng. ; to these add <i>put</i>) ; ou, sometimes would, could, should, sound nearly ə, but verging to ou (o) which see ; oo, with this sound occurs.
ə	(took, cook, shook, look, spoon, good? etc.), but the sound borders on the o again. It is vulgar.
i	i (hill, mill).
i	as everywhere ; interchangeable with e.
o	oo and ou in words like (took, book, etc. ; could, would, etc.), see ə above. (Cf. poor).
o	as usual.
oo	oo (poor) ; o (more, to, progress, process, etc.).

SOUND (ELLIS).	CHARACTER.
ɔ	o (dog, God); on (pond, bond, cf. Charleston pAnd, bAnd), otherwise as elsewhere.
u	as elsewhere.
ʌ	" "
Ai	fails at present.
Æi	ey (they); ei (possibly in their).
Au	ou (house?) select few.
əi	i (very common sound).
EEə	wanting, if not heard occasionally in town. (TEEən), which is commonly (Teeən).
eu	wanting.
eu	ou or ow (south, house, out, about, etc.)
eeu	ou-ow (town, cow, etc.)
ɜu	ou (house, etc.), select few.
Iu	u (due, too, etc.), selector circle.
Iu	u (due, too, etc.), common form.
<hr/>	
yu or yyu	ov, oo, ou (prove, move, spoon, could, would, etc.; pryuv, or pryyuv, etc.). Here belongs also <i>fruit</i> (fryyut), if not rather to the next.
U	ui (fruit; frUt, like Swedish <i>hus</i>).
oi	Regular oi-sound.
ɔi	oy (oyster).
ou	oa (boat, if not rather oou).
oou	ow (own, note, etc.).
ou	oa (boat, perhaps though rather long, or half-long).
oou	oa (boat).

It will be well to notice some of the deviations from the regular standard pronunciation, as there are a few peculiarities of interest in studying the development of sounds from the English of the first settlers to the present day.

The pure Italian *a* as in *father* is frequently heard. The *a*-sound on the whole approaches rather to this clearer, lighter sound than to the deeper German *a*. Words like *calm*, *psalm*, *palm*, *half*, etc., have two equally authorized standard pronunciations, each of which appear to be traditional in certain of the

best families; they are also sharply divided, on the same lines among the lower classes. Some claim that *kææm*, *sææm*, *pææm*, *hææf*, etc., is the only standard pronunciation, while others maintain with equal zeal that *kaam*, *saam*, *paam*, *haaf*, is the standard. Here also belong words like *ask*, *demand*, *pass*, etc. Certain cultured old families always pronounce these *ææsk*, *di-mæænd*, *pææs*. There is also a tendency to carry this sound still farther back towards the guttural vowels and pronounce *pAAs*, so that *passable*, *passible* (*pAAsibl*) and *possible* (*pAsibl*) sound nearly alike. This is almost the opposite of the early tendency which had *pæsibl* and *pAsibl*. The educated make a distinction between *ant* (*æænt*) and *aunt* (*aant*), but the commoner people pronounce both (*æænt*). Another class of words enjoys a divided pronunciation; viz., those spelled with *au* like *gaunt*, *haunt*, *jaunt*, etc. These have three different pronunciations. Many educated people pronounce them *gAAnt*, *HAAnt*, *DzhAAnt*, other equally good families tolerate only *gæænt*, *Hæænt*, *Dzhæænt*. The third pronunciation *gaant*, *Haant*, *Dzhaant* is somewhat rare but considered elegant. The *a*-sound is also retained among the uneducated in a certain class of words where it is doubtful whether it is a reflex of the older pronunciation or the influence of the negro element. Such words as *where*, *there*, etc., are commonly pronounced *whaar*, *Dhaar*, etc. The word *stairs* is also called *staars*, *bears*, *baars*, by the same class of people and this, as the others just mentioned, can be traced back to the older language, though it may be accounted for by the negro influence, as this sound is popular among the colored people. But compare ELLIS, p. 72, where there would seem to be authority in England in 1701 for this pronunciation of this and similar words. The word *mayor* is occasionally pronounced *maar* or *meer* though not commonly.

We have already mentioned the vulgarisms *whaar* and *dhaar* for *whæær* and *dhæær*. A more common pronunciation is *wheer*, *dheer*, etc., as in Charleston, though not so general. Here belong *ear*, *here*, *hear*, *pare*, *tare*, *bear*, *there*, *pear*, *tear* (noun and verb), *swear*, *wear*, *fair*, *hair*, *their*, *scarce*, *pair*, *prayer*, *stair*, *chair*, *cheer*, *spear*, *dare*, *gear*, *dear*, *deer*, *appear* and others. In some of these words the sound is not so prolonged as in others, but the tendency is toward this sound (*ee*), nearly like the sound in the French *père*, *faire*. The usual pronunciation of this class of words is, however, *whæær*, *dhæær*,

etc. Occasionally *star* is pronounced (stær). One person was heard to say "I'm goin' up the *stars* (meaning *stairs*, pr. staars) to see the *stairs* (meaning *stars*, pr. stærs). Thus we have the three grades mentioned by ELLIS, pp. 70-71, æ, ææ, EE; for wheer, dheer are also heard, though rarely. One other peculiarity is met in the pronunciation of some of these words. Both ji'r and jə'r for *here* are heard though only among the lowest.

The pronunciation of the long and short e differs but slightly, if any, from the accepted pronunciation. We observe the same fluctuation between *again*, *against* (agEn, agEnst, or ageen, ageenst) as elsewhere. The Latin prefix *pre-* has the two sounds of (ii) and (e) in words like *predicessor* (pr. priidi-sessr, or pred-i-ses-er).

The sound (ə, ɜ) shows a few peculiarities. It is heard frequently, though not generally, in *put* (pət, or perhaps pɛt). A sound approaching very near this is heard in *could*, *would*, *should*, but here it seems to be between the (e, ɛ) and (o). This sound is not quite SWEET's mid-mixed-wide-round (oh, Fr. homme) but comes near his high-mixed-wide-round (uh, Swedish upp), to judge from his description and the reference to the occasional English pronunciation of 'room,' also heard in Virginia. Here belong also words like *took*, *cook*, *shook*, *book*, *spoon*? *good*? In the last words it is vulgar.

I have noticed at least two cases of short (i) in the words *hill* and *mill* (Hil, Mil), but whether these two cases were individual peculiarities or whether this pronunciation prevails to any extent, I am unable to say. It is certainly not very common. The usual fluctuation between (iidher) and (əidher), (niidher) and (nəidher) is found in Fredericksburg. Also in Palaestine (iin) and (əin). In Latin words like *simultaneous* the same fluctuation is observable (səi- or sii-). The word *ear* is often pronounced (jiir), though this is considered vulgar. The (i) sound is interchangeable with (e) in *get* (gɪt, or get) *yesterday* (yester-daei, or yistedaei), *kettle* (kɪtl or ketl).

It is extremely difficult to say that the open (o)-sound is heard, though I am quite positive I heard it in the one word *poor* (poo[r]). Even here the sound of (oo) is more general, (poo[r]) being a very common pronunciation. Compare also remarks to (ə, ɜ). The two pronunciations of (proo-gres) and (pɔɔ-gres), (proo-ses) and (prɔɔ-ses) are both well authorized.

A tendency opposite to the one noticed in Charleston where the vowel *o* is lengthened before *nd* in the words *pond* and *bond* makes them doubly short, thus (*pand*, *band*). The pronunciation of the preposition *to* (*too*) is now obsolescent. There is a tendency to pronounce the words *God*, *dog*, etc., with the open *o* (*God*, *dog*, etc.).

Among the diphthongs we find the following peculiarities. The sound (au, as in German Haus) is heard among a select few in *house*, *now*, etc., though the usual pronunciation is here (eu), never (əu). This latter diphthong (eu) is long (eu) in *town*, *cow* and some other words, and short (eu) in most words; as, *house*, *out*, *about*, *south*, etc. Often (EEə) is heard instead of the long (eeu), and (Eə) instead of short (eu). The diphthong (iu) is very common and the first element is often lengthened (iiu). Sometimes, however, the vanish is prolonged (iu^u). Instead of (iu), (iū) is often heard, especially among the lower classes. In words like *prove*, *move*, *spoon*, *could*, *would*, *should*, etc., the diphthong (yu, yyu) is quite common. *Fruit* may be classed here also, or the sound often comes nearer the Swedish *u* in *hus* (frUt), or (yw). The same sound seems to be peculiar to people from the middle and upper parts of South Carolina.—The words *boat*, *own*, *note* offer a variety of sounds. Both vowels are sounded in *boat*, the first generally prolonged, and the second often having the pure (a) sound (bo-at, or better boo-at). But often one hears (bo-ut or boo-ut). The last two sounds are common to *own* and *note*. The sounds (ou and ouu) are also heard in these words, though they are rather half long.

Careful observation has led me to conclude that the people of Fredericksburg have one pure triphthong. The character is the *ou* in words like *house*, *out*, etc., which are pronounced Hæ-a-əs, æ-a-ət, etc. The more intelligent make a distinction in the time of the two vowels (a, ə), some prolonging the (a) and others the (ə) sound Hæ-aa-əs, Hæ-a-əs. This latter is peculiar to the cultured class. The prolonged a-element is heard in *sound*, *round*, the prolonged ə-element in *bout*, *doubt*, etc. There is an affected pronunciation of diphthong *ou* sometimes heard which sounds something like (ooə) or (ooə). This sound is peculiar to the word *out*.

The consonants offer almost no peculiarities. The *h* is often

followed by the j-sound in the word *here* (Hjeer); the *h* then frequently becomes a mere breathing (’jeer). The same exchange of *w* for *v*, as (*prowok*) for (*provok*) prevails here as elsewhere. The *h* never disappears in the combination *wh* as in Charleston, S. C. The *r* is at all events an evanescent sound in English and difficult to detect under all circumstances. Here it seemingly disappears in words like *door*, *more*, *floor*, *before*, *war*, etc. The disappearance however, is only partial. The vocal organs assume the proper position for pronouncing the soft *r* and then stop before producing the sound, thus *doo’h*, *moo’h*, *floo’h*, *bi-foo’h*, *wa’h*. For this suggestion I am indebted to Prof. F. A. MARCH of Lafayette College.

We find here the same dropping of the *g* in the ending *-ing* as in other parts of the country. The consonants *g* and *k* are palatalized as in Charleston. One hears (*k’jart*, *gjarden*, *skjul*, *gjør*, etc.). This pronunciation is of course not general. Some consider it vulgar and avoid it, but it can be heard in the best families.

A careful comparison of these peculiarities with the earlier pronunciation will show that most of them are merely survivals of that earlier pronunciation brought to this country by the first settlers. “In the seventeenth century the pronunciation of English altered rapidly, and many words were sounded in a style, which, owing to the influence of our orthoepists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is now generally condemned, although well known among the less educated classes.” ELLIS, ‘E. E. P.’ 1000. In America this older pronunciation has never lost caste in the section in which it is used. It is confined to States, to certain parts of States, but is always considered standard wherever it has been retained. Outside influence has but rarely modified it here and there. The negro influence can be recognized in Fredericksburg but it is not my intention to treat that phase of the subject.

There is one striking peculiarity in the pronunciation of the whole South, that is the difference in the intonation of the voice, as it is generally called, or a difference in acoustic color as it is technically designated; the Germans call it *klangfarbe* and the French *timbre*. At present I am unable to say what causes this difference. It is possibly the more open air life of the South which causes them to produce the vowels with a more open mouth.

VOL. V.

No. 3.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA

JULY-SEPTEMBER.

BALTIMORE:

1890.

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MITTELALTERS.

At the Fifth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, held in Cincinnati, December, 1888, it was determined by the Executive Council to publish the Transactions of the Society in *quarterly* instalments; and, furthermore, to add other Papers that may not have been presented at the Convention, provided, in the judgment of the Editorial Committee, they are suitable to appear in the publications of the Association. The following contribution constitutes the third issue of volume v of this series, which will be pushed forward as rapidly as the material is furnished to the Secretary and as the funds of the Society permit. These PUBLICATIONS will be furnished to members gratis; to non-members, the price is \$3.50 per annum; single copies \$1.00. All communications relating to the PUBLICATIONS should be addressed to the Secretary of the Association, Professor A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

EIN TIROLER PASSIONSSPIEL

DES MITTELALTERS

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

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EINLEITUNG.

Die Handschrift des Passionsspiels, das wir hiermit der Veröffentlichung übergeben, befindet sich in der Bibliothek des Ex-Präsidenten HERRN ANDREW D. WHITE, Cornell University, Ithaca. In dieselbe ist sie aus der Sammlung Sir FREDERIC MADDEN'S übergegangen, wohl im Jahre 1872, denn aus diesem Jahre datirt ein Schreiben Prof. WEIGAND'S an den jetzigen Besitzer der Handschrift, in welchem dieselbe kurz besprochen wird.

Das Ms. ist in gespaltenem Folioformat geschrieben; es ist 32 Cm. lang und 10.8 Cm. breit. Es ist in eine innen beschriebene Pergamenturkunde gebunden, nachdem für kürzere Zeit ein gewöhnliches Blatt als Umschlag gedient hat, von dem die vordere Hälfte weggerissen ist, die hintere das Spielerverzeichnis enthält; einige Namen sind durch den späteren Pergamenteinband zum Teil verdeckt. Doch ist sie noch vor der Auf- führung mit dem jetzigen Einband versehen, da die Namen einiger Spieler auf die hintere Innenseite des Deckels gekritzelt sind und die Vorderseite als Aufschrift, von dem Schreiber des ersten Spiels herrührend, die Worte trägt: "Registrum Ipsi- us Ludus designantis Cenam domini* ac eius passionem vna cum eiusdem designantis resurreccionem demonstracione."

Das Ms. enthält drei Spiele: das am Gründonnerstage auf- geführte umfasst fol. 1^a–16^b, fol. 17^a–42^b bringt das Charfreitagsspiel und fol. 43^a–62^b das Spiel am Ostersonntag. Ursprünglich um- fasste der Codex 69 Blätter (nachdem das vordere Umschlag-

*Dr. W. H. CARPENTER in seiner Notiz über dies Spiel (Johns Hopkins Circulars, 1882) liest *dum* (!).

blatt abgefallen); fol. 68 ist herausgeschnitten, leider, denn es scheint den Bühnenplan enthalten zu haben, soweit sich aus dem geringen Rest der Figur erkennen lässt. Die 68 Blätter sind gut erhalten und haben alle dasselbe Wasserzeichen, eine Wage mit siebenzackigem Stern. Sie verteilen sich auf sechs Lagen von verschiedener Grösse. Die erste ist ein Quinternio (fol. 1^a–10^b); die zweite ein Ternio (fol. 11^a–16^b); die dritte und vierte sind Sexternionen (fol. 17^a–28^b und fol. 29^a–40^b); die fünfte ein Octernio (fol. 41^a–56^b) und die letzte wiederum ein Sexternio (fol. 57^a–68^b). Nur die beiden ersten Lagen sind nummerirt, und zwar am Fusse jeder a- Seite.

Die Handschrift ist im ganzen sauber doch sehr ungleichmässig geschrieben. Links befindet sich ein fingerbreiter Rand. Jede Zeile enthält einen Vers; wo derselbe zu lang ist, ist er abgetrennt und der Rest in eine kürzere Zeile, oft in grösserer Entfernung, doch stets deutlich erkennbar, eingerückt. Grosse Buchstaben sind fast nur am Versanfang benutzt, die Initialen aller drei Spiele sind verziert. Die Spielanweisungen sind mit Ausnahme der vier ersten Seiten mit roter Tinte und von denselben Händen ausgeführt, die den Text schrieben. Fünf Schreiber haben an der Handschrift gearbeitet. Die erste Hand, *A*, ist die schönste; von ihr rührt das ganze erste Spiel her, fol. 1^a–16^b. Die zweite, *B*, beginnt das zweite Spiel, fol. 17^a, und reicht bis fol. 19^b, wo sie, nachdem sie sich in V. 182 verschrieben hat, von *A* abgelöst wird. *A* schreibt dann weiter bis fol. 21^a V. 315. Beide Schreiber wechseln ab; *B*: fol. 21^a—fol. 23^a V. 457; *A*:—fol. 23^b (Ende); *B*:—26^b, (Ende). Hier zeigt sich eine dritte Hand, *C*, die schon auf fol. 26 das "Prophe-tisa" etc. nachgetragen und dann fol. 27^a und die ersten fünf Verse auf fol. 27^b geschrieben hat; sie ist besonders durch die langen geschweiften Abkürzungszeichen über dem *n* kenntlich. Den Rest von fol. 27^b hat *B* einzutragen übernommen, sowie die Spielanweisung am Kopfe des fol. 28^a. *A* beginnt hier wiederum bei den Cantatversen: "Innocens" etc. und geht bis fol. 28^b, Ende. Die vierte Hand, *D*, beginnt mit einer neuen Lage, fol. 29^a, und vollendet das zweite Spiel, fol. 42^b. Der fünfte Schreiber, *E*, der die grossen Anfangsbuchstaben der Länge nach rot durchstreicht, copirte die ersten ein und zwanzig Seiten des dritten Spiels, fol. 43^a–53^a (Ende). *A* findet sich wiederum, fol. 53^b–59^a, V. 936. *D* schrieb jedoch die ersten sechs Verse fol. 57^a und trug in dem Passus fol. 53^a–59^a die Cantatverse ein,

mit Ausnahme des "Ergo noli" etc., fol. 55^a, und aller auf fol. 57^a und 57^b, welche die Schrift von *A* zeigen. *E* hat den Rest von fol. 59^a geschrieben; *B* trug dann fol. 59^b ein, und *E* schrieb von fol. 60^a bis zu Ende, fol. 62^b. Die letzte Seite zeigt auch hier wieder durchstrichene Anfangsbuchstaben.

Die Namen der auftretenden redenden oder singenden Personen sind neben den Spielanweisungen durch die ganze Handschrift eingetragen, wie es scheint von *B*, der auch die Ergänzungen schrieb, fol. 54^a und 56^a. Fol. 63^a bringt die Reihenfolge der am Gründonnerstage auftretenden Personen, fol. 64^a die der zweiten, am Charfreitage spielenden, und fol. 64^b die der dritten Abteilung, von *D* geschrieben. Allerdings sind hier nicht alle Spieler placirt. Fol. 65^a–67^b sind leer gelassen. Das letzte Blatt bringt den Namen und Stand der zwei Regenten sowie die Rollenbesetzung nochmals im Zusammenhange; es war der erste Entwurf, denn die Namen sind vielfach geändert und stimmen oft nicht mit den früher im Text genannten Personen überein. Die Schrift ist auch so flüchtig, dass sich schwer zurechtfinden lässt.

Die Cantatverse, die theils vollständig, theils nur mit den Einleitungsworten sich schon in den Spielanweisungen vorfinden, sind fast durchweg mit Noten versehen. Das System ist überwiegend vierzeilig. *D* wendet viermal bei ganz kurzen Versen dreizeilige Liniirung an, gebraucht sonst, wie *A* stets, das vierzeilige System; die fünfte Linie im vorletzten Verse fol. 41^a ist jedenfalls ein Versehen. *E* allein hat fünfzeiliges System und führt dasselbe consequent durch.

Folgende Verse sind mit Noten versehen:—fol. 4^a Vnus autem-pereat.—fol. 8^a Numquid-Rabj.—fol. 8^b Quid-tradam.—fol. 11^a Quemcumque-eum;—fol. 11^b Aue-Rabj.—fol. 22^a Pec-caui-justi.—fol. 23^b Crucifige-eum.—fol. 24^b Non-barrabam.—fol. 25^a Tolle-eum; Regem-crucifigam:—fol. 26^b Aue-judeorum; Prophetisa-percussit.—fol. 27^a Ecce homo; Tolle-eum.—fol. 28^a Innocens-iustj; Sanguis-nostros.—fol. 32^b Wainet-list; Wainen-roth.—fol. 33^a Awe-yechen—fol. 33^b Awe-grosz; Johannes-tod.—fol. 34^a Awe-cristenhayttt; Herten-dich.—fol. 34^b Ecce-tuus; Ecce-tua; Nu-gepar.—fol. 35^a Hely-me; Awe-tod.—fol. 35^b Sicio.—fol. 36 Consummatum est; In-meum; Vere-iste.—fol. 36^b Tod-schayde; Dein-todt.—fol. 37^b Ambulo-fro.—fol. 38 Vere-iste.—fol. 38^b Durch-erkoren.—fol. 41^a Awe-kind.—fol. 41^b Awe-tod.—fol. 47^b Ergo-cepi; Tollite-vest-

ras.—fol. 50^a Venite-mei.—fol. 52^a Hew-populo; Omnipotens-dolor.—fol. 52^b Sed-sanctissimo.—fol. 53^a Quis-sepulchrum; Quem-gementes; Ihesum-querimus; Non-ihesus.—fol. 53 Venite-alleluia; Ad-ihesus; Awe-lag.—fol. 54^a Domine-eum.—fol. 54^b Awe-erlost.—fol. 55^a Maria; Rabi-magister; Prima-nimia; sancte-norbis; Ergo-plangere.—fol. 56^a Ich-leben.—fol. 56^b Mitte-alleluia; Misi-alleluia.—fol. 57^a Victime-cristiani; Dic-via; Sepulchrum-resurgentis; Angelicos-galilea.—fol. 57^b Currebant-alleluia.—fol. 58^a Cernite-alleluia.

Der Inhalt der drei Spiele ist folgender: Erster *Tag*: V. 1–70. Rede des Precursor.—V. 71–106. Klage der Juden gegen Jesus vor Caiphas wegen Austreibung der Händler aus dem Tempel und wegen seiner Lehren.—V. 107–192. Annas erbittet den Rat der Juden: Rabisamuel rät zum Tode; Nicodemus, Joseph von Arimathia und Zedonius erklären ihn für unschuldig.—V. 193–218. Annas, Succentor und Magister raten wider Jesum.—V. 219–252 Rede des Caiphas: politische Gründe fordern Jesu Tod.—V. 253–276. Der Magister empfiehlt Geheimhaltung des Beschlusses.—V. 277–296. Jesus sendet Petrus und Johannes, das Osterlamm zu bestellen.—V. 297–330. Die Jünger führen den Auftrag aus.—V. 331–352. Christus isst mit seinen Jüngern das Osterlamm.—V. 353–398. Fusswaschung.—V. 399–424. Einsetzung des heiligen Abendmals.—V. 425–442. Jesus ermahnt die Jünger, spricht von seinem nahen Tode und dem Verräter.—V. 443–476. Fragen der Jünger.—V. 477–533. Judas, vom Teufel angestachelt, verhandelt mit den Juden über den Verrat Christi; die bedungenen dreissig Pfennige werden ihm von Annas ausbezahlt.—V. 534–553. Jesus spricht über seinen Tod, Flucht der Jünger und Verläugnung Petri.—V. 554–599. Gang nach dem Ölberg, Jesu Gebet.—V. 600–625. Judas führt die bewaffneten Juden nach dem Ölberg.—V. 626–697. Malchus wird das Ohr abgeschlagen und geheilt; Flucht der Jünger; Christi Gefangennahme.—V. 698–723. Christus vor Annas geführt.—V. 724–745. Petrus verläugnet seinen Herrn.—V. 746–781. Petri Reuemonolog.—V. 782–797. Annas rät, Jesum zu Caiphas zu führen.—V. 798–870. Verhör vor Caiphas; Jesus bekennt sich als GOTTES Sohn.—V. 871–882. Primus, secundus und tertius judeus raten, ihn heimlich zu töten.—V. 883–904. Quartus judeus rät, ihn vor Pilatus zu führen, die andern pflichten ihm

bei.—V. 905–922. Jesus verhöhnt und geschlagen.—V. 923–944. Annas und sextus judeus raten, Jesum zu misshandeln, damit er sich am folgenden Tage nicht verteidigen könne.—V. 945–958. Schlussrede des Precursor.

Zweiter Tag :—V. 1–95. Rede des Precursor.—V. 96–121. Pilatus tritt auf.—V. 122–235. Jesus vor Pilatus; Caiphas, Annas und die Juden klagen ihn an.—V. 236–279. Pilatus beschliesst auf den Rat der milites, ihn zu Herodes zu senden.—V. 280–379. Jesus vor Herodes; Caiphas bringt die Klage vor; Herodes schickt ihn auf Anraten seiner milites zurück zu Pilatus, nachdem er verhöhnt.—V. 380–451. Judas Reue; er bringt das Geld zurück und erhängt sich mit dem ihm vom Teufel geschenkten Strick.—V. 452–507. Christus zum zweiten Mal vor Pilatus.—V. 508–539. Pilati Frau, von bösen Träumen geplagt, lässt ihren Mann bitten, Jesum nicht zu verurteilen.—V. 540–579. Barrabas freigegeben.—V. 580–595. Die Juden bestehen auf Jesu Kreuzigung.—V. 596–667. Pilatus versucht durch Geisseln Jesu die Juden zu beruhigen.—V. 668–691. Jesus mit der Dornenkrone gekrönt und verspottet.—V. 692–735. Die Juden drängen Pilatus Caiphas droht mit der Ungnade des Kaisers.—V. 736–761. Pilatus verurteilt Christum zum Kreuzestode.—V. 762–765. Jesus muss das Kreuz selbst tragen.—V. 766–779. Simon von Cyrene wird gezwungen, das Kreuz tragen zu helfen.—V. 780–801. Jesu Klage auf dem Weg nach Golgatha.—V. 802–809. Veronica's Jammern.—V. 810–823. Jesus beklagt die Weiber Jerusalems.—V. 824–841. Die zwei Schächer werden zuerst gekreuzigt.—V. 842–911. Jesus unter grossen Martern ans Kreuz geschlagen.—V. 912–931. Die Kriegsknechte würfeln um den Rock.—V. 932–955. Caiphas, Annas und die Juden verspotten Jesum am Kreuz.—V. 956–973. Pilatus lässt die Inschrift oben ans Kreuz schlagen; die Juden bitten vergeblich sie zu ändern.—V. 974–979. Jesu Gebet für seine Feinde.—V. 980–1005. Gespräch der beiden Schächer; Jesus verheisst dem zur rechten das Paradies.—V. 1006–1022. Klage der Maria Kleophe.—1023–1043. Maria Magdalena.—V. 1044–1085. Gespräch zwischen Johannes und Jesu Mutter.—V. 1086–1099. Beide gehen unter Gesängen zum Kreuz.—V. 1100–1115. Jesus empfiehlt seine Mutter dem Johannes.—V. 1116–1199. Worte Christi am Kreuz, Klagen der Maria und Spotten der Juden.—V. 1200–1229. Rede des Centurio nach Christi Verscheiden.—V. 1230–1241. Weitere Klagen der Ma-

ria, die Johannes tröstet.—V. 1242–1266. Die Juden bitten Pilatus, den Schächern die Beine brechen zu dürfen; dies wird erlaubt und ausgeführt.—V. 1267–1322. Longinus sticht Jesum in die Seite, wird sehend und preist den Herrn.—V. 1323–1335. Maria klagt nochmals.—V. 1336–1377. Joseph und Nicodemus beschliessen, den Leichnam zu bestatten.—V. 1378–1389. Sie befragen Maria, Johannes antwortet in ihrem Namen.—V. 1390–1435. Sie gehen zu Pilatus, der ihnen ebenfalls die Bitte gewährt.—V. 1436–1477. Kreuzesabnahme.—V. 1478–1511. Klage der Maria; Johannes tröstet sie.—V. 1512–1548. Annas und Caiphas lassen Joseph gefangen nehmen.

Dritter Tag:—V. 1–8.—Ansprache des ersten Engels.—V. 9–14. Ansprache des zweiten Engels.—V. 15–50. Precursor.—V. 51–70. Annas rät, Pilatus um Grabwächter zu bitten.—V. 71–127. Pilatus gewährt ihnen die Bitte.—V. 128–160. Die Wächter werden gedungen und zur Wachsamkeit ermahnt.—V. 161–177. Caiphas verteilt unter sie das Geld.—V. 178–181. Die Wächter ziehen unter Gesang zum Grabe.—V. 182–293. Unter Prahlreden legen sie sich um das Grab.—V. 294–297. Der Engel schlägt die Ritter.—V. 298–314. Jesus von den Engeln erweckt.—V. 315–316. Höllenfahrt; die Engel fordern Lucifer auf, das Tor zu öffnen.—V. 317–390. Ratschlag der Teufel.—V. 391–458. Adam, Jesaias, Simeon, Johannes der Täufer, Seth und David sprechen über die Ankunft des Erlösers.—V. 459–476. Zweite Aufforderung an Lucifer; Jesus öffnet das Höllentor.—V. 477–484. Wehklagen der Teufel.—V. 485–544. Gespräch Jesu mit Adam, Eva und Abraham.—V. 545–554. Jesus führt die Seelen ins Paradies.—V. 555–564. Jesus befreit Joseph von Arimathia.—V. 565–606. Adam spricht mit Enoch, Elias und dem Schächer.—V. 607–612. Gang der drei Marien zum Grabe; Klage.—V. 613–624.—Prima Maria.—V. 625–631. Secunda Maria.—V. 632–643. Tertia Maria.—V. 644–665. Sie finden das Grab leer.—V. 666–702. Klage der Maria Magdalena; Unterredung mit dem Gärtner.—V. 703–746. Jesus erscheint der Maria und befiehlt ihr, es den Jüngern mitzuteilen.—V. 747–774. Lobgesang der Maria; Gespräch mit dem ungläubigen Thomas.—V. 775–802. Jesus giebt sich Thomas zu erkennen.—V. 803–832. Maria verkündet Johannes und Petrus die Auferstehung.—V. 833–860. Wettlauf zum Grabe.—V. 861–878. Sie finden das Grab leer.—V. 879–970. Die Grabhüter erwachen, beschuldigen sich gegenseitig und fechten mit einan-

der.—V. 971-982. Sextus miles rät, den Juden Mitteilung zu machen.—V. 983-1004. Die Juden bitten Caiphas, Joseph von Arimathia zu bestrafen.—V. 1005-1028. Sie erfahren die Befreiung Josephs.—V. 1029-1106. Die Grabwächter erzählen Caiphas und den Juden ihre Erlebnisse.—V. 1107-1134. Sie werden von den Juden erkauft zu sagen, dass Jesu Leichnam von den Jüngern gestohlen sei.—V. 1135-1142. Sextus miles hält eine demgemässe Ansprache an das Volk.

Trotz einer kurzen Beschreibung und Inhaltsangabe unserer Handschrift durch DR. W. H. CARPENTER in den Johns Hopkins Circulars, vom Jahre 1882, die sich bei genauerer Betrachtung als ziemlich wortgetreue Uebersetzung des Eingangs erwähnten Briefes von PROF. WEIGAND ergibt—mit einigen unwesentlichen Hinzufügungen und wesentlichen Auslassungen—scheint die Existenz derselben in Europa gar nicht bekannt geworden zu sein. Die Sprache weist das Spiel in die Südost-ecke Deutschlands, und war es uns überraschend, beim Durchgehen der betreffenden Litteratur, dasselbe als nahezu identisch mit dem von Pichler (über das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol, Innsbruck, 1850 p. 16-25) veröffentlichten Bruchstücke des Sterzinger Spiels zu finden, was merkwürdigerweise einer Autorität wie Weigand entgangen war. Somit stammt das Spiel aus Tirol. Da der Ort nicht angegeben war, so mussten wir versuchen, ihn aus dem Spiel selbst zu bestimmen, wozu sich im Personenverzeichnis genügende Anhaltspunkte finden. So ist sextus judeus: "Zollner am Eysack," und auf fol. 69^a ist die Rolle des quintus judeus, die von Kandler gegeben wurde, zunächst dem "Zollner an der Talfer" zugeteilt. Diese beiden Namen lociren das Spiel in Bozen. Der Ort findet sich sogar auf fol. 16^b angegeben: der Precursor ist Succentor in potzn dominus. . . . "Zum Ueberfluss findet sich dann noch der Name des Freundes VIGIL RABER'S, LIENHART HERTMAIR, den Raber Am Schluss des Spieles, das er im Jahre 1514 in Hertmair Haus abschrieb, den "älteren Bürger und Kirchprobst zu Botzen" nennt.*

Schwerer ist die Zeit der Aufführung zu bestimmen. Der Schriftcharacter lässt das Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts als wahrscheinlich annehmen. Die Pergamenturkunde trägt das Datum: *in der jarzall xpi Taussentt vierhundert darn[ach]* (das übrige ist weggeschnitten.) Dies bringt uns auch nicht weiter. Wir werden es in das letzte Viertel des fünfzehnten

* Cf. Pichler, *ibid.* p. 64 u. 65.

Jahrhunderts mit Sicherheit setzen können; es wird kaum früher gespielt worden sein, da HERTMAIR die ehrwürdige Rolle des Herodes spielte und wohl nicht später, da er im Jahre 1514 bejahrt war und als Kirchenpropst die drei Nebenrollen des Zedonius, Herodes und David schwerlich übernommen hätte.

Ein anderer Umstand bestimmt uns noch, an dieser Periode als Entstehungszeit des Bozener Spiels festzuhalten. Um diese Zeit entstanden das Sterzinger (zwischen 1481 und 96; gespielt 1496 und 1503) und Pfarrkircher Spiel (aus dem Jahre 1486). Dass das Bozener Spiel zu diesen und somit zu dem ältesten *Cyclus Tiroler Passionsspiele* gehört, beweist der korrespondirende Inhalt und Wortlaut, soweit letzterer von PICHLER und WACKERNELL (*Die ältesten Passionsspiele in Tirol. Wiener Beiträge zur deutschen und englischen Philologie. II. Wien 1887*) mitgeteilt ist. Nach einer freundlichen Mitteilung Prof. Dr. WACKERNELL'S, der die sämtlichen Spiele in einer baldigen Publication behandeln wird, haben sich in jüngster Zeit noch mehrere dieses *Cyclus* vorgefunden: in Brixen, in Krain und im Bozener Kloster. Eine genauere Zeitbestimmung wird sich jedenfalls durch Vergleichung des Personenverzeichnisses von B. (unserm Spiel) mit Namen in Archiven an Ort und Stelle finden lassen, falls nicht schon eine Untersuchung des Abhängigkeitsverhältnisses der sechs Spiele uns nähere Anhaltspunkte geben sollte. Deshalb und weil das Verzeichnis interessante Aufschlüsse über Inszenirung etc. giebt, lassen wir dasselbe hier folgen. Es ergibt sich, dass die Geistlichkeit sich noch nicht ganz von der Aufführung zurückgezogen hatte. Der Name des ersten Regenten wird als "Pfarrer" angegeben; das Fehlen des Vornamens zeigt auch wohl hier, wie beim Schulmeister, der den Salvator gab, dass wir es mit einem Geistlichen zu tun haben. In demselben Verzeichnis, fol. 69^b, findet sich Longinus als "pfarrer brueder" angegeben, während der Name bei der Rolle im zweiten Spiel Sebastianus Fripleben lautet, falls die Rolle nicht geändert ist—wie bei nahezu der Hälfte der Spieler—wäre der Familienname des Pfarrers "Fripleben", doch bleibt der Schluss bei dem incorrecten Endverzeichnis unzuverlässig. Die Rolle des Johannes wird vom Dominus Johannes Hospitalis gegeben, auch Hospitalarius Caplanus, Caplanus in hospitio etc. genannt, also ein Geistlicher. Auch L. Hertmair müssen wir dazu rechnen. Ebenso werden wir nicht fehlgehen, wenn wir

den Dominus Gothardus, Dominus Thomas, Dominus Paulus und Dominus Michael, deren Titel im dritten Spiel häufig mit dem deutschen "herre" wiedergegeben ist, zum geistlichen anstatt zum adeligen Stande zählen. Die Weiberrollen wurden von männlichen Personen gegeben.

Dem ersten Spiel lassen sich folgende Namen entnehmen. Precursor: Succentor in Bozen; Salvator: Scolasticus; Petrus: Dominus Paulus; Johannes: Dominus Johannes Hospitalis; Philippus: Leufferer, der im dritten Spiel den Seth übernimmt; Jacobus maior: Hans an der Vischpanch (primus miles Pilati in II); Jacobus minor: Dominus Michael (Abraham in III); Bartholomeus: Schroff (quartus diabolus in III); Mathias: Rocker (secundus miles Pilati in II); Simon: Dominus Gothardus (Jeremias in III); Andreas: Dominus Thomas; Annas: Jacob Ymber (auch mit deutschem Namen Pfeffer); Caiphas: Nürnberger (der Bürgermeister von Bozen!); Rabisamuel: Zächlerl Schuster (Rabi Moyses in III); Nicodemus: Maister Ludwig (in II. Ludwig Goldschmidt genannt); Joseph ab Aromathia: Hainrich Peck; Zedonius: L. Hertmair (Herodes in II., David in III); Succentor: Laurentius in scolis (Adam in III); Magister: Oswaldus (Thomas in III); Judas: Zöllner im kutters weg (auch Johannes Zöllner an der stang genannt); primus judeus: Johannes Altist; derselbe hat die Namen eingetragen, wie aus dem selbstbewussten "Ego Johannes Altist" zu entnehmen, ist also auch wahrscheinlich mit dem Schreiber B identisch. Secundus judeus: Fritz Perger; tertius: Genebein; quartus: Florian Satler; quintus: Candler; sextus: Zollner am Eysack; Wasserträger: Oesterreicher (famulus judeorum in II); hospes: Albertus; Malchus: Jobst Peck; diabolus Judei: Das klein Haintzel auff der schull (primus diabolus in III); falsus testis: Hawer; angelus: Johannes Pictoris (mater Jesu in II, tertia Maria in III); ancilla hostiaria: Mattes Satler (uxor Pilati in II, Eva in III); alia ancilla: Baumann Kandler. Bei Thomas findet sich kein Name; im dritten Spiel ist es Oswaldus, derselbe, der den Magister im ersten Spiel darstellt. Auch der Vertreter des Matheus ist ungenannt geblieben.

Dazu gekommen sind im zweiten Spiel; Pilatus: Ebrhardt; servus Pilati: Niclas Neuwirt; tertius miles Pilati: Kessler; quartus miles centurio: Moser; primus miles Herodis: Mennninger (quintus miles in III); secundus miles Herodis: Jung Rocker; famulus Herodis: Kaiserperger vetter; famulus uxoris Pilati:

Jäger am Zoll; Simon Cironensis: Cosman; Longinus: Sebastianus Fripleben; servus Longini: Schlosser; Barrabas: Heinrich Padknecht; servus Nicodemi: Hans Vorwaldt (Lucifer in III); servus Josephi: Fritz Payrscherer; Maria Cleophe: Erasmus Purchard; Maria Magdalena: Andreas Scuto; una mulierum: Puschel. Die Namen der beiden latrones fehlen.

Im dritten Spiel finden sich noch die folgenden neuen Personen: Simeon: Sixt Schott; Johannes Baptista: Martin Pader; Jesaias: Mülner an der Hell; Enoch: Andre Maurer; Latro: Oswald Goltschmidt; primus angelus: Georg Pictoris; secundus Steffanus; primus angelus (im Grabe): Martinus; secundus angelus (im Grabe): Cunradus Pictoris; angelus percutiens: Carinsick (?); sextus miles: Gschwein; secundus diabolus: Cristel Peck; tertius: Jung Vincentz; quintus: Payrscherer prueder; famulus turris: Truefer. Namen fehlen bei Elias und famulus Pilati.

Original kann unser Spiel (B.) nicht sein; das beweisen auf den ersten Blick die Reime. Auch gemeinsame Vorlage für St. und Pf. kann es nicht gewesen sein (also Xi in dem Schema bei Wackernell), da St. und Pf. gemeinsame Fehler in B. nicht vorkommen. Ebenso wenig kann es Vorlage für St. (also Y bei Wackernell) noch für Pf. (Yi) gewesen sein, da sich Fehler und Varianten nicht so erklären lassen. Eine andere Möglichkeit, dass es aus St. oder Pf. geflossen ist wird noch leichter beseitigt: St. kennt nur die beiden ersten Spiele und Pf. weist viele Fehler und Lesarten auf, die bei B. nicht vorkommen. So gern wir auch hier die Gelegenheit benutzen möchten, die Frage nach dem Zusammenhange genauer zu untersuchen, so müssen wir es uns angesichts der spärlichen Zahl von Bruchstücken, die in den genannten Werken mitgeteilt sind, versagen; denn nichts wäre leichter, als an der Hand der vollständigen Mss., die uns nicht zugänglich sind, unsere Resultate umzustossen, und da die Frage ja doch bald gelöst werden wird, so wollen wir hier keine müssigen Conjecturen aufstellen.

Wir können hier nur dies sicher feststellen: B. ist aus Xi geflossen. Genügender Beweis wäre allein der unglaubliche Fehler, dem Zedonius, der sich Vers 181–188 für Christum bekannt und dafür eine Strafpredigt von Annas erhalten hat, gleich darauf die Worte in den Mund zu legen, die der Hohepriester eigentlich zu sagen hat, ein Fehler der sich in allen drei

Spielen (B., St. u. Pf.) findet. Wegen anderer Belegstellen verweise ich auf die Anmerkungen. Und einen Schritt weiter können wir noch gehen: Soweit es sich controliren lässt—denn in den höheren Versnummern divergiren die Zahlen zu stark—sind die bei WACKERNELL p. 15 verzeichneten Schreibfehler in St. meist auch in B. zu finden, während die bei Pf. (p. 19) in B. nicht Eingang gefunden haben. Somit steht B. dem St. näher, neigt sich also dem Y zu.

Bei der Textwiedergabe habe ich von einer Reconstruction oder Durchführung eines einheitlichen Lautstandes abgesehen; es fehlen b's jetzt die Vorarbeiten zu einer genaueren Kenntnis dieses Sprachgebietes und dieser Periode. Zu modernisiren habe ich aus wissenschaftlichen Gründen unterlassen. Ich habe mich daher beflüssigt, einen möglichst wortgetreuen Abdruck zu liefern. Den Mangel einer zur Entscheidung dialectischer Spracheigentümlichkeiten ausreichenden Privatbibliothek—von einer solchen kann in hiesiger Gegend eben nur die Rede sein—habe ich beständig lebhaft empfunden; dieser Umstand möge die diesbezüglichen spärlichen Anmerkungen entschuldigen.

Das *i* und seine längere Form *j* ist nach dem Ms. stets auseinandergehalten, in Capitalschrift jedoch nur *I* gesetzt. Im Wortlaut habe ich geändert, wo es nötig schien; der Apparat ist zur Controlle hinzugefügt. Die Spielanweisungen sind in dem oft verderbten Latein stehen geblieben und nur ausgelassene Buchstaben hinzugesetzt. Ueberflüssiges im Ms. ist durch () eingeklammert, eigene Zusätze in [] eingeschlossen. Im Spielerverzeichnis fol. 69^a und 69^b sind die im Ms. ausgestrichenen Namen in Klammern gesetzt.

Schliesslich sei Herrn Ex-Präsidenten ANDREW D. WHITE auch an dieser Stelle für seine freundliche Bereitwilligkeit, uns das Spiel zur Veröffentlichung zu überlassen, der verbindlichste Dank ausgesprochen.

I.

IN NOMINE EIUS [CUIUS] CENAM DESIGNARE *fol. 1^a*
INTENDIMUS. PRIMO PRECURSOR DICIT RIGMUM:

- NÜN merckt, jr herren, all geleich,
Payde arm vnd auch reich,
Frawen vnd auch man.
Bas ich euch zw sagen han.
- 5 Ich pin ain pott vor her gesandt
Vnd mach euch allen pekandt,
Was wir mit disem spil wellen bedeuten
Vnd thüen kundt allen leuten.
Am ersten wir[t] euch kundt getan,
- 10 Wie vber ihesum, den man,
Falscher ratt geben ist
Durch die juden mit pösem list
In irem falschen radt;
Das merckt an diser statt :
- 15 Als er lazarum erweckt hett ;
Darumb er von [den] juden grossen neydt ledt.
Sy werden sich ains radts vermessen,
Des wirt judas nicht vergessen.
Der wirt süechen zergänglich guett
- 20 Vnd wirt verkauffen das vnschuldig pluet
Vmb XXX pfenning an der selben statt,
Da mit er sich geidt in ewige nott.
Euch wirt auch getzaygt das abentessen,
Des sich iehsus hatt vermessen,
- 25 Da mit er endt hat gegeben
Der alten ee vnd dem judischen leben.
Vnd soldt dar nach mercken ain,
Wie ihesus den jungeren sein
Wuesch jr fuess zw derselben stündt :
- 30 Das wirt euch werden kundt.
Vnd dar nach wie[er] gieng an dem perg oliuet,

- Als er vormalß gewöndlich thett.
 Da rüefft er an den vatter sein,
 Daz er jn vber hüeb der grossen marter vnd pein.
- 35 Von grosser angst wardt er erhijztet,
 Daz er pluettigen schways schwitzett.
 Das kain trughner vaden an jm was, fol. 1^b
 Fürwar sag ich euch das.
 Da kam ain engel von got dem vatter dar,
- 40 Herr ab gesandt von der hymelischen schar,
 Vnd sagt ihesu, es möcht nit anders gesein,
 Er solt leyden des todes pein,
 Wan durch jn müest erlöst werden
 Al menschen hie auff erden.
- 45 Zwm ander mall padt ihesus den vatter sein,
 Ob sy möchten an die pein
 Gen hymel kumen, vnd padt,
 Ob daz wär mit seinem gottlichen radt,
 Das es geschäch mit seinem willen.
- 50 Doch so wolt er erfüllen
 Der propheten geschrift vnd sag,
 Da mit alles das käm an den tag,
 Das die propheten verkündet hietten ;
 Das möcht jm nyemandt verpietten.
- 55 Vnd wurdt dar nach getröst durch des engels schein,
 Von dem hymelischen vatter sein.
 Darein sich ihesus mit ganzem willen gab,
 Vnd wolt auch nit lassen ab ;
 Sünder es müest als erfüllt werden
- 60 Mit seinem tod hie auff erden ;
 Seydt vnd ye mensch wart geporen,¹
 Wir wären sünst all verloren.
 Dar nach so kümbt der juden schar
 Mit grossem² gewalt dar,
- 65 Vnd judas, der valsch verrätter sein,
 Der in jn martter vnd jn pein
 Wirt fälschlichen geben
 Vnd pringen vmp sein heiliges leben
 Mit seinen fälschen küssen,
- 70 Das er nymmer wirt püessen :

1. Dieser Vers stimmt mit St. überein ; Pf. hat geändert. Cf. W. p.

38. 2. Ms. *grossen*.

Des last euch heint nit verdriessen,
 Sünder zw hertzen fliesen,
 Vnd gedenckt da mit seiner grossen pein,
 Damit wir von jm nymmer mer geschayden sein.

Deinde iudei intrent ad locum consilij Et cantent: "Colligerunt."
 Iudeis conuenientibus in simul cum caypha et anna primus Iudeus
 ponit questionem contra ihesum dicens:

Primus Iudeus:

fol. 2^a

- 75 IR herren, wir wellen euch klagen:
 Ihesus der hatt vns geschlagen
 Auss dem tempel alle
 Mitt fräuelichem schalle.
 Dar zw verschüdt er mir mein saltz,
 80 Gersten, linsen, prein vnd schmaltz,
 Thauben vnd alles, daz ich³ möcht han,
 Vnd hett jm doch nye laydt gethan.

Secundus Iudeus:

- IR solt wissen, lieben herren,
 Das ich dar zw kam von verren,
 85 Das er sprach, wir wären al verloren,
 Wir wurdten dan zw dem ander mal geporen.
 Das ist als vnmüglich ding.
 Gott geb, das vns pass geling.

Tercius Iudeus:

- LIEBEN herren, ich wil euch verkünden,
 90 Was mir geschäch zw der⁴ selben stunden:⁵
 Er verschüdt mir mein silber vnd goldt;
 Pillich jr das rechen solt.

Quartus Iudeus:

- O lieben herren, das ist alles nicht
 Gegen der fräuelichen geschicht
 95 Vnd vmb den grossen vnfueg,
 Wie zornigklich er vns schlueg
 Mit seiner gayssel ruetten.
 Den leser sach ich pluetten
 An seiner kalen stürne,
 100 Durch sein hautb vnd hürne

3. Von A übergeschrieben. 4. Pf. den. 5. Diese beiden Verse
 stimmen mit Pf. überein; anders St. Cf. W., p. 20.

- Wart [er] geschlagen auff den todt;
 Er hat noch nit vberwunden die nodt.
 Moyses schluieg er zw derselben stundt,⁶
 Daz jm daz pluett ran vber den mundt.
 105 Die schmach sol euch pillich missvallen,
 Dye vns ist beschehen allen.

Annas Respondet :

- FÜRWAR, das ist ain pöse phlicht,
 Der dise sacht nit für sicht.
 Darumb, ir herren, wil ich euch sagen,
 110 Als ir das volck alhye hört klagen
 Von jhesu, der sich nennt crist, fol. 2^b
 Der doch ain verkärer ist
 Des volckes vnd der rechten ee :
 Er thuedt vns allen sammen wee
 115 Mit seiner newen lere.
 Man hat es ye gehört mere :
 Das volck werdt kain frist ;
 Als es nün jn das volck kumen ist,
 Das ist mir sicherlichen kundt,
 120 Sol es weren⁷ kain stundt,
 Das volck wirt gantz verkeitt
 Vnd vnser ee wirdt gar zerstörtt,
 Daz sy geschwüren offenkündig :
 Was er sagt, es sey alles war.
 125 Darumb gebt rath, wie man es für sech,
 Das dye sacht nit mer geschech.

Rabisamuel:

- DAS ding nyemandt für kan sechen,
 Das wil ich offenkündig iechen,
 Dye weyl er das leben hatt
 130 Vnd also vntter dem vo[l]ck gatt.
 Auff seinen todt vnd auch sterben
 Süllen wir all werben,
 Oder er verkert vns al zw handt
 Weyb, kindt, man, lewt vnd landt.

6. Corrigirt aus *stunden*. 7. Ms. *werden*; die Abbreviatur hat der Schreiber mehrmals in *werden* verlesen.

Annas dicit ad Nicodemum :

- 135 NICODEMUS, was ratest dw
Vns zw den sachen nün?

Nicodemus dicit :

- WAS rattes wölt jr das ich thue?
Ich kan nit ratten dar zw^e.
Wan die ler, dye[er] hatt,
140 Vnd dye werch, dye er pegatt,
Sindt dye an jn von got (got) kumen,
Als ich von jm hab vernumen,
Siecht man^s es an allen enden,
Seine wunder zw^e lenden
145 Schnelle vnd jn kurtzer frist,
Ob es von gott kumen ist.
Darumb lebet sünder ane nott⁹;
Ich ratt nit auff seinen todt.
Sein ler vnd sein leben sindt schlecht
150 Vnd in allen dingen gerecht.

fol. 3^a*Annas ad Nicodemum:*

PHUI dich, dw pöser trugner!
Dein hertz ist aller eren ler.
Fleuch pald von vnserm ratt
Schnellicklich vnd auch dratt.

*Nicodemus recedit. Annas querit consilium a
ioseph ab aromathia :*

- 155 IOSEPH, werder, edler man
Von aromathia, nün sag an
Vnd radt weysslich dar zw^e,
Was¹⁰ man jn den sachen thue.

Ioseph ab aromathia dicit:

- ICH kan nit dar zw iechen ;
160 Ich han gehört vnd gesechen

8. Ms. *Mansiecht*; wie St. dem es in dieser Rede, soweit mitgeteilt, genau folgt; Wackernell empfiehlt Inversion. Cf. W., p. 38. 9. So auch St. W. hält *sunder* für fehlerhaften Zusatz des Copisten; doch zeigt das in unserem Spiel vor *sunder* ausgestrichene *ane*, dass es in der gemeinsamen Vorlage gestanden hat und dass der Schreiber sich der Richtigkeit des Ausdrucks bewusst gewesen ist. *Sunder* ist daher wohl adverbial zu fassen. 10. Ms. *Wan*.

- Von ihesu nit dan guettes.
 Ich pin jm holdes muettes
 Vmb seiner ler reychen
 Vnd vmb dye wunder zaychen,
 165 Dye muessendt ye von [im] kummen.
 Ich hab nye von jm vernummen,
 Darumb ich jmmmer welle geben
 Ratt noch hilff an seinem leib noch leben.
 Ir werdent auch wol jnnen,
 170 Was ir an seinem tod werdt gewynnen,
 Wan sein ler pleibt vntzerprochen
 Vnd vbel wirtt gerochen.
 Darumb habt ewren gemach
 Vnd kumert euch vmb ander sach."

Annas ad Ioseph :

- 175 FLEUCH pald von vns hyn!
 Dein hertz vnd auch dein syn
 Vns nye was recht gemaynet.
 Das hastw an deiner red wol gescheynet.
 Ioseph recedit.

Annas querit a zedonio :

- ZEDONIO, was ratest dw (vns zw)
 180 Vns zw disen sachen nw ?

Zedonius respondit :

- WAS sol jch ratten an des todt, fol. 3^b
 Der mir gesehende augen pott,
 Da ich plint wartt geporen
 Vnd hett mein gesicht verloren !
 185 Das wisset alle ane spott :
 Er ist mein herre vnd mein gott,
 Das wil [ich] reden offenwär.
 Wer anders spricht, der sagt nit war.

Annas dicit zedonio :

- FLEUCH von hynnen palde !
 190 Das dein vngelück walde !
 Wil dw sein nicht enperen
 So müess wir dich anders leren.

11. Wie St. Vers 173; anders Pf. Cf. W., p. 39.

Annas¹² dicit:

- HABT ir nicht gehörrt,
 Wie sein ler zerstörrt?
 195 Vnser ee vnd vnser wordt
 Sindt dem volk vngehört.
 Wan es volget nach seiner pflicht,
 Nyemandt vns jn eren si¹³cht.
 Wan man wil vnser ler nit geren
 200 Sol dye sach icht lenger weren.¹³
 Wir kommen von seiner lere
 Umb leib, guett vnd ere.
 Darumb sült ir radt geben,
 Wie wir jm wider streben.

Succentor jn sinagoga dicit:

- 205 WIR solten jn nün langst han
 Verderbett (haben) an allen wan,¹⁴
 Ee sich sölich vbel hiett ergangen
 Zw vnserem laster vnd auch schanden;
 Wir hyetten vrsach gehabt genueg
 210 An falscher ler, die er trueg.

Magister in sinagoga:

- SÜLLEN wir das lenger leyden,
 So müess wir vnser ere meyden.
 Auch hab ich dar an gedacht,
 Das er am sabbat gesundt macht;
 215 So hyes er den tempel prechen.
 Das süll wir pillich rechen;
 Doch mag es nit gantz gerochen werden,
 Als wir jn liessen leben hye auff erden.

Tunc duo canunt: "Vnus autem ex ipsis." Quo finito cayphas
 canit; "Expedi vobis vt vnus," etc. fol. 4^a

"Vnus autem ex ipsis cayphas nomine cum esset pontifex anni illius
 prophetauit dicens: Expedi vobis quod vnus homo moriatur pro
 populo Et non tota gens pereat."

Cayphas dicit:

- IR wist all nit, was ir sagt,
 220 Was ir redt oder klagt.

12. Ms. hat, wie schon in der Einleitung bemerkt, *Zedonius*. 13.
 Ms. werden. 14. Dieser Vers zeigt dieselbe Verderbtheit wie in
 St. und Pf. Cf. W., p. 75.

- Hörrt meines rattes pflicht!
 Oder wist ir das nicht:
 Wer sich ah nymbt gotthaytt,
 Dem ist von rom wider saydt,
 225 Als ihesus, der sich nennet gott,
 Dannocho ist ain grosser spott;
 Wer sich zw künig hatt erkoren,
 Der hatt des kayssers huld verloren,
 Als der verkerer thuett.
 230 Nün höret alle meinen muett:
 Ich wayss sicher offenwar,
 Werdens die von rom gewar,
 Das er sich nennet ain gott
 Vnd ainen künig sicher an spott,
 235 Vnd das wir gestätten das,
 Sy werffen an vns iren has
 Vnd zerstörendt vns zehandt
 Payde, leut vnd auch landt,
 Er, guett, weyb vnd auch kindt.
 240 Sy erstörendt alle, dye hye sindt;
 Sye vertilgen vnser ee.
 Darumb ist wäger vil mer,
 Das ain mensch sterbe,
 Dan das volck als verderbe.
 245 Stirbt er, so ist das volck genesen.
 Darumb süllen wir fleyssig wesen,
 Das er wer getöttet gar,
 Doch nit gar zeoffenwar
 Vnd nicht an dem hötzichligen tage,
 250 Das nit werdt auff lauff vnd klage.
 Des volkes murml¹⁵ wirt ze vil:
 Disen ratt ich euch geben wil.

fol. 4^b*Annas Dicit Rigmum:*

- CAYPHAS, der herre, hatt
 Geben den pesten ratt;
 255 Des sol vns wol benüeg[en],
 Vnd iehsum vachen, so wir es mügen.

Magister in sinagoga dicit:

Ir herren, ir solt euch nicht vergachen,

15. Ms. *murwl.*

- Seydt ir ihesum begundt ze vachen.
 Vnser radt sol auch belegen in der stille,
 260 Das er nit erchen vnsern wille.
 Wan wurd er des gewar,
 Er vnd auch sein junger schar,
 Sy wurdten sich darumb bedencken
 Vnd jn kürzt von vns wencken
 265 In ander gegendt vnd auch landt,
 Dy verkerten sy auch zw handt.
 Vnd wurd ir ler jm volk gemer[k]tt
 Vnd dye falschaytt also gestercht,
 Das ir nyemandt möcht wider steen,
 270 So würdt auch straff vber vns¹⁶ gen.
 Darumb gedenckt, das wir jn¹⁶ ergreyffen,
 Das er vns nit müg entschleichen,
 Das wir jn auch behefften,
 Das[er] mit seinen künsten vnd krefften
 275 Wider vns nit müg geringen
 Vnd dar zw nit müg enttrinnen.

Postea scola judeorum canit: "Ab illo ergo die." Et judei manent jn loco. Deinde saluator ingreditur cum discipulis Et disponitur cena.

Petrus dicit saluatorj:

- HERRE, dise österliche zeytt fol. 5^a
 Mit jrre zwkunfft vns nachendt leydt.
 Nün hettestu dich vermessen
 280 Das österlampp zw essen
 Mit deinen jungeren sunder wan.
 Nün soltw vns wissen lan,
 Wo dir das sey zw muedt;
 Da wellen wir es machen guett.

Saluator dicit Rigmum:

- 285 PETRE vnd johannes, hebt euch auff dy vartt
 Vnd geet hin in die stat tradt.
 Das sol euch ain zaychen sein:
 Als pald ir geet zw dem tör hinein,
 So endtgedendt euch ain man zw handt,
 290 Ain krueg tregt er jn seiner handt,
 Vnd der geett nach wasser an dem pach;

16. Von A übergeschrieben.

Dem volkt jn sein hauss nach.
 Sagt jm, wie ich mich hab vermessen
 (Ich) pey jm das osterlamp [zw] essen ;
 295 Das er des also fleyssig sey,
 Wan mein marter wandt mir nachendt pey.

Iohannes dicit saluatorj :

LIEBER herre vnd mayster mein,
 Was dw schaffest, das sol sein.

Deinde veniunt ad portantem aquam.

Petrus dicit :

GUETTER man, dir sey bekandt :
 300 Vnser mayster hat vns gesandt,
 Vns tzwen, zw dem herren dein.
 Wo ist sein hawss ? das thue vns schein.

Tunc ille dicit :

ICH weiss euch auff das recht spor,
 Geet mir nach, ich gee euch vor
 305 Vnd tzaig euch zw diser frist,
 Wo meines herren hauss its.

Et sic vadunt ad hospitem qui dicit :

SEYDT willikum, jr herren guett!
 Saget an, was ist euch zw muedt ?

Iohannes ad hospitem :

HERRE, das thue wir dir bekandt :
 310 Vnser mayster hat vns her gesandt,
 Vns tzwen, zw dir vnd spricht,
 Er wel des osterlampes pflicht
 Pey dir heindt hynnen essen ;
 Er hatt sich des vermessen,
 315 Das er vnd dy junger sein
 Die hochtzeydt wellen pey dir sein.

fol. 5^b

Hospes dicit :

DYE wordt hab ich geren vernumen.
 Haysset jn frölich kumen
 Vntter meines hausses dach.
 320 Ich will jn schaffen guetten gemach ;
 Das müeshauss langk, weit vnd präydt,
 Leich ich jm zw diser höchzeytt.

Iohannes dicit hospitj :

GOTT geeb dir den ewigen lön
 In seinem hymelischen trön
 325 Vnd endlatt dich aller penn !
 Wir wellen nach vnserm mayster gen.
 Et vadunt pro saluatore. Scola judeorum canit.

Petrus dicit saluatorj :

WOLLAUFF herre, das ist peraydt,
 Wastw vns hast vor gesaydt ;
 Das ist alles sicherlich fürwar
 330 Gerecht nach deinem willen gar.
 Et sic intrat ihesus cum discipulis. Et canit : " Homo quid fecit " ?

Hospes dicit :

WILLIKÖM, lieber mayster mein,
 Dw vnd alle dye junger dein !
 Ich hab euch all geren ein genumen,
 Lieber gest ich nye hab¹⁷ gewonnen,
 335 Pey meinen tzeytten, als ich yetz han.
 Das solt ir wissen an argen wan.

Saluator dicit hospitj :

DIR wirt¹⁸ gelonett manigualtigklich,
 Das dw vns so frewndlich
 Eer entpeutest vnd enpfangen hast ;
 340 Gross almuesen dw daran pegast.

Hospes dicit saluatorj :¹⁹

ICH thün es willigklich vnd geren.
 Ich will euch alsambt geweren
 Guettes frides an neydt
 In meinem haus zw diser tzeytt.

Et tune saluator canit : " Venite, comedite." Postea saluator
 cum discipulis ad mensam sedens Tunc scola judeorum canit.

Postea saluator canit : " Desiderio desiderauit."

Et dicit Rigmum:

345 BEGIR, die in meinem hertzen leydt,
 Hatt pegertt vill lange tzeytt,
 Wie ich das iüngste ostermal
 Mit euch nam zw diser wal,

fol. 6^a

17. So auch in St. Cf. W., p. 15. 18. t mit roter Tinte nachget-
 ragen. 19. Die Antwort des hospes ist mit roter Tinte von dem-
 selben Schreiber (A) am Ende der Seite nachgetragen.

Ee das ich hottigkleiche nott
 350 Er lidt vnd auch den pittern todt.

Iohannes dicit ad saluatorem[m]:

HERRE, dein künfftige arbaytt
 Ist vns allen von hertzen laydt.

Postea saluator cingitur lintteolo. Et

dicit discipulis:

Ir sült all sytzen stille;
 Das ist mein guetter wille,
 355 Hintz das ich euch all sambt
 Gewasch, das sey euch bekandt,
 Dye füess, das sol pillich sein.
 Warumb? das wirt euch dar nach schein.

Postea lauat pedes incipiens a juda cantans: "Mandatum novum
 do vobis." Et dum venerit ad petrum

Petrus dicit:

HERRE, dw wascht mir dye füess nicht,
 360 Was mir halt darumb peschicht.

Saluator ad petrum:

PETRE, dw solt dich waschen lan,
 Als dye anderen haben gethan.

Petrus ad saluatorem:

HERRE, das thuen ich nymmer
 Vnd solt ich leben ymmer.
 365 Es kumbt mir nit jn meinen muedt,
 Wan dw pist mir dartzw zw guett.

Saluator ad petrum:

PETRE, wasch ich dir die^{en} füesse nicht,
 So sag ich dir, wie dir geschicht:
 Es ist dein gröstes vnhayll,
 370 Wan dw wirst haben kainen tayll
 Mit mir jn meines vaters reich.
 Das soltu wissen sicherleich.

Petrus ad saluatorem:

NAIN, herre, das sol nicht sein.
 Haupt, fuess vnd dye hende mein

- 375 Soltu waschen schiere,
 Ee das ich wärlich verliere
 Tayll jn deinem reich.
 Ich wil ee sicherleich,
 Das [du] gar nach deiner begier
 380 Waschest alle gelider mir.

fol. 6^b

Saluator dicit ad petrum :

PETRE, was hie durch mich geschit,
 Des²¹ magstu noch wissen nicht ;
 Es wir[t] dir aber noch schein,
 Das wissest auff dy trewe mein.
 Tunc sedent ad cenam.

Saluator dicit ad discipulos :

- 385 IR seydt rain an allen wan,
 Wan ich euch gewaschen han
 Alle sambt gemaine,
 Ausgenummen ain allayne.
 Appostoli canunt post quam dominus cenauit.

Saluator ad discipulos :

- ICH wil euch auch hye wissen lan,
 390 Was ich euch han gethan.
 Dez solt ir tzaychen nemen pey,
 Daz der mayst vntter euch sey,
 Als der minste sicherleich.
 Ir nennet herr vnd mayster mich ;
 395 Nün hab ich euch gewaschen gar.
 Da pey solt ir nemen war,
 Das ir vntter euch sült began,
 Als ich euch yetz hab gethan.

Iterum saluator dicit discipulis :

- ICH will euch geben ein newe ee.
 400 Das osterlampp sol nit mer ;
 Fürwar, ich sag euch das :
 Es ain betzaychung was
 Der newe[n] ee vnd anderst nicht.
 Hinfür man nyessen sicht
 405 Mich für das lamp jn protesschein.

21. Ebenso St.

Ich pin das lamp, daz der sündler pein
 Aller welt auff jm traydt.
 Ich sag euch dye warhaytt:
 Ich pin das selbig hymelprodt,
 410 Vnd wer mich neusse[t] anespott,
 Der stirbt zw kainer frist,
 Von²² dem ewigen tod er genist.

Deinde Ihesus accipiens panem gratias agens fregit et dedit discipulis suis dicens: fol. 7^a

NEMBT hin des prötes schein:
 Da(s) ist mein leib verporgen ein,
 415 Der für der weltte sundigs leben
 Wirt jn den pitteren tod geben.
 Consimiliter accipiens calicen benedixit.

Et dicit discipulis:

TRINGKT das tranck vil freyden pirt!
 Es ist mein pluett, daz für euch wirt
 Vergossen vnd für all menschäydt,
 420 Dye alt ee ist hin gelaydt.
 Das ist der kelch der newe[n] ee.
 Wie oft jr das thuett ymmer mer,
 So begeet ir mein leydlliche nott
 Vnd den hörttiglichen todt.

Et sic comedunt et bibunt. Scola Iudeorum canit.

Saluator dicit discipulis:

425 SAGEETT an, wo lies ich euch ye
 Pey mir ain gepresten hye?

Petrus dicit saluatory:

NAIN, dw herre, sicherleich,
 Das red wir all gemainkleich.²³

Saluator dicit:

DAUON, wer tzwen²⁴ rock hab,
 430 Der thue sich des aynen ab
 Vnd kauff darumb ain schwertt;
 Das ist, daz mein hertz begertt.

Philippus ad saluatorem:

SCHAW, lieber herre werdt,
 Wir haben hye tzway guette schwertt.

22. Ms. vor. 23. Das e der letzten Silbe ist übergeschrieben.
 24. Ms. tzen!

Saluator dicit discipulis :

- 435 DYE sind wol vnser fueg,
Da mit ist sein auch genueg.

Iterum saluator dicit discipulis :

- IR sült wissen zw diser frist,
Das vntter euch ayner ist,
Der wirt mich jn [den] todt geben.
440 Wäger wär jm, das sein leben
Wär zw der welt nicht geporen,
Wan er hatt leib vnd leben verlorien.

Tunc contristati Incipiunt simul dicere, Et primo

fol. 7^b

Petrus dicit saluatorj :

HERRE, lieber mayster mein,
Wirt ich²⁵ daran schuldig sein ?

Iohannes dicit saluatorj :

- 445 HERRE, wirt ich der sein,
Der dich wirt pringen in grosse pein ?

Iacobus maior²⁶ dicit :

HERRE, thue mir das bekandt,
Ob ich der selbig sey genandt.

Philippus dicit saluatorj :

HERRE, ich frag dich an allen spott :
Pin ich der selbig, der dich geydt in den todt ?

Thomas dicit :

HERRE, sag mir an als geuär :
Pin ich der verrätter ?

Wart̃holomeus dicit :

HERRE, dich²⁷ frag ich mit gantzem²⁸ willen nün :
Pin ich, der vnrecht wirt thün ?

Mattheus dicit :

- 455 HERRE, ich pitt dich zw aller frist :
Thue vns bekandt, wer der ist.

25. Von dem Schreiber übre der Zelig nachgetragen. 26. Nach dem beigesetzten Namen wurden diese beiden Verse von Jacobus minor (Dominus Michael) gesprochen. 27. Ms. der. 28. Ms. gantzen.

Mattias dicit:

HERRE, ich frag dich mit gantzen meinen synnen:
Wer wirt das vbel begünnen?

Iacobus minor:

MAYSTER, der frag ich von dir beger:
460 Wirt ichs, der verrätter?

Simon dicit:

HERRE, sy haben dich schier all gefragt,
Ich pitt dich, das dw mir das sagt.

Andreas dicit [t] *saluatorj:*

HERRE, ich peger das an dich:
Pin ich der? das lass wissen mich.

Iudas canit alta voce: "Num quid ego sum Rabj²⁹?"

Iudas dicit:

fol. 8^a

465 MAYSTER sag an, pin[ich] der,
Der dich geytt in todes ger?

Ihesus submissa voce canit: "Tu dixistj."²⁹

Saluator dicit Iude:

IUDAS, dw hast es gesaytt;
Mir nachent von dir arbaytt.

Deinde discipuli contristantur. Et mutuo querentes quis sit traditurus ihesum.³⁰ Et dum venerit ad iohannem qui super pectus domini recubuit

dicit Saluatorj:

EWIGER gott, pin ich der,
470 Der dich gibt in des todes ger?

Saluator dicit iohannj:

ICH verkündt dir das hewtte:
Dem ich yetzund mit willen peutte
Das jngedunckte prodt,
Der geytt mich in todes nott.

Et tunc intingit panem jn Scutellam. Et porrigit jude et dicit:

475 DES dein hertz willen hat
Das thue pehendiggklich vnd auch dratt.

29. Dieselben Worte folgen mit Noten versehen. 30. Diese Spielanweisung ist eine Wiederholung. Vers 467 ist der Verräter schon bezeichnet, doch hat die Frage des Johannes wohl in dem *submissa voce* seine Berechtigung.

Scola judeorum canit. Interim Iudas vadit ad principes sacerdotum. Et jn medio obuiat sibi dyabolos qui dicit ad iudam :

- IUDAS, ich will dir ain guetten rat geben,
 Darumb merck mich gar eben :
 Dye salb ist vnnutzlich vergossen,
 480 Dye deines maysters haubt hat genossen.
 Nun pistu jn deines maysters vngenad kumen
 Vnd deine recht sindt dir vast genummen.
 XXX pfenning weren dir worden berait,
 Das glaub für dye warhaytt.
 485 Gee noch pald hin an der statt
 Mit mir an der juden ratt
 Die werden dir noch XXX pfenning³¹ geben, fol. 8^b
 Dastw verrattest deines maysters leben.

Tunc judas venit ad principes sacerdotum Et clamat : " Quid voltis," etc. " Quid roltis me dare et ego vobis eum tradam?"

Iudas dicit ad principes :

- ICH versteen an euch, das diser ratt
 490 Vber ihesum von nazarett gatt.
 Was welt ir mir geben ?
 Ich wil euch sein leib vnd leben
 Schön geben jn ewr handt :
 Daz thuen ich euch sicher bekandt.

Annas dicit jude :

- 495 IA, wir geben dir wastu wiltdt,
 Kainer gab vns benildt.
 Wes dein hertz von vns pegertt,
 Des soltu von vns sein gewertt.

Iudas dicit judeis :

- So gebt mir gering
 500 XXX silbrein pfenning ;
 So wil ich euch schaffen ane wan,
 Was ich euch verhayssen han.

Annas dicit jude :

- DIE wellen wir dir geren geben.
 Nym hin, das dich gott las leben !
 505 Dw wärest ye ien frummer knecht,
 Nün thue disen sachen recht

31. Das Ms. zeigt hier die bis in die Neuzeit beliebte Abkürzung.

Vnd schaff, wie man es richten sol,
 Wan wir erkennen sein nit gar wol,
 Vnd schaw, das wir nit valend sein,
 510 Wann der erst schad wär dein.
 Tunc annas mediante rigmo Exponit pecuniam,

*Et dicit:*³²

SEE hin: ainen, zween, drey, vier.
 Schaw, die aller pesten gib ich dir.

judas dicit:

DYE traw ich vmb euch verdienn(en) schier.

Annas dicit:

FÜNFF, sechs, syben.
 515 Dein rat wer nit wol vntter wegen pliben.

Iudas dicit anne³³: Verte folium Et videbis quid dicit: "Hic non
 est defectus." fol. 9^a

Iudas dicit anne:

fol. 9^b

ER sol halt nit werden widertriben.

Annas dicit:

VND dy viii dartzw macht xv;
 Hastw aber kainen pösen vbersehen?

Iudas dicit:

NAIN, des muess ich der warhayt iechen.

Annas dicit:

520 DYE xv sindt auch wol dein fueg,
 Daran hastw löns genueg.

Iudas dicit:

MICH benüeg an disem gelt wol,
 Darumb thuen ich alles, das ich sol.

Iterum judas dicit judeis:

IST das nün³⁴ ewr wille

32. Die folgenden Verse hat auch Pf., abweichend von St. Cf. W., p. 39. 33. Diese die Reimfolge *syben: pliben: widertriben* so auffallend unterbrechenden lateinischen Worte stehen allein auf folio. 9^a. Vielleicht hat der Schreiber gefühlt, dass er sich zu weit von der Haupthandlung entfernte, und ist dann gleich auf der nächsten Seite mit den deutschen Versen fortgefahren. Der Passus scheint jedoch gesprochen worden zu sein, da der Name des Spielers daneben verzeichnet steht. 34. Ms. *nür*.

- 525 So schweig [ich] hye zw stille.
 Wan ich wil gar tugentleichen
 Wider hynn zw jm schleichen,
 Das mein nyemandt werd gewar.
 Schier so kumb ich wider dar;
 530 So luegt, das man sey beraydt,
 Als ich euch vor han gesaydt.³⁵

Annas dicit jude :

WIR thuen, wastw schaffest.
 Gedenck, das dw es nit verschlaffest.

Tunc judas reuertitur iterum ad cenam. Scola Iudeorum canit.

*Saluator dicit*³⁶

- ICH wil euch verkünden mein nott :
 535 Mir nähendt der vil grymme todt,
 Den wil ich euch allen klagen.
 Man siecht euch allen vertzagen
 Vor pitterleicher förcht vnd macht
 Zw m lengsten³⁷ noch heint in dieser nacht.

*Discipuli dicunt scilicet*³⁸ *Wartholomeus :*

- 540 WIR sein peraytt an alle nott,
 Zw gen mit dir jn den todt.
 Et dum ordo venerit ad petrum

Tunc dicit :

- HERRE, dw solt gelauben mir :
 Ich wil ee sterben pey dir,
 Ee das ich dich las jn solicher nödt.
 545 Ich wil ee leyden mit dir den todt.

fol. 10^a

Saluator dicit ad petrum :

PETRE, dw solt mich verstan :
 Ee das heindt dreystundt krätt der han,
 So hastw mein dreystundt
 Verlangendt, [das] sein dir kundt.

35. Diese Worte deuten auf eine Lücke, die sich auch in St. und Pf. findet. Cf. W., p. 75, 76. 36. In den folgenden 22 Versen schliesst sich unser Ms. Pf. an; St. bietet einen anderen Text. Cf. W., p. 40. 37. Pf. *letzten*. 38. Das seltenere Zeichen für *scilicet* hat der Schreiber von Pf. in *etc.* verlesen, daher dort der Fehler. Cf. W., p. 49.

Petrus ad saluatorem :

550 WISSE, lieber herre mein,
Verlaugendt sy auch alle dein,
Ich verlaugen dein nymmer
Vnd solt ich leben ymmer.

Deinde *saluator* surgens a cena dicens: "Surgite, eamus hinc."

Et dicit :

WIR wellen nit lenger hye bëstan,
555 Wir süllen jn den garten gan.

Saluator exit cum discipulis ad montem oliuetj Et discipuli canunt
Responsorium jn monte oliuetj. Et dum procedunt pusillum

Saluator dicit :

PETRE, iacob vnd johann,
Ir drey sült mit mir gan ;
Dye anderen süllen hye peyten mein,
Ich wil ain weyll von euch sein.

Tunc ceteri discipuli recedunt. Et assumptis zebedeis procedit
pusillum amplius Et dicit: "Tristis est anima mea vsque ad mor-
tem." Et dicit:

560 MEIN sell ist trawrig hintz in den todt,
Wan sy fürcht des todes nott.
Wachet hye vnd peyttet mein,
Ich wil ain tzeytt am gepete sein.

Saluator procedit pulsillum ab eis Et orat: "Mi pater, si possibile
est transeat a me calix iste ; verumtamen non sicut ego volo," etc.,

Et dicit :

VATTER, hymelischer gott,
565 Durch dein gottlich gepott,
Sey mein gepett müglich,
So vber heb der marter mich ;
Doch dein wil sol ergan
Vnd nicht, als ich gesprochen han.

Tunc surgit ab oratione Et reuertitur ad tres discipulos, fol. 10b

Et dicit eis :

570 MÖCHT ir ain stünde nicht
Mit mir sein an schlaffes pflicht ?
Stet auff vnd wachet all,
Das ewr syn nicht vall.

Tunc discipuli surgunt.

Et ihesus dicit eis:

WACHET sunder durch mein ger
575 Ain weill, so kumb ich wider her.

Tunc vadit ihesus et orat eundem sermonem: "Vatter, hymllischer gott"! Quo finito reuertitur ad discipulos.

Dicit petro:

PETER, mochtestw nit an schlaffes begier
Ain weyl wachen mit mir?
Dw sprichest doch ane spott:
Dw wellest [mit] mir gen jn den todt!

Tunc surgunt Et dicit

Iacobus maior:

580 VON rechter rewiger vnd trawriger begir,
Herre vnd mayster, so entschlaffen wir.

Saluator dicit discipulis:

STET auff vnd wachet, es ist zeytt,³⁹
Des tödes kunft mir nachent leydt;
Pettet vnd habet hoffnung,

585 Das ir nit geet jn versüechung.

Tercio vadit saluator Et orat vt prius. Tunc apparet ei

angelus Qui dicit saluatorj:

IHESU crist, dw warer gott,
Von hymel pin ich deines vaters⁴⁰ pott.
Der hat mich her ab gesandt
Zw dir, das sey dir bekandt,

590 Das dw mit grosser nott
Vnd mit deinem pitteren todt
Erlössest alle menscheytt
Von ewiglicher pittrikeytt.

Da von so hab ainen guetten tröst:

595 Von dir wirt alle welt erlöst.

Saluator dicit:

GOTT vatter, des lob ich dich
In deiner gotthaydt ewigklich!

Tunc surgit *ihesus* ab oratione Et venit ad discip[u]los,

39. Vers 582-585 wie in Pf., St. hat vor der Rede ein lat. Citat und die Rede selbst umfasst 6 Verse. Cf. W., p. 52. 40. Ms. *vatern*.

Et dicit:

Nün müg ir schlaffen

fol. 11^a

Vnd ain klaine tzeyt rasten.

Scola iudeorum canit. Interim iudas vadit ad iudeos,

Et dicit ad caypham:

600 HERRE, wir süllen hynn gan,

Ihesum ich verspechet han.

Ich gee vor hyn, jr volgt mir nach

Vnd habt mit einander kaine(n) sprach.

*Cayphas dicit ad iudeos:*LIEBEN gessellen, seytt fleysig;⁴¹

605 Ob er euch wirt weysig,

So füert jn mit synnen,

Das er euch nit [müg] enttrinnen.

Primus Iudeus ad caypham:

HERRE, lass dir kain sorg sein.

Er mues von mir leyden pein;

610 Ich will jn schlachen auff seinen kopff

Mit meines schwerttes knopff.

Secundus iudeus ad caypham:

O caypha, lieber herre,

Er mag vns nit sein zw ferre.

Wir wellen jn wol finden

615 Vnd mit guetten stricken pinden.

Et sic recedunt. Et transitu iudas alta voce canit vt infra: "Quemcumque osculatus fuero ipse est, tenete eum".

Iudas dicit ad iudeos:

SECHT, wen ich küss an seinen mundt,

Das sol euch vest wesen kundt,

Den sült jr vachen an diser frist,

Wan er der recht schuldig ist.

620 Vnd füert jn mit sicherheyyt;

Enttrindt er euch, es ist mir leydt.

Tercius iudeus dicit iude:

GEE nür hyn für dich,

41. Diese vier Verse stimmen mit Pf. überein, während St. veränderten Wortlaut bietet. Cf. W., p. 21.

Wir volgen dir sicherlich.
 Wir wellen jn wol pinden,
 625 Das[er] nit pleybt da hinden.

Saluator dicit ad discipulos suos:

STETT auff vnd wachet zw diser tzeytt. fol. 11^b
 Secht ir nit, wie judas daher eyltt?

Scola iudeorum canit postea vadunt ad ortum iuda precedente Et iudeis sequentibus. Iudas accedit ad ihesum et clamat vt infra: "Ave Rabi"!

Et dicit:

MAYSTER, piss gegrüesst zw tausendt stundt!
 Ich muess dich küssen an deinen mundt.
Ihesus dicit "Amice, ad quid venisti"?

Et dicit

630 FREWNT, zw wew pistw kumen?
 Iuda, ich hab wol vernümen,
 Dastw mit deinem kuss in nott
 Des menschen sun gibst in den todt,
 Doch wil ich dir zw diser frist
 635 Mein kuss versagen nit.

Et tunc querii ihesus a iudeis:

WAS gefelt euch vnd wen süch jr?
 Das sült ir sagen vnd verkunden mir.
 Tunc iudei cadunt retrosum ad terram Et iterum surgunt.

Primus iudeus dicit ad ihesum:

WIR süchen zw diser frist
 Ihesum, der sich nennet crist.

Ihesus dicit:

640 WAS pegert jr zw diser stundt?
 Das solt ir mir machen kundt.
 Hic iterum cadunt.

Quartus iudeus dicit:

WIR süechen zw diser frist
 Ihesum, der sich nennet crist.
 Saluator dicit: "Dixi vobis prius quod ego sum".

ICH hab euchs vor gesaydt, daz ichs pin,⁴²

42. Dieser Vers zeigt deutlich, dass etwas ausgelassen ist, da Christus sich den Juden noch nicht zu erkennen gegeben hat: ein Fehler, den auch St. und Pf. aufweisen. Cf.W., p. 133 ff.

645 Was habt ir noch(n) jn eurem⁴³ syn?

Tercia vice cadunt retrossum. Et statim iterum surgunt.

Saluator dicit:

SEYDT das ir süchet mich,
So lasset dye geen für sich.

Hic iacobus fugit. Tunc imponunt manus cum clamoribus. Et
tunc euaginato gladio fol. 12^a

dicit petrus:

HERRE, ob es dein hertz pegert,
So wer wir vns mit dem schwertt!

Tunc percutit malchum Et amputat ei auriculam dextram. Ihesus
dicit ad petrum: "Conuerte gladium in locum suum". Et dicit vt
infra:

650 WER rach mit dem schwert wirbt,
Von dem schwert er verdirbt;
Da von stöss dein schwert wider ein.
Ich hyett wol den vatter mein
Gepetten sicher fürwar,

655 Das er mir gross engel schar
Zwelff hiet her gesandt:
Daz soll dir wol sein bekandt.
Aber ich muess leyden die arbaytt,
Als dye prophetten haben gesaydt,

660 Vnd wil auch leyden sünder frey.⁴⁴
Fliech yeder man, da er sicher sey!

Tunc discurreunt discipuli Et *Secundus iudeus* arripit palium [Jo-
hannis], qui recedit relicto palio, [et]

dicit socio suo:

SCHAW, lieber, wie ist es mir ergangen!
Ich hett jr ainen gefangen;
Ist das nit ain wunder!
665 Er lies mir hye sein plünder
Vnd lauffet nakat dahyn;
Er hatt fürwar weysen syn!

Malchus dicit:

AWE, das ich ye wartt geboren!
Das gerecht ör han ich verloren.
670 Das ist mir tzwar nit lieb:
Man wänt ich sey ain dieb,

43. Ms. *euren*.

44. Wie in St., anders Pf. Cf. W., p. 76.

Wo ich hinfür ymmer mere
In dem landt hin kere.

Saluator dicit ad malchum:

LIEBER, schweig vnd gehab dich wol.
675 Dein ding pesser werden sol,
Wan ich wil zw diser stundt
Dich schier machen gesundt.

Tunc malchus apposita aure dicit:

ICH pin gehayssen malchus fol. 12^b
Mein ör, das mir petrus
680 Fräuelichen ab schlueg
Mit seynem schwertt, das er trug,
Das hatt ihesus, der guette man,
Mir gesetzt wider an.

Primus iudeus trudit, sic *saluator* cadit in terram,

Et dicit:

ALS einen mörder sicherlich⁴⁵
685 Habt ir gesüechet mich;
Mit spiessen, stecken vnd stangen
Als ainen dieb gefangen.
Nun hab ich alle tag in dem tempel
Der prophetten geschrift vnd exempel
690 Euch gepredigt vnd gelert offenlich;
Do schlueg noch fieng nymandt mich.
Nün füert ir mich in den todt,
Vnd leyd an schuldt dise nott.

Tercius Iudeus ad saluatorem:

SCHWEIG vnd gee für dich pald!
695 Das dein der teufel waldt!
Sol wir zw lösen deinem⁴⁶ klaffen?
Wir haben wol anders zeschaffen.
Sinagoga canit. Interim ducunt eum ad annam.

Annas dicit:

IR herren, pringt ir jn da her,
Der das volk verkert mit seiner ler?

45. Vers 684 bis 686, wie St., anders Pf. Cf. W. p. 52.
deines.

46. Ms.

- 700 So hatt judas wol volpracht
Was er zw thuen hatt gedacht.

Sextus iudeus ad annam:

IA, dein hertz wissen sol:
Iudas hatt verdient wol
Was man jm zw diser tzeitt

- 705 Guettes vmb den trugner geytt.

Scola judeorum canit. Deinde venit *Iohannes* indutus alio palio,
Et sequitur a longe

*Et dicit:*⁴⁷

LIEBE dieren, vergün dem gesellen mein,
Das er auch gee herein.

*Hostiaria*⁴⁸ *Ancilla dicit petro:*

GEE herein nach deinem müet
Vnd werm dich auch pey der gluett.

Annas dicit ad ihesum:

- 710 IHESU, von der lere dein
Soltu vns machen etwas schein.

fol. 13^a

Ihesus dicit ad annam:

MEIN ler ist offen vnd auch praydt,
Haymlich hab ich nicht gesaydt.
Ich hab gelert jn dem tempel offenwar,

- 715 Do sich sammet aller juden schar.
Frag die, die es haben gehört,
Die sagen dir mein wort, die ich hab gelert.

Tunc *quartus judeus* dat alapam jhesu

Et dicit:

WIE darstw pey deinem leben
Dem pischolff solich antwurdt geben!

Cui ihesus respondit:

- 720 HATT vbel geredt mein mundt,
Das petzewg an diser stundt;
Ist aber, das ich dye warhaytt sag,
Warumb gibstw mir den den schlag?

47. Nach *dicit* ist ad *ancillam* ausradirt. Diese Spielanweisung zeigt denselben Fehler wie St. Cf. W., p. 14. 48. Dies Wort ist später mit roter Tinte zugefügt.

Hostiaria Aucilla dicit petro;

ICH sprich es^{so} auff die trewe mein:

725 Dw pist auch der junger sein.

Petrus respondit ancille:

FRAW, ich erken sein nit sicherlich,

Mit warhaytt ich das vergich.

Deinde venit alia ancilla

Et dicit petro:

Dw pöswicht vnraynner,

Dw pist auch jr aynner.

730 Man kentes an der rede dein,

Das dw pist der junger sein.

Petrus respondit:

ICH wän, dich trieg der pöss geyst,

Füwar, ich ways nit was dw sägst!

Wan wes dw mich tzeychest hye,

735 Sicher das^{so} erkandt ich nye.

Malchus dicit petro:

LIEBER, ich wil dir der warhaytt iechen:

Ich hab dich mit jm in dem garten gesehen.

Ich wil dir auch fürwar sagen:

Dw pist der, der mir das ör hatt abgeschlagen,

740 Vnd pist von galilea kumen;

Das hab wir an deiner red wol vernumen.

Petrus respondit:

fol. 13^b

Dw leugst vmb dye payde.

Ich wil pey meinem ayde

Schweren alhye zw handt,

745 Das ich jn nye hab erkandt.

Hic disponitur gallus qui est famulus cayphe Et canit vt gallus.
Tunc dominus respicit petrum. Et recordatus est petrus verbj jhesu
Et jncipit flere Et statim gallus canit.

Petrus dicit:

Awe vnd awe, ich armer man,

Wie vbel hab ich nün getan!

Ich han verläugnet jn diser frist

Meines herren vnd maysters ihesu crist.

- 750 Awe, wie sol mir beschehen !
 Ich pin nit wirdig mer an zesechen
 Meinen mayster vnd dye junger sein.
 Awe, meines hertzen betruebtte·pein !
 Wo sol ich mich armer hin wenden,
 755 Ich pin verschmächt an allen enden !
 We mir, das ich ye ward⁵¹ geboren !
 Das klag ich jn rewigem⁵² zoren,
 Das ich ihesu, des herren vnd mayster[s] mein,
 In seiner grossen, pitteren pein
 760 Gantzlich verlangent han.
 Ich armer, sündiger man !
 Wie soll ich das ymmer gepüessen !
 Ich nayg mich noch zw seinen füessen
 Vnd klag jm mein grosse misse tadt.
 765 Das mein sel sein ye verlangnet hatt.
 Des sol ich nymmer^{mer} getagen,
 Sunder ewigglich klagen
 Seinem vatter von hymelreich,
 Ain yeder sunder des gleich.
 770 Ich mag nit mer hye gesein,
 Mich vertreybt meines hertzen pein ;
 Mein sündt vnd schandt ist also gross,
 Das ich meines herren plöss⁵²
 Nicht wol[t] mer erkennen.
 775 Wie möcht ich jn wol nennen
 Mayster vnd herre mein !
 Ich sol in ewiger puess sein,
 Das meiner sell wert ratt,
 Als ainem sündler an stat.
 780 Darumb erman ich dich, got deiner parmhertze-
 kait, fol. 14^a
 Dye sey mir von deinen göttlichen gnaden beraitt.

Deinde annas dicit ad judeos :

- Ir herren, mich deuch wol getan,
 Das wir hin zw pischolff cayphan
 Füren ihesum von nazareth vil dratt
 785 Vnd hortten auch seinen ratt.

51. Ms. *rewigen*. 52. So auch St. Vers 994. Cf. W., p. 77.

Wan er hatt weysen syn
 Vnd vindet pald sach wider jn,
 Da mit wir jn mügen verklagen
 Vnd vñbels hinfür sein von jm vbertragen.

Primus judeus dicit:

790 So gee wir mit der gemaine dar
 Alle hye mit der gesambsten schar.
 So müg wir deiner huette pflegen,
 Das nicht beschech vntter wegen,
 Das auch ihesus nit wer gelassen
 795 Vnd vns nit enttrin ab der gassen.
 Wan lies wir jn also dar uon,
 Es war vns allen vñbel getan.

Tunc ducunt ihesum ligatum manibus ad caypham. Scola judeorum canit,

cayphas dicit:

SEYT willig kum, schwacher annas
 Vnd ir juden all! wie meindt ir das,
 800 Das ir so spat kumet zw mir?
 Was ist ewres hertzen pegir?

Annas dicit ad caypham:

WIR haben ihesum gefangen,
 Darumb sey wir zw dir gangen,
 Das dw vns ratt sülles geben,
 805 Was wir thuen mit seinem leben.

Cayphas dicit:

PRINGT jn her für mich
 Vnd lasset hören, wes er sich
 Schüldig geb oder nitt.
 Villeich er selber vergicht,
 Das wir jn ledig lassen an nott
 810 Oder das er leyden muess den todt.

Tunc ducunt eum propinquius ad caypham.

Secundus judeus dicit:

HERRE cayphas, das ist der trugner,
 Der vns pracht hat jn grosse schwär.

fol. 14^b

Tercius judeus dicit:

DER hatt das volgk verkert,

- 815 Ein neue ee er sagt vnd lert.
 Dartzw spricht er zw seinem spott,
 Er sey mensch vnd warer gott.

Magister jn sinagoga dicit:

- ICH hab gehortt, das diser mensch sündig
 Sich nennet offenwar der juden künig.
 820 So ist dir auch vor wol gesaydt,
 Was er vns hat getan zw laydt,
 Do er vns mit seinem fräuel
 Vmb kert tisch vnd täfel.

Deinde veniunt duo falsi testes.

Et dicit vnus:

- ICH vnd mein gesell, wir payde,
 825 Haben fürwar an vntter schayde
 Von jm das wol gehört:
 Wer der tempel gantz erstördt
 Vnd tzegrunder geuellet nyder,
 Den wil er jn dreyn tagen wider
 830 Sicherlich pauen vnd machen,
 tzwar doch mit wunderlichen sachen !

Magister in sinagoga dicit:

- HERRE caypha, diser pösswicht
 Vor aller welt offenlich gicht:
 Er sey mensch vnd warer gott,
 835 Vnd man sol moyses gepott
 Für die stundt nicht halten mer.
 Vnser recht vnd auch die ee
 Dye wil er pöslichen krencken.
 tzwar man sol jn darumb hencken
 840 Vnd kaines lebens mer vergünnen:
 Das sprich ich zw disen stunden.

Cayphas dicit ad ihesum:

- HÖREST [du] nicht, was die zw handt
 auff dy tzeugent allsambt
 Grosse vnd jamerliche geschicht?
 845 Warumb verantwurtz dw dich nicht?

Ihesus tacet. *Cayphas clamat alta voce:* "Adiuro te per deum
 vt dicas nobis si tu es cristus filius dei viui"! fol. 15^a

Et dicit Rigmum:

ICH peschwer dich ane spott

Pey dem lebentigen gott,
Ob dw seyst cristus, gottes sün;
Das lass vns all hie wissen thün.

Ihesus dicit ad caypham: "Verumtamen dico vobis: "Vos videbitis filium hominis Sedentem a dextris".

Et dicit:

- 850 SAG ich euch nün dy warhäytt,
So glaubt ir mir zw kainer zeitt;
Pegündt ich euch aber zw fragen,
So welt ir mir kain antwurdts sagen;
So latt ir mich nit ledig fürwar.
855 Aber ir wert sechen mit der engel schar
Des menschen sun euch werden schein
Zw der gerechten handt des vaters sein,
Do jn wirt vntterschayden ain volk⁵³
Ob sammung aller welt volk.⁵³

Cayphas dicit ad ihesum:

- 860 ALSO hastw an disem standt
Dich selbs cristum, gottes sün, genandt?

Ihesus dicit:

ICH peken, das ich der sun gottes pin;
Ir mügt wol vernemen⁵⁴ meinen syn.

Cayphas surgens a sede scindens vestimenta sua Et canit alta voce:
"Blasphemauit," etc.

Et dicit:

- WIR haben gehörrt vnd gesechen,
865 Das er selb mit willen hatt veriechen,
Das er sey gottes sun.
Was begert jr nün?
Zewgen bedürff wir nit vil⁵⁵—
Das er gott gescholten hatt.
870 Was thün wir nün? gebt euren ratt.

Primus judeus dicit cayphe:

VMB sölich schelten vnd spott,
Als er thuet wider den höchsten gott,
Hatt er wol verschult zesterben;
Dar nach wellen wir all werben.

fol. 15^b

53. Aus dem Reim *volk*: *volk* zu schliessen, ist diese Stelle verderbt. 54. Ms. *vernennen*. 55. Hier ist ein Vers ausgelassen.

Secundus judeus dicit:

875 IR herren, mich teuch das vil guett,
 Das wir sein leben vnd sein pluett
 Haymlich prachten in⁵⁶ den todt
 Vnd hulffen jm selber aus der nott.

Tercius judeus dicit:

Es war auch wol mein ratt:
 880 Seyt es nün ist vinster vnd spat,
 [Er] Kürztlich wurd zw dem todt pracht,
 So wurt sein hinfür nit mer gedacht.

Quartus judeus:

IR herren, es ist zw besorgen:
 Es [wird] villeich auff morgen
 885 Dem richter pylato kundt getan,
 Das wir ihesum, disen⁵⁷ man,
 An vrlaub hyetten erttötet.
 Dar nach wurd wir genöttet
 Vnd von pylatus gewalt getrungen
 890 Vnd vmb guet vnd gelt zwungen.

Primus judeus:

IR herren, ich wolt meinen rat geben,
 Das wir mit des trugners leben
 Vns selbs bekumern vnd vermayligen nicht;
 Gebt jn hin für pylatus gericht.

Secundus judeus:

895 Es ist auch wol mein ratt,
 Als mein gesel gesprochen hatt,
 Das wir jn vor pylato verklagen;
 Der wir[t] vns wol das recht sagen
 Vnd ettlich vrsach geben
 900 Vber sein leyb vnd leben.

Cayphas respondit:

FÜRWAR, dw hast wol(t) geratten!
 Wir süllen jn füren für pylaten
 Vnd süllen jn allen pinden
 Vnd entladen seiner sunden.

fol. 16^a

56. Ms. ein. 57. Ms. disem.

Tunc velata facie eius expuunt in faciem salutantes eum Et percutiunt collum eius: " Prophetisa nobis criste," etc.

Tercius judeus:

- 905 PHUI dich, dw vnsälige !⁵⁸
 Phäch dich dw verfluechte creatur!
 Wie darstw dich also erheben!
 Künigkliche er ist dir nit geben;
 Wan dw pist dar zw nit gesandt,
 910 Sünder dw tuest dir laster vnd schandt.

Quartus judeus dicit ad ihesum:

- IUDEN künig, piss von mir gegruesset!
 Dein hochfart wir[t] dir schier gepüesset.
 Daz dw nit mer volfürest deinen gewaldt
 Vnd den juden nitt zaygest dein falsche gestalt,
 915 Da mit dw manigen hast verkert,
 Den dw falsch vntrew hast gelert.

Tunc *quintus judeus* percutit ihesum ad collum

Et dicit:

- IUDEN künig, pistw ein warer prophett,
 So sag, wer dir den halsschlag tett;
 So müg wir dar nach erkennen,
 920 Ob dw ain prophet seyst zenennen.⁵⁹
 Errattestw sein aber nitt,
 So pistw ein falscher pöswicht.

Annas dicit ad caypham:

- CAYPHA, wir süllen heint haben rue,
 Aber wir kömen morgen al in der frue
 925 Vnd pringen [jn] für pilatum;
 Der schaffet mit jm vnseren frum.
 Aber ihesus sol heint sein jn huett,
 Daz er nit müg haben seinen muett.
 Mit rauffen, stössen, schlegen
 930 Solt ir jn heindt pewegen,⁶⁰
 Das all sein syn vnd gemüedt
 Morgen werden lass vnd müedt,

⁵⁸. *creatur* ist ausgestrichen und mit roter Tinte von der Hand, die die Personennamen schrieb ein Wort darüber gesetzt das sich jedoch nicht entziffern lässt. ⁵⁹. Ms. *zennen*. ⁶⁰. Vers 930= St., Pf. weicht ab. Cf. W., p. 21.

- Das er sich nit müg entschulden
 Vnd also käm zw pilatus hulden
 935 Mit seiner trugnüs vnd argen list, fol. 16^b
 Der gar manigfualtig jn im ist.

Sextus judeus respondit:

- Wir wellen jn schön behalten,
 Das er nit sol erkalten.
 Er sol heindt wenig schlaffen oder sitzen,
 940 Sunder er muess wol erschwitzen.
 Im sol von vns⁶¹ werden also hayss,
 Das er sich morgen nit verwayss,
 Da von er geren wirt getagen
 Vnd lassen von seinem klaffen vnd sagen.

Precursor Concludit:

- 945 DA mit sol das spil heindt ende han.
 Wir wellen es morgen frue wider heben an
 An dem, da wir es heindt haben gelassen;
 Das sey euch kundt getan zw massen.
 Nün ir für dy warhaytt iechen,
 950 Was ir yetz habt gesechen:
 Wie ihesus ist gefangen.
 Morgen so wirt er an das kreutz gehangen;
 Vnd andere(n) marter hat er vil erlitten.
 Darumb sül wir jn pitten,
 955 Das er vns genaden thue,
 Payde spat vnd auch frue,
 Vmb vnser grosse missetat,
 Die ain yeder mensch besünder pegangen hat.
 Darumb, ir lieben kindt all gemäin,
 960 Kömbt morgen dester fruer herein,
 So wirt euch kundt getan,
 Wie man es vindt jn dem passion:
 Was ihesus vmb vns hatt erlitten,
 Vnd⁶² den ewigen todt hat erstritten,
 965 Vnd hatt vns pracht zw dem⁶³ ewigen
 Leben,⁶⁴ das vns daz wert gegeben
 Durch seinen heyiligen namen.
 Sprechet all frölich amen.

61. Ms. *jm.* 62. *Von den.* 63. Ms. *den.* 64. Gehörte im
 Original jedenfalls zum vorhergehenden Verse als Reim zu *gegeben*.

II.

IN DIE PARASCEUES.

fol. 17^a

IN NOMINE EIUS CUIUS PASSIONEM INTENDIMUS DESIGNARE. PRECURSOR PRIMUM INTRAT ET DICIT RIGMUM:

- NÜN merkt, jr herren, all geleich,
 Payde armm vnnd Reych,
 Frawen vnd auch man,
 Wass ich euch zusagen han:
 5 Wo wir es nechten han gelan,
 Do heb wir es heut wider an
 Vnd sagen, wie jhesus crist
 Als heut gemartert worden ist.
 Darumb jr seligen kindt der cristenhayt,
 10 Ir suldt mit andacht sein beraydt,
 Zü schreyben jn ewer hertz dy wordt,¹—
 Gott selbes gesprochen hatt
 Durch den propheten ann einer statt,
 Des nam jst moyses genandt;
 15 Das puch leuiticj woll erkandt,
 Dar jn dy wordt geschriben stan,
 Von [den] jch willen zureden han.
 Sy geleichent disem tag woll,
 Ain yder man sy merken soll.
 20 Vnd jst also der wörtter sag:
 Der mensch, der heut an disem tag
 Sich nit betrübt, der wirdt verderben
 Von seinem volck vnd ewiglich sterben.
 Ich nym jn von dem volck mein:
 25 Dy wort solt jr mercken fein,²
 Welt jr von gott nit sein vertriben
 Vnd welt alle werden verschriben
 In das puch der ewigkait,
 Da Ewig freudt jst vns beraydt.

1. Der nächste Vers mit dem Reim auf *wordt* fehlt auch in St. und Pf. Cf. W., p. 78. 2. Ms. *sein*.

- 30 Darumb seydt betrubt heut jn gott
Vnd treibt darauss nit schimpf noch spott,
Als man manigen groben menschen vindt ;
Als pald er entphindt,
Das eyner jn ainem Reim misredt,
35 So treibt er darauss sein gespödt
Vnd lacht des spiles gar ;
Das man nicht Thun soldt furwar,
Wan es doch zu eren jhesu crist
Warlichen angefangen jst
40 Vnd nit auss gespötere
Noch jn solcher püberey,
Als jms oft ainer fur nymbt,
Dem Es nit woll gezimbt,
Vnd doch durch gott angefangen ist ;
45 Vnd zu bedencken das leiden jhesu crist,
Das durch solich spill,
Der es sunst betrachten will,
Vill mer zu andacht bewegt wirdt,³
Wan so man es mit wortten redt.
50 Darumb seit heut betrubt mit gott
Vnd bewaintt sein marter vnd sein todt,
Die der her heut gelitten hatt
Von wegen vnser missetatt ;
Er gab fur vnnseren todt sein leben,
55 Darumb das vns das leben wurdte gegeben.
O mensch, bedenck der libe gross !
Wir weren noch des teuffels gnoss.
Sein edels plutt der her verrert,
Damit hat er vns von der hell ernert.
60 Das solt jr heut gedennen an,
Ir liben cristen, Frawen vnd man.
Vnd last euch nit verdrissen,
Sunder zehet von den augen lat fliessen.
Pewaint sein heilige marter rain
65 Vnd seidt nit herter dan ein stain.
Dye mochten erleiden nit den todt,
Sy zerklüben sich von rechter nodt.
Sun vnd man von seiner pein

fol. 17^b

3. Bei *Pichler*, der p. 16 diese Stelle aus dem *Sterzinger Spiel* mittheilt, heisst es: *wirdt bewegt*.

Verlüren iren lichten schein ;
 70 In vinster wardt verkerdt der tag,
 Die erdt erpidmt von der klag,
 Der van wardt zerrissen⁴ jn dem tempel.
 Dar pey nembt euch ein exempel
 Von seines todes pitterkayt.

75 O säliger mensch, nun pis beraydt,
 Zutragen seiner marter schein
 In klag von gründt des hertzen dein,
 Vnd stet mit gantzem⁵ hertzen bey
 Der werden magt marey,

80 Dye ckleglich vnd jn jamers nott
 Pewaint jrs liben Kindes Todt.
 Das soll wir heut mit schmerzen
 Begraben jn vnserem hertzen
 Vnd sollen der magt raynnen

fol. 18^a

85 Ir laydt hellffen bewainen,
 Vnd jamer mit jr tragen,
 Das vns werdt abgezwegen
 Vnnser sundt vnd missetat,
 Daz wir kömen an dy stat
 90 Der steten freydt vnd selighait,
 Dy vnns von gott jst beraidt
 In seinem framen himelreich.
 Daz wir das nyssen ewigcklich
 Durch seinen heyligen namen,

95 Das hilff vns gott, spricht alle amen !

Deinde transeunt omnes quilibet ad locum suum, Pilatus ad locum specialem, Cayphas et annas ad stationes cum ceteris judeis, Herodes ad locum suum, Sinagoga ad locum.

Seruus Pilati precedit ante Pilatum et dicit :

WEICHT vnd tredt hin dan Ferr :
 Hye get Pilatus, mein herr,
 Ein Furst jn judischen landen ;
 Die haiden hat er all vntter sein handen,
 100 Recht vnd an vnntterscha[i]dt,
 Schandt vnd laster wer jm laidt.

Et quum Pilatus venit ad sedem Tunc *seruus* subiungit

et dicit Pilato Rigmum :

HER, nun tret her jn den sallr

4. Ms. zurissen.

5. Ms. gantzen.

- Vnd nempt des Zepters warr
 Vnd nempt die kron jn die handt ;
 105 Wan wir sein des gemandt,
 Das wir kainen cristen
 Nicht lenger wellen fristen.⁶

Hic quilibet capiat locum suum Et canit "scadoch"⁷ interim.

Pilatus ad seruum:

- SAG an, degen vnuerzait vnd jüng,
 Was bedeut hie die gross samung
 110 Von als vill frawen vnd man,
 Die ich alhie vor mein sich stan ?

Seruus dicit:

- HER, das wisset schlecht:
 Die juden wöllen haben ain recht
 Vnd werden euch pringen an ainem pandt
 115 Ainen, der ist jhesus genandt. fol. 18^b

Pilatus dicit:

- ACH, das weren seltsam merr !
 Ich hör, es sey ain gutter lerer,
 Vnd thuet vill wunders, hör ich sagen.
 Nün merck was sye werden klagen;
 120 So sprich ich auff die trewe mein:
 Dem rechten soll nymandt wider sein.

Postea congregatis phariseis et pontificibus cum scribis ducunt
 jhesum ligatum manibus ad Pilatum stantem ante Iesum. *Primus*
judeus dicit seruo pilatj:

- LYEBER, sprich zu pilato, wir pitten,
 Seidt das wir ytzund nach judischen sitten
 Nicht gen jn kain judisch hauss,
 125 Daz er vns allen zu lieb kom heraus.

Seruus Pilatj:

HER, die juden sein all da vor
 Gesambt vor deines hauses thor

6. St. hat hiernach einen Passus von vierzehn Versen, die bei Pf. fehlen, Cf. W., p. 79. 7. Prof. C. H. TOY und Dr. R. GOTTHEIL haben die Güte gehabt, dies Wort *scadoch* (oder *stadoch*) zu erörtern. Als annehmbar scheint mir darnach, es als Wiedergabe des hebräischen Šadāik, "gerecht" aufzufassen. Lautlich würde nur das i Schwierigkeiten bereiten, doch kann man dies dem des Hebräischen nicht kundigen Schreiber leicht zu gute halten.

Vnd pitten vleyssiglich von dir,
Daz du kombst vnd horest jr begir.

Tunc Pilatus exit ad eos Et dicit:

- 130 SEIDT willkomen, pischopf kayphas,
Ir juden all vnd auch annas!
Was ist ewr maynung vnd begir?
Daz thut kurtzlich zu wissen mir.

Cayphas dicit:

- WIR pringen dir disen gepunden man,
135 Daruber soll vrtail des todts gan.
Wan dir jst woll wissen vnd kundt,
Wer gefangen vnd gepunden fur dich kumbt,
Daz er sein leben gantz hatt verworcht;⁸
Darumb todts den an alle vorcht.

Pilatus canit: " Quid enim malefecit". Et dicit:

- 140 WAS hat er vbel gethan,
Daz es so kurtzlich soll ergan?
Des todes vall vnd auch vrtail
Wie jst er euch so leicht vayll?

Cayphas canit:—" Si hic non esset maleficiens tibi eum non tradidissemus."

Et dicit:

- Hiet er vbel vnd poshait nit gethan, fol. 19^a
145 Wir hietten jn vngefangen lan
Vnd hietten jn nicht fur dich pracht,
Hiet er sich jn grossem vbel nit vergacht.

Pilatus dicit:

- SEIDT jr sein poshait habt erkannt,
So nembt jn selber jn ewr hant
150 Vnd vrtailt jn nach ewr Ee,
Daz er kom zu mir nit mer.

Annas dicit:

WIR sollen offnlich todes pein
Nicht richten, du solt richter sein.

Pilatus dicit:

- SEIDT er so vill vbels hat verpracht,
155 Daz jr also zu seinem tod gacht,
So sagt an auff ewr judischhait,

8. Die Wortstellung in Vers 138 ist dieselbe wie in St. Cf. W., p. 15.

Was er euch hab gethan zulaidt
 Oder was poshait hat er gethan ;
 Er dunckt mich doch sein ein Frummer man !

Annas dicit :

- 160 PILATE, Pilate, diser trügner spricht,
 Das wir sein jn kainer phlicht,
 Dem Romischen kayser zins zügeben ;
 Damit er verschult hat sein leben.
 Darumb verurtail jn kurtzlich zu dem todt,
 165 Ee das er vns pring zu grosserem spodt.

Secundus judeus :

HER Pilate, dir sey geklagt :
 Er hat dem kayser widersagt,
 Wan er hatt sich zu ainen könig genant
 Im selber zu spott vnd zu schant.

Tertius judeus :

- 170 HER Pilate, er hat gejeihen,
 Er hab heren abraham gesehen.
 Er jst woll vor tausent jaren todt.
 Nun was thut jm seins ligens nodt ?
 Man sicht woll an seiner gestalt,
 175 Er jst noch kaum dreissig jar alt.
 Tunc *Pilatus* jntroducit jhesum jn pretorium

Et dicit :

SAG mir pey deinem nutz vnd Frummen :
 Von wannen pistu her komen ?
 Pistu der juden konig vnd jr trost,
 Von dem sy sullen werden Erlost ?

Ihesus dicit :

- 180 Dw hast mich Recht genant,⁹
 Wan du hast dye warhayt erkannt.
 Hastu das von dir selbs, so sag an,
 Oder haben dir die andern zewissen tan ?

fol. 19^b

Pilatus dicit ad ihesum :

- MICH kümert das judisch leben ;
 185 Dein volk hat dich mir selber geben.
 Darumb, waystu etwas zw genyessen,

Desoltu vor mein [nicht] verschliessen ;
 Vnd sag mir von deinem künigreich :
 Wo ligt es auff erdtreich ?

Ihesus dicit ad Pilatum :

- 190 ICH sag dir fürwar, das mein reich
 Nit ist auff diser erden zeyttleich.
 Wan wär mein reich jn diser welt,
 So hyet ich knecht vnd auch gelt,
 Die pillich nach mir vächten,
 195 Das mich die juden nit schmächten.

Pilatus dicit ad ihesum :

Also hastu doch pekandt,
 Dastw ain künig pist genandt ?

Ihesus dicit ad Pilatum :

- Dw redest wol den rechten syn,
 Wan ich sicherlich ain künig pin
 200 Vnd pin auch sunder geboren,
 Das ich zewgnüs der warhait hab erkoren ;
 Vnd ydlicher, der da ist aus der warhait,
 Hört, was jm durch [mich] wirt gesaytt.

Pilatus dicit ad ihesum :

- IHEsus, ich melt gen dir ain frag :
 205 Was ist die warhait ? das sag.

Ihesus tacet, tunc pilatus exit ad judeos

Et dicit :

- Ir juden, kain schuld ich vinden kan
 Auff ihesum, den gegenwürttigen man,
 Dye jm schedlich müg gesein
 Oder darumb er sol leyden pein.
 210 Ir hab dan auff jn ander sach,
 Wer ways dan, was ich mit jm mach.

Quartus judeus ad pilatum :

- PYLATE, diser tzawberer hat gesprochen :
 Wär der tempel gantz nider geprochen,
 Er wolt jn in drey tagen wider machen
 215 Mit yppiklichen vnd wunderlichen sachen.
 Darumb schaw, daz wir vor jm wesen frey,
 Das er vns nit trieg mit tzawberey.

*Pylatus dicit ad ihesum :*fol. 20^a

IHESUS, wie pist ain man,
Hastu dise redt gethan ?

- 220 Das ist gar ain vnmüglich ding ;
Wan mir sagen der juden kind,
Wie Salomon, der weys man,
Vil jar hab gepawet dar an.

Ihesus tacet, Quintus judeus :

PYLATE, ich wil dir sagen mer :

- 225 Der pöswicht fürdt ain neue ler
Vnd hatt dem volk ain neues leben
Wider der vätter vnd moyses gepot geben.
Dye schlechten juden sindt durch jn betrogen
Vnd falschlich aus vnser ee getzogen,
230 Gäntzlich wider recht vnd gottes er,
Gemaingklich von galilea hyntz hye her.

Pilatus dicit ad ihesum :

IHESUS, pistu vonn galilea ?
Warumb peleybstu nit da ?
So wärstu solichs klagen

- 235 Von den juden vertragen.

Ihesus tacet. *Pylatus dicit ad milites suos :*

Ir werden ritter, nün rattet zw,
Was ich mit disem manne thu.
Ich gib vngeren vber jn gericht,
Wan ich vindt an jm kain schuldt nicht.

Primus miles pilati :

- 240 HERRE ich ratt dir zw diser frist,
Seytt er von gallilea ist,
Das dw auff jn vrtayllestnit,
Wan herodes zw gehört daz gericht.
Darumb soltu aus deinen henden
245 Ihesum zw künig herodes senden,
Der mag dan wol richten vber jn ;
Herre, das ist mein ratt vnd mein syn.

Pylatus ad secundum militem :

DEINEN ratt ich nit verschlag.
Wass rattestw ? das sag.

Secundus miles pilatj:

- 250 SENDT jn zw herodes hyn
Vnd lass den richten vber jn;
Als mein gesel gesprochen hatt;
Das ist auch mein syn vnd mein ratt.

Pilatus dicit ad milites suos:

- SEYTT er ist von herodes gericht, fol. 20^b
255 So wil ich vber jn richten nicht.
Ich schaff mit euch, gewert mich des,
Vnd fürdt jn hyn für herodes.
Sprecht auch, daz er auff sein leben¹⁰
Nach schulden sol vrtayl geben.
260 Auch haltet ihesum jn eur huett,
Wan die juden haben pösen müdt
Vnd tragen dem menschen grossen has;
An jr yppigen klag hör ich das.
Dye juden villeich vntter wegen
265 Mochten ihesum mördtlich nyder legen.
Darumb beschirmbt disen¹¹ man ihesum,
Das er lebendig für herodes küm.

Tercius miles Pilatj:

- HERRE, wir wellen thün, als wir süllen,
Vnd deine gepott williglich erfüllen.
270 Vnd ob dy juden wolten sein vngemüdt,
Wir schlügen sy, das das pluett
Von jn rün an massen
Alhie jn allen gassen.

Sextus judeus dicit:

- So gee wir all für herodes tūr
275 Vnd legen jm vnser klag für,
Dye wer haben wider den trugner ihesum,
Der doch nye ist worden frum;
Wan herodes pas erkendt das recht,
Der macht vns dy sach pald schlecht.

Tunc ducunt ihesum ad herodem. Interim sco'la Iudeorum canit.

Herodes dicit:

- 280 SEYTT willigkum ir allhye gesambt,

10. Ms. *legen*.11. Ms. *disem*.

Wie ewr yeglicher say genandt!
 Saget an, was mainet jr
 Vnd wen pringt jr gefangen mir?

Quartus miles centurio:

HOCH mächtiger künig, dir hat gesandt
 285 Pilatus disen mann ihesum zw deiner handt.
 Den haben die iuden vor jn zw recht gestalt;
 Nün ist er von galilea vntter deinem gwalt.
 Darumb magstu machen ain frag
 Vnd auch hören der iuden klag.

Herodes dicit ad judeos:

290 WAS ist wider Ihesum ewr handel fol. 21^a
 Oder begert [ir] von jm wandel?

Cayphas dicit ad herodem:

HERRE herodes, diser nendt sich ihesum crist,
 Der doch ain falscher lerer ist
 Vnsers¹² volks¹² vnd der jüdischen ee,
 295 Hyntz hez zw vns von galilee.
 Auch verkündet dir hye der iuden schar,
 Das der trugne[r] hatt geredt furwar,
 Er sey warer mensch vnd warer gott;
 An dem vernymstw wol grossen spott.
 300 Er thut auch wider kayserlichen gewalt,
 Wan er sich für ain künig halt,
 Das wir al von jm haben gehort.
 Noch redt er mer schedlicher wortt,
 Das wir dem kaysser sullen widerstreben
 305 Vnd hierfür kainen zins geben.
 Ander schuld hat er noch gar vil¹³,
 Dye ich dir yetzundt nit ertzellen wil.
 Edler herre herodes, dein weissheit nün wol verstat,
 Das er den tod manifaltigklich verdient hat.
 310 Seytt das er nün ist aus¹⁴ deinem landt,
 So pitten wir, das dw jn zw handt
 Schaffest zw kreütziggen seine gelidt,¹⁵
 So müg wir dar nach sein mit fridt.

Herodes dicit:

IST das ihesus, der grosse man,

12. s von späterer Hand zugefügt. 13. Ms. *vir*. 14. Ms. *auff*.
 15. Ms. *geldt*.

- 315 Der so grosse wunder hatt gethan,
 So will ich sicherlich veriechen,
 Das jch jn geren hab geschen.
 Aber mich wundert. das [er] mit seiner¹⁶ kunst
 Nicht mocht gehaben eweren gunst,
 320 Oder das er nicht jst gewichen,
 Das jr jn nit het erschlichen?

Herodes dicit ad milites suos:

- GETREWEN ritter, gebt eweren radt,
 Nach dem als ewer yeder vernünfft hatt,
 Ob wir mochten geschaffen frid vnd suen,
 325 Oder was jn der sach sey zu thun.

Primus miles herodis dicit:

- HER herodes, jch will trewlich ratten dir,
 Ob dir geuelt¹⁷ zu volgen mir:
 Seyt dw gewalt hast vber den man,
 Der so vill manig seltzam wvnder kan,
 330 So schaff, das er dich las sehen
 Ain zaichen, das von jm sey geschehen.

Secundus miles herodis dicit:

fol. 21^b

- LYEBER her hayss jn machen
 Etwas des wir mugen lachen.
 Sy sprechen, er kan gar manigerlay,
 335 Der hayss jn machen ains oder zway.
 Vnd wan wir nun das sehen,
 So wellen wir jm meister schafft jehen.

Herodes dicit ad jhesum:

IHESUS, liber, thue mir schein
 Ein taill der zaichen dein.

Ihesus tacet [Herodes:]¹⁸ dicit:

- 340 LIBER, las mich ain zaichen sehen,
 Der do manigs von dir jst geschehen;
 Das mocht dir nutz pringen,
 Dir mocht auch von mir woll gelingen.

Ihesus tacet.

16. Ms. *seinen*. 17. Das *e* der letzten Silbe ist übergeschrieben.
 18. Der Name *Pilatus* ist ausradirt, ebenso der Name des Spielers.
 Esmuss natürlich *Herodes* heissen.

Herodes jterum dicit ad milites suos:

GEBT radt, liben ritter mein.

- 345 Mich bedunckt, er woll ein tor sein.
Was solt jch an jm rechnen?
Nun will er kain wort sprechen.

Primus miles herodis :

- HER, mein ratt jst dir beraidt :
Las jm an legen ein weisses klaidt ;
350 Was man jm darnach zu laidt thut,
Das dunckt mich alles gutt.

Secundus miles herodis :

- ICH radt dir, her, auff mein leben :
Dü solt jn den juden widergeben.
Las jm an legen ain weyss klaidt
355 Vnd thu seinem leib kain laidt,
Vnd sendt jn wider zu pilato,
Der mag sein woll werden fro.

Quintus famulus herodis porrigit herodj palium album

et dicit :

- NEMBT hin den mantel weiss,
Den legt jm an mit fleiss.
360 Da pey mag man werden schein,
Das er ain nar soll sein,
Seidt das er nit kan reden.
So fugt jm das weiss klaidt eben
Vnd lat jn wider zu pilato füren,
365 Der mag da-pey woll spüren
Vnd erkennen sein torhaydt,
Dy mochten jm noch woll werden laidt

fol. 22^a

Herodes dicit militibus suis :

- SEIDT jr also habt geratten,
So suldt jr euch nit verspatten,
370 Vnd klaidet jn zu hantt
Mit disem weyssen gwandt.

Herodes jterum dicit :

- FURT den naren hin vill dratt
Widerumb zu dem richter pilat,
Daz er selber mit jm schaff ;
375 Ich main, er sey worden ein aff.

Vnd thut jm auch da pey schein,
 Daz ich sein freundt woll sein
 Vmb alles, daz er wider mich
 Ye hat begangen sicherlich.

Hic disponitur judas. Tunc milites pilati ducunt jhesum retror-
 sum¹⁹ ad pilatum. Et tempore medio judas venit ad judeos et clamat
 alta voce: "Peccauit, tradidit sanguinem justum".

Et proicit pecuniam ad templum et dicit:

- 380 NEMBT hin wider ewer pöss gutt!
 Ich han das vnschuldig plutt
 Verkauft vbel vnd mörderlich:
 Das wissent jr juden all geleich.
 Wan jch hab das ware leben
 385 Mit mördt jn den todt geben.

Cayphas dicit:

DEINES gutts wöll wir nicht!
 Hastu mor[t]lich geschicht
 Vollpracht, das get vns nit an;
 Gewin vnd verlust soltu selber han.

Iudas dicit:

- 390 ACH mir, heut vnd ymmer ach!
 Daz ich ye gedacht diser sach!
 We, heut vnd ymer Eewiglich,
 Daz jch meinen gott von himelrich.
 Vmb schnodes gutt verkaufft han
 395 Mit dem verratten, das ich han gethan!
 Wie mocht mein ymer werden ratt,
 Seidt ich hab begangen solche tatt!
 Wie mocht mir solich sundt werden vergeben!
 Ich solt nit pillich auff ertrich leben!
 400 Ich soll pillich darumb hangen,
 Vnd also mein endt erlangen!

fol. 22^b

Tunc venit diabolus et dicit ad judam:

- UDAS, wiltu dich hencken,
 So will ich dir ein strick schencken;
 Wen ich dir daz ratten will:
 405 Hencken jst dein pestes spill.

19. Ms. *eguerso*, eine Form, die ich mir nur als Contamination von *egresso* und *reuerso* erklären kann; ich habe dafür das häufiger vorkommende *retrorsum* gesetzt.

Darnach jch dich pringen wolt
Da du ymer vnd ewigl[i]ch sein solt.

Tunc *judas* accipit laqueum a diabolo

Et dicit :

GENADT, herr, der luciper!
Ich pin also kumen herr
410 Vnd pin der arem Iudas,
Der gottes verretter was.
Darauff so setz jch meinen mütt,
Wie jch jn geb vmb klaines gutt ;
Vnd hiet jch rew entphangen,
415 Villeicht wer es mir pas ergangen.
Des^{so} hab jch laider nit gethan,
Des muss jch jn der helle stan,
V[i]lltief jn der pitteren hell,
Darin muss jch leiden pein vnd quell.

Diabolus dicit :

420 Iudas, will dir woll gelingen,
So soltu mir ein pessers singen.²¹

Iudas lamentatur :

VERFLUCHT sey die erden,
Darauff mich gott lies werden!
Verflucht sey vatter vnd dy mutter mein!
425 Daz sy alle müssen verflucht sein!
Verflucht sey die stund vnd der tag,
Daran jch auff erd geporen wardt!

Diabolus dicit :

IUDAS, nun hab gutten danck.
Dw hast mir gesungen ein gutten gsangk
430 Vnd hast deinen herren verratten;
Darumb muss dein leib vnd sell pratten
Vill tief jn der helle grundt, fol. 23^a
Vnd jch will dir gissen schwebel jn dein mundt
Vnd will dir zuschuren gross feur
435 Vnd machen all dein freud teur.

Et sic Iudas vestinans erupit vllulam et clamat ad modum desperantis et suspendit se. Interim scola judeorum canit. Tunc quidam *famulus iudeorum* colligit pecuniam et defert ad judeos

20. St. *des* ; Pf. *das*. 21. St. *So soltu mit ain p. s.* Pf. *So mustu mier ein p. s.* Cf. W., 81.

Et dicit :

IR herren, was jst euch zu mudt ?
 Was ist zu thun mit disem gutt ?
 Weren euch darumb gulden ewen,
 Der wolt jch euch genug geben ;
 440 Da wer ain wechsel gwin pey,
 Aber doch geschech, was ewr will sey.

Primus judeus :

WAS wellen wir des gutts ?
 Es ist ein lon des pluts,
 Daz Iudas mordlich nam.
 445 In den schrein Karwoan²²
 Soll man es legen nicht :
 Das wissent sicherlich.

Secundus judeus :

MAN soll den acker achaldemach
 Darumb kauffen zu diser sach,
 450 Daz man darein mug gelegen
 Pilgrein, die da sterben vntter wegen.
 Tunc ducunt Ihesum ad Pilatum. Interim sinagoga canit.

Pilatus dicit :

WIE jst es euch ergangen ?
 Pringt ir ihesum noch gefangen ?
 Warumb wolt herodes nit richten
 455 Vnd ewer sach gar schlichten ?

Annas respondit :

PILATE, das thue wir dir kuntt :
 Herodes der mocht zu diser stundt
 Mit jm so vil nit gedingen,
 Das er ain wort aus jm heth mugen pringen.
 460 Des hatt herodem verdrossen
 Vnd hatt jm das ways klayd an gestossen,
 Wan jn sein ritterschaft darumb padt,
 Vnd gaben jm²³ auch dar zw den radt.
 Vnd herodes wil da mit pedeuten,
 465 Das ihesus sein ain tor vor den leutten ; fol. 23^b

22. Nach dem hebräischen *korban*, "Geschenk." Jede Gabe für den Tempel hiess *korban*. (Nach Mitteilung von Prof. C. W. Tov).

23. Ms. *ju*.

- Vnd hat jn zw dir geschick[t] fürgericht,
 Daz dw den jrsayl selbss machst schlecht.
 Er enpeudt dir auch da pey,
 Das er dein guetter frewndt sey
 470 Vmb allen handel vnd vngemach,
 Das tzwischen ewr payder ye geschach.
 Nün pitt wir dich mit gantzer pegir,
 Daz den pöswicht verurtaylst schier.

Pilatus dicit ad judeos:

- Ir juden, ir sült haben geduldt!
 475 Herodes vnd ich finden kain schuldt,
 Dye jm an das leben mugen gan.
 Darumb sült ir ain genüegen han;
 Wan ich jn getzüchtig mit ruetten,
 Das ir seinen leib secht pluetten,
 480 So ladt jn kömen von der nött;
 Was behilfft euch sein todt?

Iudei clamant: "Crucifige eum! Crucifige crucifige eum"!

Tercius judeus ad pylatum:

- PYLATE, dw magst sein todt nit wenden,
 Er muess sein leben am kreutz enden.
 Kain ander genügen hab wir nicht
 485 An dem trugner vnd falchen pöswicht.
 Vnd ob das pluett gar von jm rün,
 So schaw daz er dem todt nit enttrin.

Pilatus dicit:

ICH verstee gar wol euren syn,
 Aber jr betzeug kain schuld auff jn.

Quartus judeus ad pylatum:

- HERR pilate, das ist grosses vnfüeg
 Vnd vrsach zw dem tod genueg,
 Daz er spricht, er sey gottes kindt.
 Darin²⁴ ich kain warhayt vindt;
 Wan sünst mocht er nach seinem willen
 495 Vns²⁵ all sambt gar leicht stillen.

Pilatus ad ihesum:

IHESUS, gib mir dein antwurdt:

24. Corrigirt aus *darumb*. 25. Ms. *Vnd*.

Von wannen ist dein gepurdt?
 Die juden haben gen dir vngeduldt;
 Wie hastw es vmb sy verschuldt?

Ihesus tacit, pilatus dicit:

fol. 24^a

- 500 WILTU mir nit antwort geben?
 Nun hab jch doch gewalt vber dein leben,
 Daz ich dich mag bey der welt lan
 Oder dem kreutz machen vntterthan.

Ihesus dicit:

- Dw hiettest kain gewalt gen mir,²⁶
 505 Wår er nicht von oben gelichen dir.
 Darumb sein dem mer sundt gesambt,
 Der mich gab zu deines gerichtes hant.

Tunc *uxor pilati* mittit famulum ad pilatum,

Et dicit famulo:

- LYEBER knecht, ge hin vill dratt
 Zu meinem herren pilatt
 510 Vnd sprich, als lib ich jm sey,
 Daz er ihesum las frey;
 Vnd daz er nit richt vber seinen leib,
 Sunder daz er pey leben bleib,²⁷
 Vnd verurtailt nicht sein plutt;
 515 Wan er jst sicher heylig vnd gutt.
 Vnd hab von seiner wegen vill erlitten,
 Als jch das alles geren hiett vermitten;
 Darumb jch haint jn der nacht
 Hab lange zeit betracht,
 520 Von wannen nur kum solich gesicht,
 Vnd finden mug anders nicht,
 Dan das er nür kum von gott.
 Darumb sprich, daz pilatus sein nott
 Auff sich nit las pringen;
 525 Wan jm mocht darnach vbel gelingen.

Seruus uxoris pilati dicit Pilato:

HËR Pilate, dein fraw dir entpeutt,
 Wie sy jn der frw gen dem tag heutt
 Erlitten hab vill grossen schmerzen

26. Vers 499-502=St.; doch hat letzteres in V. 502 das richtigere
ambt. Pf. weicht stark ab. Cf. W. p. 66. 27. Ms. *sey*.

- Vnd wunderlich gsicht jn jrem hertzen,
 530 Vnd maint, er sey ain frumer man,
 Daz er auch nit vbel hab gethan.
 Nun pitt sy, dastu thust deinen fleis,
 Darzu pistu woll mechtig vnd weis ;²⁸
 Auss deinem gwalt du es woll vermagst,
 535 Daz du jhesum des todts ledig sagst.
 Du solt jn auch nit vrtaylen,
 Wan du möchtst dich an jm vermaylen.

fol. 24^b*Pilatus dicit seruo:*

GEE hin wider, lieber knecht,
 Vnd sprich, jch well jm thun sein recht.

Tunc Pilatus exit ad judeos. Et dicit:

- 540 Es jst ewer alte gewonhait,
 Daz man zu der osterlichen zeitt
 Der gefangen ainen ledig lass.
 Nun sprich jch ytzt an allen hass,
 Das jch zwen gefangen han:
 545 Ihesum crist vnd auch barraban,
 Der ain böser morder jst gebessen,
 Darumb er vnphillich soll genesen.
 Pedeucht euch daz gutt eben,
 So liess wir jhesum leben.

Quintus judeus dicit ad alios:

- 550 IR herren, merckt mich eben!
 Lass wir disen menschen leben,
 Vnnsr gewalt wirt erstörtt,
 Er lies vns auch nit vnbetortt.
 Darumb schreyt all den richter an,
 555 Daz er ledig las warraban.

Tunc judej clama[n]t: "Non hunc sed barrabam"! Et barra-
 bas dimittitur.

Annas dicit:

- PILATE, ihesus müss sterben!
 Vmb warrabam horstu vns werben;
 Der hatt sunst gelitten gnüg,
 Wan jm jst erkrumpt sein püg,
 560 Vnd an dem selben schinckel

- Muss er allzeit hincken.
 Darumb soltu jn lassen leben,
 Er mag nicht vbel mer angeheben,
 Als jhesus hatt gethan.
 565 Darumb gib vns ledig warraban.

Barrabas dicit:

- ICH pin²⁹ gehayssen warraban,
 Gross mordt jch³⁰ hab gethan;
 Darumb wart jch gefangen.
 Nun jst es mir also ergangen,
 570 Daz ich mich hett verwegen,
 Ich must ain zeit des galgens pflegen;
 Aber man hatt nun gelassen mich
 Von todts panden lediglich.
 Dez sag jch danck gar vill grossen
 575 Den juden, der jch hab genossen.
 Aber jm turm geschach mir grosser schadt:
 Fur mich etwan ainer jn ain padt,
 Ob sich die aderen entliessen,
 Daz jch wider gradt wurd an meinen füssen.

fol. 25^a

Pilatus dicit:

- 580 Seydt das nun warraban jst gelassen
 Entlich ledig auff dy gassen,
 Was gepurt nun fuglich zuthun
 Mit der juden konig, gottes sun?

Iudej clamant: "Tolle, crucifige eum"!

Sextus judeus dicit:

- Du solt jhesum jn den luft auffheben
 585 Vnd an ain hoches kreutz schlagen.
 Des haben wir vor von dir begertt,
 Du hast vns aber noch nit gewertt.

Pilatus canit: "Regem vestrum crucifigam"?

Et dicit:

- MAG es dan nit anders gesein,
 Dan daz ewr konig soll leiden pein,
 590 So will jch jn lassen kreutzen,
 Daz euch selbs darab wirtt schewtzen.

29. Ms. *pim.* 30. Ms. *jn.*

Primus judeus:

- KAINEN konig hab wir nicht,
 Dem kayser sey wir dinstes³¹ phlicht.
 Ihesus hat vber vns kainen gwalt,
 595 Als sein handel noch jst gestalt.

Pilatus dicit ad milites suos:

- IR liben ritter vnd knecht,
 Vernembt³² meine wort gar recht:
 Ich begünt jhesum vill zufragen,
 Er hatt mir aber nicht wellen sagen.
 600 Versucht, ob er kām zu wortten, fol. 25^b
 Daz wir sein maynung hortten.
 Furt jn hin dan jn das hauss
 Vnd zicht jn nachtet vnd plos auss
 Vnd pintet jn mit grossen stricken,
 605 Daz aller sein leib muss erschricken,
 Zu dem grossen gehauten stain,
 Daz jm krachen alle seine pain;
 Vnd schlacht jn mit gayssel schlegen,
 Daz er sunst nyndert mug geregen.
 610 Zuchtigt jn mit scharffen ruten,
 Daz all sein aderen plutten;
 Vnd ander pein legt jm an,³³
 Ob er darnach kem dar von.

Primus miles pilatj:

- HER pilate, du dorst nit sorgen,
 615 Daz er vnns bedurff zuporgen.
 Wir geben jm gutt schleg beraydt,
 Daz er an seinem leben verzaidt.

Tunc milites ducunt *jhesum* ad statuarium et ligant eum.

Ihesus dicit:

MICH haben vmb geben lughafftig man
 Vnd furen mich jn des todes pan.

Secundus miles:

- 620 LEICH her, giesell, dy strick
 Vnd dar zu dy ryem dick.
 Damit will ich jn pinden

31. St.; Pf. in *dinstes*. Cf. W. p. 82. 32. Ms. *vermebt*. 33.
 Ms. *an jn*; Umstellung wird durch den Reim gefordert.

Zu der seull als ain rinden,
 Dye an ligt an dem paum,
 625 Daz er behalt das leben kaum.

Tertius miles pīlatj:

So will jch jn behefften
 Nach allen meinen krefftē
 Alhye mit dem gutten rym,
 Daz er dōnnt als ain schliem.
 630 Der wirt jn jn den leib peyssen,
 Daz jm mocht dy haut zerreissen.³⁴

Quartus miles:

HABT jr aber zeug pracht,
 Damit wir haben gedacht
 Den trügner woll zu pesseren,
 635 Daz er heut pas dan gesteren
 Sich selbs mog erkennen
 Vnd sich hin fur recht nennen?

fol. 26^a

Primus miles:

IA, ich han pracht gar schir,
 Zwo gaysel vnd gutter pesen vir,
 640 Damit wir jn mugen stillen
 Nach allem vnserem willen.
 Sehin, gesel, den hab dir,
 So will jch den behalten mir.
 Du nymhin den dritten, nasan ;
 645 Hab dir den virtten, gesel nathan.

Secundus miles:

IR gesellen, merckt mich eben:
 Wir sollen jm schleg genug geben,
 Ob er wurd̄t ledig an dem tag,
 Daz er dy straych mit jm trag.

Primus miles cedit: "meum" dicens.

650 Se hin, jhesus, den Ersten schlag!

Secundus miles:

ICH gib dir den anderen, ob ich mag!

Tertius miles:

So gib jch dir den dritten frischen,

34. Ms. zureissen.

Dir soll auch der virt nit entwischen !

Quartus miles:

- So will ich dir den vunftten geben,
 655 So schlag jch dir nach deinem leben.
 Schlacht nür all an zall,
 Lat jn selber nemen dy wall.

Tunc omnes simul cedunt jn eum. Interim scola judeorum canit.

Pilatus dicit ad milites:

- LAST ab vnd löst jn auff,
 Vnd secht, das er euch nit entlauff !
 660 Ich main, er hab sein genüg.
 Dye durnen kron jst auch woll sein fug ;
 Dye druckt jm jn sein haubt,
 Da von wirt er woll betaubt.
 Vnd schlacht darauff mit stangen,
 665 Daz er sich nit mer las plangen
 Nach kuniglicher Eer,
 Als er gethan hatt vnntz herr. fol. 26^b

Post flagellationem jnduitur veste purpurea, postea coronatur.

Primus miles:

- SETZ jm auff dy kron
 Vnd richt jm das har schon
 670 Vnd truck sy mit krafft,
 Daz sy jm woll behafft ;
 Vnd hebt an zu ewer seitten,
 So well wir hie auff peitten.

Deinde velantes faciem eius adspuentes in eum³⁵ et salutant eum
 dicentes : *Secundus miles* canit : " Aue rex judeorum " !

Et dicit :

- IR heren, verpint jm dy augen
 675 Vnd schlacht gar haymlich vnd taugen.
 Gebt jm das zepter jn sein hant,
 So wirt er ain konig genant.
 Vnd latt jn weis sagen,
 Welcher jn vntter vns hab geschlagen.

Tertius miles dicit :

- 680 HER juden konig, wir sein mit dir

35. Ms. *meum*.

Vnd beweisen konigliche er dir.
 Wir knyen nider zu deinen fussen
 Vnd wellen dich all hie grussen,
 Wan man dich konig erkennen mag,
 685 Wie woll dastu hast gebebt disen tag.

Deinde *quartus miles* accipit ceptrum de manu jhesu Et canit:
 "Prophetisa nobis, criste, quis est qui te percussit"?

Et dicit:

IHESU, du solt weyssagen,
 Wer hatt dich ytzund geschlagen?

Primus miles:

fol. 27^a

PHUI dich, wess hastu dich gezigen!
 Hettest du deiner wordt geschwigen,
 690 So wärstu vertragen der pein;
 Aber ess soll villeycht also sein.

Tunc *Pilatus* educit eum coronatum et purpuratum et canit alta
 voce: "Ecce homo"!

Et dicit:

SCHAUET, wie diser mensch sey gestalt!
 Wie had er so manigfalt
 Grosse pein vnd marter erlitten!
 695 An allen seinen glideren
 Ist er mit starcken gaysseln erschlagen,
 Das er nit merre mag getragen.
 Er jst verwundt an allen enden,
 Das er sich nit mag verwenden,
 700 An Ruck, pain vnd armen:
 Das sol euch pillich erparmen.
 Im ist getrückt durch sein hyrne,
 Durch augen vnd durch stirne
 Ain kron von scharpfem³⁶ dorne.
 705 Darumb losset in vonn ewernem zorne;³⁷
 So wayssz auch kain schuldt auff jn,
 Darumb solt jr jn frey lassen hin.

Iudei clamant: "Tolle, crucifige eum"! "Tolle, crucifige eum"!

Secundus judeus:

Pilate, es mag nun³⁸ anders nit gesein,

36. Ms. *scharpfen.*
 zorne.

37. Ms. *Darumb losset im vonn eweren*

38. Ms. *nit.*

- Er muss am kreytz leyden pein,
 710 Wan er ist sicher ain valscher man ;
 Daru[m]b sol nyemant mit ym³⁹ leyden.⁴⁰
 Es⁴¹ ist vns furwar auch nit eben,
 Das dw also lang fristest sein leben.

Pilatus dicit :

- FUR war, es jst doch vbel gethan.
 715 Sol man vrtallen disen man,
 Sol er vnschuldig am kreutz hangen,
 Der so vil gutts an euch hatt begangen?⁴²

Tertius judeus :

- PILATE, dise red hilfft dich nicht.
 Mach kurtzlich endt dem gericht.
 720 Thue denn⁴³ den sachen ein end(lich),
 Er mag sicher deinr red nitt genyessen.

Pilatus jrascendo dicit :

- MACHT selber vber jn gericht!
 Ich verurtaill disen menschen nicht.
 Tottet jn an dem kreutz, als jr welt,
 725 Oder anders, wie es euch gefelt.

Cayphas dicit :

- WIR haben ain recht vnd gesetz :
 Wer gottes er schendt oder letzt,
 Dem soll man den tod thun.
 Nun spricht jhesus, er sey gottes sun ;
 730 Damit er gottes er hatt gelestert ;
 Darumb jn pillich der todt pessert.
 Woltestu jn aber frey lassen,
 So wirt dich der kayser hassen.
 Du verlurst furwar des kaysers huld ;
 735 Darumb richt paldt dise schuldt.
 Latrones adducuntur per milites, pilatj. Pilatus accipit aquam et
 lauauat manus dicendo: fol. 28^a

“Innocens sum a sanguine huius iustj”!

Pilatus dicit :

SEYTT jr sein nit welt enperen,
 So muess ich euch vnrechtz geweren.

39. Ms. *nit.* 40. Sind hier zwei Verse ausgefallen? 41. Ms. *Er.*
 42. Ms. ursprünghlich *gegangen.* 43. Ms. *dem.*

Geuss her wasser auff dy hendt;
 Da pey sey euch allen bekenndt,
 740 Das es ist wider meinen muedt
 Zw vrtayllen das vnschuldig pluett.
 Ich wil auch haben kainen tayll
 An der grossen sünden mayll.

Tunc Annas clamat alta voce: "Sanguis eius" etc.
 "Sanguis eius super nos et super filios nostros!"

Annas dicit:

SEIN pluett gee vber vns vnd vnsre kindt,
 745 Dy nach vns hinfür kunfftig sindt.
 Darumb, pylate, richt behendt,
 Vnd nym wasser genueg auff die hendt.
 Du bedarft von jm haben kain forcht,
 Wan er hat den tod grösslich verworcht.

Pilatus dicit:

750 SEYTT jr des⁴⁴ nit welt enperen,
 So muess ich euch des vnrechten geweren,
 Vnd will also die vrtayll vellen,
 Das ihesus vnd die schacher, sein gesellen,
 Süllen Hewt offenlich sterben
 755 Vnd an des kreutzes stam verderben.

Tunc exuunt eum purpura Et induunt eum vestimentis suis. fol. 28^b

Quartus miles dicit ad saluatorem:

IHESUS, leich her das purpuren gewandt
 Vnd leg an deinen rock zehandt.

Pilatus dicit militibus suis:

FÜERT sy hyn, mein ritter vnd knecht,
 Vnd thuet jn als jr wisset recht.
 760 Füert sy hyn an dye stat caluarie,
 Kumbt pald wider vnd lat sy da.

Primus miles pylatj:

HERRE, dein gepott sol geschehen,
 Das wirstu noch heindt wol sechen.
 Darumb, ihesus, reck mir deinen kragen,
 765 Dw muest dein kreutz selber tragen.

44. Ms. *das*.

(Tunc disponunt⁴⁵ sibi crucem etc.) Tunc apponunt sibi crucem.
 Ihesus precedit, latrones secuntur. Tunc occurrit eis Symon cyron-
 ensis Cui fol. 29^a

Primus Iudeus dicit:

So, dw Symon von Cironey,
 Dw pist recht wol da pey;
 Wol her, dw wirst helffen tragen
 Oder dw wirst gar hart geschlagen:
 770 Vnd stee hye an das ort
 Vnnd red dar wider kain wortt.

Symon Cironensis dicit:

Sy nit, lieben herren, (?)
 Ich kum dort her von ferren;
 Ich pin ain armer krancker man,
 775 Das ich für war nit tragen kan,
 Wann ich fert grossen schaden nam,
 Das ich noch jn meinem rucken pin lam.

Tunc *secundus judeus* angariatim trahit eum cum caputio

Et dicit:

PHUI dich, dw pösswicht, dw muest
 Tragen, wie vngeren dw es thuest!
 Tunc ducunt jhesum pusillam viam. Et *Ihesus* canit: "Popule
 meus."

Et dicit:

780 MEIN volck, gib mir antwurt:
 Was hastu vbles von meiner gepurt
 Von mir entpfangen oder erkant,
 Wann ich füert dich auss egipten landt?

Tercius Iudeus dicit:

ACH, dw pist ain vnsinniger man,
 785 Dw soltest von deinem klaffen lan.

Saluator canit precedendo vltcrius: "Quia Eduxi te per deser-
 tum".

Et dicit:

ICH han dich mit meiner handt
 Gefüert in das gelobt landt.
 Ich hab dich mit grosser schar
 In der wüest gespeyst wol XL Iar

fol. 29^b

45. Corrigirt aus *supponunt*. Der Rest der Seite ist freigelassen.

790 Vnd genert mit hymel prott;
Nun füerstu mich jn den pitteren tod.

Quartus Iudeus dicit:

Dw nymbst dich gewalt an,
Dw liest nun pillich da von.

Saluator canit precendo vltorius: "Quid vitra debui facere"!

Et dicit:

O mein volck, sag an,
795 Was sol ich dir mer haben getan!
Ich pawet dir meinen weingarten schon,
Nun gibstu mir gar pitteren lon.

Quartus Iudeus:

So, wie lang soll wir hye stan!
Mich geet gar seer der hunger an.
800 Füert jn pald an dy stat,
Die er dann verdient hat.

Ibi secuntur tres mulieres quarum vna ex eis

*dicit:*⁴⁶

O aller liebster maister vnd got,
Dw leydest vnschuldiggklich den pitteren tod.
Daz müg wir petrüebten frawen⁴⁷
805 Mit augen nit wol anschawen.
Doch von grosser lieb vnd pegier
Volgen wir mit grossem schmerzzen nach dir
Vnd pewainen deinen pitteren tod;
Wann vmb dein guette leer kumbstu jn dy not.

Tunc jhesus vertit se ad mulieres

Et dicit:

810 Von ierusalem yr töchter vnd kind,
Die von meinem tod petrüebt sind,
Solt nicht wainen ywer mich;
Sunder vwer euch selber sicherlich
Wainet vnd vwer ewre kind,
815 Die noch vngeporen sind.
Wisset sicher, daz es noch peschicht,
Das manigs menschen zungen vergicht:
Sälig sey dy mueter, dy nye gepar

46. Nach dicit steht *cum altare* (*alta voce*?) 47. Corrigirt aus *weib*.

Vnd die kainem kind gab leib nar.

820 Sy werden auch rüeffen: perg vnd tal,
Nembt auff vns gemainen val;

Ir solt vns all pedecken,

fol. 30^a

Wann gottes gericht will vns erschrecken.

Tunc veniunt ad locum caluarie et primo c[r]ucifiguntur duo latrones.

Et primus miles dicit:

ICH will dy posswicht plenten

825 Vnd will sy offentlich schentten.

Ich will jn yr gesicht verpintten

Vnd will sy danach vwer dy kreutz pinten

Vnd darein hertzigklich flechten,

Daz genueg peschech dem rechten.

830 Darumb leucht her den tzeug,

Das ich den zwm ersten peug.

Ich will ym wol pald machen,

Daz ym alle seine gelider krachen.

Tunc apponit illum crucj.

Et dicit secundo latroni primus miles:

WOI. her auch dw mörder,

835 Sich sol an heben dein schwer.

Ich will dir das versprechen,

Daz ich dir dein ripp will prechen;

Dir soll auch noch dein pauch

Als ain platter werden gelauch.

840 Lungel vnd leber muesz dir zerfaren,

Daz mag ich dir nit lenger sparen.

Iam ligant eos et extollunt. Interim Synagoga canit, postea veniunt ad Ihesum.

Et dicit Secundus miles ad Ihesum:

NEMBT auch den pösswicht hin

Vnd versuecht ain anderen syn;

Last yn sein sind all püessen.

845 Heftet in mit henden vnd mit füessen

Graussammigklich an daz kreutz,

Daz aller welt ab ym scheytz.

Primus Miles:

DAS sol nach ewrem willen geschechen.

Welt yr mir ain weyl tzw sechen?

Iterum primus miles:

- 850 WOL her jhesus, dw toretter man,
 Vnd sich vns gar eben an.
 Wir wellen ab dir reyssen dein klayd
 Vnd heut rechen all judischayt;
 Des hab wir vns all hye pedacht,
 855 Dein marter soll werden volpracht.

*Secundus miles:*fol. 30^b

- WOL her jhesus, gee mit mir,
 Ich will woll heutt lonen dir.
 Dein hend vnd füess will ich recken
 Vnd an daz kreutz nach der leng strecken;
 860 Darumb pistu auch gefangen,
 Das dw muest lernen hangen.

Tercius miles:

- SEE hin, leg dem trugner an dy hand
 Den strick vnd das pandt
 Vnd tzeuch hie mit krafft,
 865 So thue ich dort ainen hafft,
 Das er nit hin wider schnell;
 Des pitt ich dich; mein gesell.

Quartus miles:

- LIBER gesell, das thue ich geren,
 Des will ich dich wol geweren.
 870 Ich will dir jn an nagelen,
 Daz er nit mag getzabelen;
 Ich wyll ym machen allso hayss,
 Daz er wirt schwitzen pluettigen schwaysz.

P. imus miles:

- LASS ab, dw tzerreyst in gar!
 875 Den nagel schlag ich yetzt dar.
 Das ist ainer, tzwey, drey!
 Noch pistu von mir nit frey.
 Vier, fünff, segsz, siben!
 Der nagel ist genueg getriben.

Secuudus miles:

- 880 Ey so muesz ich mich erparmen
 Vwer seinen tencken armen!
 Leg an vnd lasz spannen,

Daz er wert grein vnd tzannen.
Oder pin ich ym tze lind?

885 Mainstu, ob er sein entpfind?

Tercius miles stans circa pedes dicit:

WOL her, daz wir recht messen!

Er ist zw ferre hin ab gesessen.

Greyff ym yn daz har vnd rauff

Vnd ruck yn pasz hin auff

890 Vnd hald da selbsz pey dir vast.

Pistu awer mued, so rast.

Quartus miles stans circa caput Et dicit:

So, gesell, er ist tze hoch,

fol. 31^a

Er muesz hin wider ab noch.

Darumb reck jn hinwider

895 Vnd streck ym die gelider.

Darnach sol man nagel schlachen,

So muesz er dann gantz vertzagen.

Primus miles:

GESELL, leych mir her dy tzang,

Ich will ym machen gedrang;

900 Vnd auch nageln vnd den hamer,

So wirt sich meren sein jamer.

Ich schlag jm durch sein füess payde,

Das kain mensch als vil nye layde.

Secundus miles:

NUN greyfft an vnd helfft all zwe!

905 Ain yeder sein pestes thue!

Er muess auff yn den lufft,

Ob er noch pegreyff vernunfft.

Tercius miles:

RECKT an ewr seyten!

Es ist nit lenger tzepeyten.

910 Vnd hebt all geleich,

Das es euch nit entweich.

Hic tollunt crucem. Interim Synagoga canit. Postea ludunt pro tunica saluatoris.

Primus miles:

IR herren, legt euch nyder auff dy erd,

- So spil wir, wem der⁴⁸ rock werd;
 Wann er ist wol gestrickt,
 915 Er soll nit werden zerflickt,
 Sunst hat yeder seinen tayl.
 Got geb mir gelück vnd hayl!

Secundus miles:

- NUN merckt yr herren all,
 Wie euch daz gefall:
 920 Well wir pald chömen dar von,
 So spyl wir aug auff den man.

Tercius miles:

- So will ich vachen an.
 La sechen, was ich gewin daran:
 Ses, tzingk, quatter hye stat;
 925 An wem dy zal ausz gatt,
 Dem soll der rock gefallen
 Vor den anderen allen.

Quartus miles:

fol. 31^b

Ho! ho! mir ist wol gelungen!
 Ich han den rock gewonnen!

Primus miles:

- 930 DES soll wir alle fro sein,
 Dw gibst jn für vns all vmb wein.

Cayphas dicit:

- IST daz nit ain grosser spott?
 Ihesus, der sich nennet got,
 Hat anderen geben gesund
 935 Vnd mag yetz an diser stund
 Sich selb nit hayl machen!
 Darumb hat er mit teufflichen sachen
 Gethan die wunder tzaychen
 Vnd hat daz volck also gelaychen.

Annas dicit:

- 940 PISTU ain künig von ysrahel,
 So steyg ab dem kreutz gar schnell.
 Dar nach wellen wir glauben
 An dich offenlich vnd taugen.
 Dw magst nit entgen,

⁴⁸ Ms. *dem.*

945 Wann dw muest hye besten.

••• *Secundus Iudeus:*

PHACH! wie tarstu gesprechen,
Dw wolst den tempel prechen
Vnd jn dreyen tagen widermachen!
Dw hettest pillich zw disen sachen

950 Gesechen vor diser nott,
Wann dir nahent nun der tod.

• *Tercius Iudeus:*

LASS yn hangen in aller weysz
Als der vogel speysz,
Vnd lasz jn an der sunnen dorren;
955 Darnach sey wir mit ym vnuerworren.

Tunc *pylatus* mittit *quartum militem* qui ponit *titulum supra crucem*.

Et dicit militi centurionj:

GEE, schlach daz auff daz kreutz oben an,
Daz alle, die da für gan,
In der geschrift mügen lesen,
Daz jhesus crist ist gewesen
960 Der künig, geporen von Nazareth,
Als yn dem pryeff geschriben stett.

Quartus miles dicit Rigmum:

ICH thuen es geren, lieber herre;
Mir ist da hin nit zeferre.

fol. 32^a

Tunc quartus miles venit ad crucem Et dicit:

O Ihesu, den juden zw eer
965 Hat gesand pylatus her
In kriechisch, hebreych vnd latein
Den tytulum vnd den namen dein:
Ihesus, der Iuden künig von nazareth,
Als jn dem prieff geschriben stett.

Quartus Iudeus vadit ad pylatum et dicit:

970 DER Iuden künig schreyb jn nicht,
Sunder, das er sich yeren künig gicht.

Pylatus:

WAS ich han geschriben, daz ist geschriben
Vnd wirt auch nymmer wider triben.

Tunc *Saluator* orat: "Pater ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt".

Et dicit:

ICH pitt dich vater, herre gott:
 975 Durch dein götlich gepott
 Vergib disen menschen yr schuld
 Vnd verleich jn dein göttlich huld!
 Wann sy nicht wissen noch verstan,
 Was sy an mir haben gethan.

Latro a sinistra dicit:

980 Dw sagst vil von göttlichem gewalt!
 Ist es allso vmb dich gestalt,
 Warumb woltestu nit vermeyden
 Sölch martter vnd leyden
 Vnd hettest dich söllichs tod[s] üwerhebt?
 985 Dw hettest natürlich noch lang gelebt.
 Darumb, pistu gottes kind,
 Von dem kreutz dich selbs entpind
 Vnd vns mit dir hilff ausz der pein,
 Wann wir jn geleichner marter sein.

Latro a dextra dicit:

990 O wee, dw fürchtest nit gott!
 Sich an dein aigne nott
 Vnd lasz dein pöses schelten sein!
 Wir leyden von warer⁴⁹ schuld pein
 Vmb mort, raub vnd pöse tatt;
 995 Awer diser herre hat
 Sein tzeytt übel nye gethan.
 Herre, ich wil dich rueffen an!
 Warer mensch vnd warer got
 Durch göttlich gepott!
 1000 Gedenck an mich parmhertzigleich,
 So dw kumbst in deines vaters reich!

fol. 32^b

Saluator dicit latronj:

FÜRWAR, fürwar sag ich dir:
 Dw wirst noch hewt sein mit mir
 In dem wunigklichen paradeisz
 1005 Vnd sechen den vater, sun vnd heyligen geyst.

⁴⁹ Ms. *waren*.

Scola Iudeorum canit. Interim venit *maria cleophe*

Et canit :⁵⁰

- WAINET,⁵¹ vil libe(n) cristenhaytt,
 Vnser grosses hertzenlayd
 Vmb vnsern herren jhesu crist,
 Der nun gemartert ist
 1010 Von der pösen juden list.

Et dicit :

- MERCK[T], yr frawen⁵² vnd yr man :
 Wie gar vbel haben dy juden getan,
 Daz sy got, den herren Ihesum crist,
 Der aller welt ain erlöser ist,
 1015 An schuldt haben pracht jn den tod.
 Des mues mein hertz ymmer seyn in not
 Vnd ymmer yn trawren stan,
 Seyd ich nun verloren han
 Ihesum, den vil lieben herren mein.
 1020 Awe, möcht es gesein,
 Das ich selber wer tod
 Für cristum vnd maria nott !

Deinde venit *maria magdalena* cantans sicut jnfra :⁵³

- WAINEN muesz ich, des get mir not,
 Wainen muesz ich, vmb⁵⁴ gottes tod.
 1025 Der was mein pesunder trost ;
 Dy welt hat er erlost
 Mit seinem pluet allso rott.

fol. 33^a

Et dicit ad jhesum :

- ACH lieberr herre Ihesus crist !
 Wie yämerlich dw ermördet pist !
 1030 Dir ist dein krafft entwichen
 Vnd dein leyb gar verplichen ;
 Des muesz ich ymmer trawrig wesen.
 Ach milder gott, wie solt ich genesen !
 Wie soll ich mich wenden oder keren !
 1035 Ich hab verloren meinen herren,

50. Pf. hat *dicit* ; bei St. fehlt die Gesangstrophe. Cf. W., p. 70.
 51. Ms. *Wainen*. 52. Ms. *herren* ; das richtige *frawen* findet sich
 in St. sowohl als Pf. Cf. W., p. 70. 53. Diese Cantatverse fehlen in
 St., stehen aber in Pf. Cf. W., p. 71. 54. *Vmb* von derselben Hand
 mit roter Tinte übergeschrieben.

- Der mich genädigklich ansach
 Vnd mich gen martha versprach.
 O criste, lieber herre vil süesse!
 Dw liest mich waschen dein füesse
 1040 Vnd trugknen mit dem hare mein.
 Ich muesz ymmer klagen die marter dein.
 Nun kum tod vnd pyttrikaytt
 Vnd mach end meines hertzen layd!

Deinde venit maria mater jhesu cantans ad johannem:

- AWE, awe sag an Iüngeling:
 1045 Wo liestu mein vil liebes kind?
 Oder wo hastu es gesechen?
 Dez soltu mir der warhaytt yechen.

Et dicit ad johannem:

- SAG an, Iüngeling:
 Wo liestu mein liebes kind?
 1050 Oder wo hastu es am letzsten gesehen?
 Des soltu mir der warhaytt yechen,
 Ob ich sein möcht pekummen,
 Ee daz ym daz leben wurd genummen.

fol. 33

Iohannes ad mariam:

- AWE, awe, ausz aines Iuden hausz
 1055 Sag ich yn pluettigen gen herausz;
 Er trueg auff seinem rucken plosz
 Ain kreutz, daz was von holtz so grosz.

Et dicit:

- O liebe mueter vnd frawe mein,
 Mir ist layd dein grosse pein
 1060 Vnd deines hertzen vngemach.
 Trost ist vns payden schwach.
 Das soltu fraw sechen an,
 Wann ich layder nicht enkan
 Vnd zw wenden nicht mag;
 1065 Wann der vnns allen freyden gab,
 Ist von den Iuden gefangen
 Vnd stett yn grossen schanden.

Maria canit:

IOHANNES, lieber öham mein,
 Ge mit mir zw der marter sein

1070 Vnd hilff klagen mir mein nott.
Awe, vnd wer ich für jn tod!

Et dicit:

IOHANNES, lieber freunt mein,
Lasz dir layd mit mir sein
Vnd für mich zw stundan dar,
1075 Das ich seiner marter nem war,
Ee das er sein leben ende
Vnd den geyst heb in seins vaters hende.
Wann ich han jn nun layder verloren,
Der vns zw trost ward geparen.

fol. 34^a

Iohannes dicit:

1080 Maria, magt raine,
An alle sünd allaine!
Ich muesz dich layder führen dar,
Da dw seiner marter nembst war.
Frawen zucht soltu pflegen
1085 Vnd jn mässigklicher klag leben.
Tunc *Maria* plangendo vadit ad crucem.

Et canit:

AWE des ganges, des ich gee
Mit yamer vnd mit rewe!
Ich mag nit gesitzen noch gesteen,
Mein layd will⁵⁵ sich vernewen.

Iterum maria:

1090 AWE, awe,⁵⁶ yämerliche klag,
Die ich mueter arme trag!
Wann er was mir pekant,⁵⁷
Ee ich mueter ward genant.
Das sey dir, lieber sun, geklaytt
1095 Vnd auch der werden cristenhaytt.

Maria cantat Dum veniunt ad crucem:

HERTZEN kind, nun tröste mich!
Sich mich an vnd sprich:

55. Später hinzugefügt. 56 Das zweite awe ist mit roter Tinte
übergeschrieben; unser Text schliesst sich also hier Pf. an. Cf. W.,
p. 68. n. 1. 57. St. und Pf. haben das erste Wort des Verses correct
nach der älteren Form der Marienklage: "*Waunen* was mir pekant".
Cf. W., p. 68.

Wem will dw entphelichen mich !

fol. 34^b

Seyt ich nit gehaben mag dich ?

Tunc *Saluator* canit : " Ecce filius tuus "!

Et dicit:

- 1100 WEYB, den lieben Iunger mein,
Nym war für den sun dein.
Iohannes soll dir an meiner stat
Mit taylen hylff vnd ratt.

Saluator ad Iohannem : " Ecce mater tua "!

Et dicit:

- IOHANNES, lieber Iunger mein,
1105 Lasz dir das weyb entpfolchen sein.
Daru.ub gib ich dir zelon
Im hyml dy ewig kron.

Iohannes dicit ad mariam :

- MARIA, ich soll dein pfleger sein,
Das pefilcht mir der sun dein.
1110 Dw solt nit lenger klagen,
Sunder dein leyden willigklich tragen ;
Wann am dritten tag will er ersten
Vnd lebentig von dem grab geen.
Darumb, maria, raine mayd,
1115 Soll dir nit sein als grosz layd.

Maria canit:

Nu ist ze wainen mir geschechen,
Das ich sein tod muesz ansechen ;
Den ich anschaw gar,⁵⁸
Mueter vnd auch⁵⁹ mayd gepar.

Et dicit:

- 1120 AWE, yämerliche nott !
Awe, pitterlicher tod,
Den dw kind leydest an schuld
Von der Iuden vngeduldt !
Awe, yamerliches layd,
1125 Das mein arnes hertz trayd !

fol. 35^a

58. Vers iii8 lautet bei St. und Pf., wie in der älteren Marienklage :
" Den ich ane swär gar. Dies ist also ein grober Lesefehler unserer
Schreibers. Cf. W. p. 69. 59. Mit roter Tinte später überge-
schrieben.

O edle frucht, nun trost mich arme
Vnd thue dich vwer mich erparmen.

Saluator canit:

“Hely, Hely, lama zabathani”, hoc est: deus meus, deus meus,
vt quid dereliquistj me?”

Et dicit:

GOTT vatter, wie hastu mich verlan
So yämerlich yn disem leyden stan!
1130 Herre vater, kürtz mir meinen schmerzen,
Den ich trag an meinem hertzen.
Wann ich willigglich leyd den tod
Vmb aller armen sunder nott;
Wann die weren ewigklich verloren
1135 Vnd gepeynigt yn deinem tzoren.

Quartus Iudeus:

NUN merckt yr herren all,
Wie euch dy red gefall.
Den ettlich für gott hetten,
Der rüefft an heliam, den propheten,
1140 Nach dem, als ich gehört hab.
Nun peytet, ob helyas köm herab
Vnd yn von disem hohen kreutz lösz.
Der trugner ist awer also pösz,
Daz er ym⁶⁰ wenig helffen sol;
1145 Er hilfft ym nit, daz ways ich wol.

Maria canit Expansis manibus; Iohannes accedit eam;

AWE, awe, awe, ich hör einen grossen rueff:
Das ist jhesus, der mich peschueff.
Ich hör seiner angsten not;
Awe, wer ich für jn tod!

fol. 35^b

Et dicit:

1150 O mein aller liebster sun,
Seytt daz dw stirbst nun,
So thue nach meiner pegier,
Das ich sterb mit dir.
Tot, prich mein hertz entzway!
1155 So hab ich mit ym trost manigerlay.

Sextus Iudeus:

LASZ da von, dw pöse trugnerin!

60. Ms. yn.

- Er soll haben klainen gewin;
 Vnd werstu noch zwir als⁶¹ posz vnd vnrain,
 Es hilfft dich nit lachen oder wain.
 1160 Gee von hynnen schnelligklich,
 Er muesz hangen ainem dieb gelich.
 Werstu ain frume⁶² mueter gewesen,
 Er wer durch dein leer wol genesen.
 Dw hast gesprochen, er sey gott;
 1165 Schaw, wie stestu yetzt in spott!
 Darumb gehin wehend vnd pald
 Oder ich schlaypff dich in daz kot mit gwalt.

Maria dicit:

- AWE, grosses hertzen layd!
 Meiner augen spiegel wayd
 1170 Hab ich allso verloren;
 Dw warst mir doch zw trost geporen!

Ihesus canit: "Sicio". Et dicit:

- MICH dürst nach hayl der menschaytt,
 Durch der willen ich leyd grosses layd.
 Die soll heut werden erlost
 1175 Vnd von mir haben ewigen trost.

Primus Iudeus offert spongeam aceto plenam.

Et dat Ihesu dicens:

- Ey, er spricht, in dürst gar seer.
 Wir süllen hie nach meiner leer
 Von essig vnd von gallen
 Ain tranck zw samen wallen,
 1180 Das peut ich ym yn äinem schwamen
 Hin auff an des kreutzes stamen.

fol. 36^a

Ihesus dum gustasset noluit bibere. Et canit:
 "Consummatum est"!

Et dicit:

- NUN ist es alles volpracht,
 Was die propheten haben gedacht
 Von mir zw schreyben oder sagen
 1185 In den vergangen jaren vnd tagen.

Ihesus canit: "In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum"!

Et dicit:

HIMLISCHER vater mein!

61. Ms. ab. 62. Corrigirt aus *pöse*.

- Lasz dir mein seel entfolchen sein
 Vnd nym sy in dein hend,
 Wann mein leben hat ain end.
 1190 Vnd gib yr dy freyd schier,
 Die ich hab gehabt pey dir,
 Ee die welt peschaffen ward.
 Vatter, erhör mich an diser vardt!

Et inclinatio capite emittit spiritum.

Tunc Maria dicit:

- AWE, not vwer alle nott!
 1195 Ist nun mein hertzen liebs kind tod?
 Ist nun daz clare liecht erloschen,
 Dar auff dy sündner haben getroschen?
 Kum tod vnd mir kür[z]lich penym
 Das leben, daz ich sey pey ym!

Centurio⁶³ canit: "Vere filius dei erat iste".

Et dicit:

- 1200 WARLICH, daz war gottes sun!
 Das verstee ich erst nun.
 Er ist fürwar gottes kind.
 Wir sein all gewesen plind,
 Das wir yn prachten zwm tod
 1205 Vnd namen auff vnns der sünden nott.
 Vns süllen pillich dy wundertzeychen
 Vnser verstaintte hertz erwaychen:
 Man sicht dy sunn verliesen yeren schein
 Von wegen der grossen marter [und] pein—
 1210 Sunder auff so lanng zeytt,⁶⁴
 Als sich dy vinsternusz geytt.
 Auch entpfind man dy erd zitteren
 In seinem tod allso pitteren.
 Auch sech wir dy stain zerspalten,
 1215 Daz ist göttliche n gwalt pehalten,⁶⁵
 Auch sech wir die grosse geduld,
 Wie vil er hat gelitten ane schuld.

fol. 36^b

63. Wie der nebenstehende Name des Spielers zeigt, ist dies *quartus miles*. 64. Vor Vers 1210 müssen 2 Verse fehlen und zwar schon in der gemeinsamen Vorlage, da auch St. und Pf. hier eine Lücke aufweisen. PICHLER lässt daher in seinem stark modernisirten Abdruck dieses Passus p. 24. Vers 1205 und 1206 einfach aus. 65. St. hat hiernach zwei Verse, die auch bei Pf. fehlen. Cf. W., p. 67.

- So hab wir auch gehort daz grosz geschray
 Do ym prach sein hertz entzway,
 1220 Daz von kainem noch nye ist geschechen:
 Daz muesz ich für dy warhaytt yechen.
 Vnns soll darumb pillich wesen layd,
 Daz er ledt dy grossen pyttrikaytt.
 Varumb, herre gott, gib, daz ich verstee,
 1225 Die ich recht yn deinem gepot gee.
 In gantzem hertzen des pitt ich dich,
 Daz dw auch parmung habst vber mich;
 So wirt ich, herre got, an allen wan
 Das ewig leben mit dir han.

Maria cadens in terram Canit:

- 1230 (VOR) tod, awe tod, tod nun nym vns payde,
 Das er nicht allaine so yämerlichen von mir schayde!

Iohannes dicit ad mariam:

- STEE auff, maria, liebe muem mein,
 Vnd lasz dein haysses wainen sein!
 Den tod, den erlitten hat dein sun,
 1235 Der kumbt aller welt zw frum.

Maria canit:

- DEIN pluets mich rottet,
 Dein not mich nöttet,⁶⁶ fol. 37^a
 Dein tod mich töttet!
 Awe, mir der grossen not!
 1240 Awe mir, ja ist er todt!

Iohannes ad mariam:

- MARIA, dw edle künigin,
 Dw solt prauchen deinen synn.
 Sein tott hat vnns ernert
 Vnd der helle pein gesperrt.
 1245 Darumb, maria, lasz von deiner klag,
 Wann er erstett an dem dritten tag.

Deinde Iudej vadunt ad pylatum et petunt vt franguntur crura
 eorum Ne vltro sabatum permaneant in cruce.

Secundus Iudeus dicit pylato:

HERRE pylate, die schacher, die du liest pliben,
 Noch do vor auff dem kreutz ligen.

66. Vers 1237 findet sich in Pf., fehlt aber in St. Cf. W. p. 67.

- Nun wissen wir nicht, ob sy sein gestorben ;
 1250 Darumb haben wir deine knecht geworben,
 Daz in von deinem gunst werd ge(s)prochen
 Ire pain vnd dann jn dy erd gerechen ;
 Wann es der österlichen zeyt wol zymbt,
 Daz man sy von dem creutz nymbt.

Pylatus dicit ad Iudeos :

- 1255 GET hin vnd thuets als yr welt,
 Wann mir daran nicht miszuelt.

Tunc milites cum Iudeis⁶⁷ vadunt et frangunt crura latronum.—Et
 jbi nota quod interim dispones Longinum.—⁶⁸

Tercius Iudeus dicit primo militij : fol. 37^b

- NATHAN, nun prich den schacheren pain vnd armen⁶⁹
 Vnd lasz sy dir nicht erparmen.
 Schlach dar frischlich, schlach,
 1260 Daz es thue ainen grossen krach ;
 So nymbt man sy nach dem tod her ab
 Vnd legt sy in ain grab.

Et deponuntur latrones et dum deuenerunt ad jhesum jnuenerunt
 eum mortuum.

Quartus judeus dicit :

- Was well wir an ym rechen?
 Wir pedürffen sein pain nit prechen.
 1265 Sein sel ist ym entgangen ;
 Lasset yn nur also hangen.

Ibi disponatur Longinus Qui venit cantando :

AMBULO, herr, von yericho,
 Mach mich armen plinden fro.

Seruus longinj dicit :

HERRE, hebt auff ewre pain,

67. Ursprünglich hiess es nur "*Iudei* vadunt" doch corrigirte dieselbe Hand: *milites cum Iudeis*. . 68. Diese Spielanweisung scheint verfrüht, zumal eine ähnliche nach Vers 1261 sich findet. Doch ist zu bedenken, dass Longinus blind ist und nur langsam auf dass Kreuz zutappt. Im Alsfelder Spiel spricht er mit seinem Diener, bevor er sich dem Kreutze nähert, "*stans a longe de cruce*". Es ist daher sehr wohl denkbar, dass Longinus schon an dieser Stelle auf der Bühne erscheint. 69. Die Antwort des miles fehlt hier sowohl als in Pf., in St. ist sie später hinzugefügt Cf. W., p. 12, 13, 83 84.

- 1270 Daz yr euch nit stost an ain stain.
 Wann vielt yr nyder zw der erden,
 Ir wurd mir allain zw schwer werden,
 Daz ich euch nit möcht auff erheben ;
 Darumb get schon vnd tret eben.

Et cum veniant ad crucem

Longinus dicit:

- 1275 MÖCHT ich recht gesechen,
 So wolt ich pald spechen
 Mit meinemⁿ scharffen sper,
 Ob er noch lebt hintz her.

Quintus Iudeus dicit ad longinum:

- LONGINE, lieber ritter, stich dar,
 1280 Guetten lon soltu haben fürwar,
 Das vns der poszwicht nit petrieg
 Vnd den juden vor lieg.

Longinus dicit ad seruum suum:

fol. 38^a

- SCHALANT, lieber knecht, fñer mich dar
 Vnd nym der rechten seyten war ;
 1285 Dar an setz eben an daz sper,
 Daz ich ym den leyb verseer.
 Dar ein will ich stechen mit krafft
 Daz scharff sper hintz an den schafft
 Vnd will ym daz hertze spalten,
 1290 Ob sich sein seel het verhalten
 Oder ob ain wenigß leben in ym peliben ;
 Daz müest von mir werden auszgetriben.

Seruus longini dicit:

- Daz willich thuen, mein herre guet.
 Halt daz sper in deiner huett,
 1295 Ich will ymbs setzen recht vnd eben,
 Daz dw ym pald verserst sein leben.
 Nyemant darumb sorg pedorff ;
 Daz sper ist wal allso scharff,
 Als pald er damit wirt peruert,
 1300 So ist ym sein leber gar zerfüert.

Tunc famulus apponit longinj lanceam.

Et dicit ad dominum:

Nun stich da zw seinem hertzen

70. Corrigirt aus *seinem*.

Vnd püesz ym ettlich seinen schmerzen.

Longinus fingit et defluit sangwis: Tunc *longinus* jlluminatur Et canit: "Vere filius dei erat iste".

Et dicit:

- HÖRT, yr vil lieben leytt!
 Gross wunder ich euch pedeutt,
 1305 Das mir von disem mann ist peschechen:
 Ir habt all gehört vnd gesechen,
 Daz ich gewesen pin plint.
 Nun pekumbt mir von gottes kind,
 Daz ich wider hab mein gesicht;
 1310 Er ist fürwar göttlich geschicht.
 Ihesus ist zwar ain heyliger man. fol. 38^b
 Wir haben all vnrecht gethan,
 Daz wir jn haben erschlagen;
 Daz süllen wir alle klagen.
 1315 O milder gott, ihesu crist!
 Ich erkenn, daz dw pist
 Ain erlösser aller menschaytt
 Mit deines todes pyttikaytt.
 Ich pitt dich, allmechtiger gott,
 1320 Durch deinen vnuerdienten todt,
 Daz dw dich wellest erparmen
 Vwer mich longinum vil armen.

Maria canit:

- DURCH gott,⁷¹ yr frawen all gemain,
 Payd keusch vnd auch rain,
 1325 Ich hab mein liebes kind verloren.
 Kain lieber kind ward nye geparen;
 Es was meines hertzen wunne,
 Auf fürsten land kummen,
 Zw ainer mueter hat es mich ausz erkoren.

Et dicit Rigmum:

- 1330 HERRE vater vnd mein got!
 Nun ist erfüllt dein gepott.
 Ich het dich mir allain ausz erkoren,
 Nun hab ich dich verloren.
 Des⁷² mag ich nit frolich werden,

1335 Die weyl ich leb auff diser erden.

Tunc Ioseph cum seruo suo venit ad Nicodemum.

Et dicit Ioseph:

ICH pitt dich Nycodem, Edler man,
Daz dw mir heut wellest peystan,
Daz wir jhesum, den hochwerden,
Bestatten zw der erden.

fol. 39^a

Nycodemus ad Ioseph:

1340 IOSEPH, lieber freund mein,
Ich will dir geren hilfflich sein.
Was mir darumb laydes peschicht,
Des will ich alles achten nicht.
Hab wir yn vor⁷³ lieb gehabt,
1345 So soll wir noch sein vnuertzagt
An ym yn allen seinen nötten,
Vnd soll man vns darumb tötten;
Wann der herre jhesus crist
Vnser got vnd erlöser ist.

Ioseph ad Nycodemum:

1350 NYCODEM, schaw an das wunder,
Wie ain yedlich creatur pesunder
Sich ywer den menschen erpamet.
Warlich, er hat vns hart erarnet!
Wir süllen ym erberlich faren mit
1355 Vnd pestätten nach vnserem sytt.
Gee wir auch zw der mueter sein,
Die dort ist in grosser pein,
Vnd reden mit yr darumb,
Daz sy vnns auch des vergunn.

Nycodemus ad Ioseph:

1360 IOSEPH, dw hast dy red wol erhaben.
Wir sollen yn schon pegraben.
Ich pin, der des nachtes zw ym kam
Vnd vber mein sünd rew nam.
Ich fragt yn vmb das ewig leben,
1365 Da wurt mir ze antwurt geben:
Wir weren all verloren,
Wir wurden dann zw dem anderen mal geporen.

- Mit der red hat er gemainet
 Dy tauff, dy da gantz rainet
 1370 Alle menschen, dy da sollen genesen,
 Wänn do pin ich sein rewiger⁷⁴ junger gewesen.
 O, wo sind nun dy getrewen,
 Dy vns mit gantzen rewen
 Heut helffeu pegraben und pewainen⁷⁵ fol. 39^b
 1375 Ihesum crist, den vil rainen!
 Nun süllen wir auch mariam stillen
 Vnd yn pegraben nach yrem willen.
 Tunc vadunt ad mariam.

Joseph dicit marie :

- MARIA, ich vnd Nicodemus
 Begeren den leychnam jhesus
 1380 Wirdigklich zw dem grab pesteten ;
 Dar zw soltu vns auch ratten.

Iohannes respondit loco marie

et dicit :

- MEIN fraw ist worden allso kranck,
 Daz sy vor mir nyder sangk
 Von wegen des grossen klagen,
 1385 Daz sy hat heut getragen.
 Darumb sy euch nit mag zw gesprechen,
 Ir möcht vor layd daz hertz zerprechen ;
 Awer den leichnam cristj werden
 Solt yr pringen zw der erden.

Nycodemus ad Ioseph :

- 1390 IOSEPH, so gee wir hin zw pylato
 Vnd pitten yn fleysigklich allso,
 Daz er⁷⁶ vns erlaubt zw pegraben
 Ihesum, den wir lieb haben.
 Tunc Ioseph et Nicodemus vadunt ad pylatum.

Ioseph dicit ad pylatum :

- HERRE pylate, ich pitt dich,
 1395 Des soltu geweren mich :
 Erlaub den leychnam jhesu mir,

74. Ms. *ewiger*, also derselbe Lesefehler wie bei St. Cf. W., p. 14.

75. Die Stellung der beiden Verben war erst: *pewainen vnd pegraben*.
 76. Ms. *yr*.

Des will ich ymmer dancken dir,
 Daz wir jhesum von dem creutz nemmen herab
 Vnd yn legen yn daz grab.

Pylatus dicit:

- 1400 IOSEPH vnd Nycodem,
 Ist awer allso dem,
 Daz ihesus ist gestorben,
 Darumb yr yetzt habt geworben?

Ioseph dicit:

fol. 40^a

- HERRE pylate, er ist nun tod
 1405 Vnd hat vber wunden sein not.
 Solt er awer ausz der juden neyd
 Hengen vber dy österlich zeytt,
 So fürcht ich, daz der juden schar
 Zw aller stund l[a]uffen dar
 1410 Vnd treyben ausz ym yr gespött.
 Pylate, eer den hochwirdigen got
 Vnd schaff, daz man es für sech,
 Daz ym kain laster nit mer geschech.

Pylatus querit a centurione:

- EDLER ritter centurio,
 1415 Sag an, ist es allso,
 Daz jhesus nun sein leben
 An dem kreutz hat auff geben?

Centurio dicit:

- HERRE pylate, als dw hast gefragt,
 Dar auff sey dir antwurt gesagt,
 1420 Daz ich daz gesechen hab,
 Daz er sein leben auff gab,
 Da(z) pey vil grosser zaychen sein geschechen.
 Ich muesz mit der warhayt yechen,
 Daz er ist gewesen ain frummer man;
 1425 Wir haben ym all vnrecht gethan.

Pylatus dicit:

- IOSEPH vnd nycodem, seytt gewertt
 Alles, daz yr yetzund pegertt.
 Ich will euch geren vergunden
 Den leyb ihesu, der da ist gepunden
 1430 An daz creutz; den nembt herab

Vnd pestetet yn zw dem grab.

Ioseph dicit:

HERRE pylate, wir dancken dir,⁷⁷

Daz dw vns gewerest schir

Mit gab des werden leychnam,

1435 Der an schuld den tod nam .

Tunc vadunt ad crucem.

Nicodemus dicit:

fol. 40^b

WOL her, joseph vnd lieber knecht,

Vnd helfft, daz wir mügen recht

Pringen den heyligen leychnam

Von des hohen⁷⁸ kreutzes stam,

1440 Der vil seer gespannen ist

Daran von der juden list

Mit starcken nagelen vnd langen.

Leich mir her hamer vnd zangen;

Der pedarff ich yetzund gar wol,

1445 Seyt ich den nagel gewonnen sol.

Tunc Nycodemus ascendit per scalam.

Seruus eius dicit:

SEE hin, hamer vnd zangen ;

Magstu sy awer erlangen,

So will dich nit saumen,

Daz dw wol mügst raumen

1450 Dy nagelen ausz seinen henden ;

Da⁷⁹ zw magstu dich nun wenden.

Ioseph dicit seruo suo:

SCHMIDEL, lyeber knecht,

Hye wirt es mir eben vnd recht ;

Vnd leich mir auch hamer vnd zangen,

1455 Da mit ich jhesum müg erlangen

Vnd dy nagel grosz müg gerucken,

Daz der herre jhesus an seinem rucken

Nicht lenger daz grosz holtz trag.

Nun will ich, ob ich mag,

1460 Ihesum von dem kreutz heben

Vnd yn jn ewr hendt geben.

77. Vers 1432-1435 fehlt in Pf. Cf. W., p. 71.

78. Ms. *hohes*.

79. Ms. *daz*.

Seruus joseph[i] dicit:

- HERRE, ich pin hye peraytt
 Mit euch zw tragen dy arbaytt.
 Da nym hin hamer vnd tzangen,
 1465 Der leychnam soll nit mer hangen.
 Mir geet gar nahent zw hertzen
 Des gueten mannes pein vnd schmerzen.

Ioseph dicit:

- O Ihesu, dw vil gueter,
 Wer soll nun trösten dein liebe mueter!
 1470 Die ist layder in grossz nott
 Vmb deinen pitteren todt.
 Ich fürcht, sy mich⁸⁰ nit genesen,
 Als gar traurig ist sy gewesen
 Vmb dein tödlichs layd.
 1475 Ich sprich es pey meinem ayd,
 Daz ich trag jn meinem hertzen
 Grosses layd vnd pitteren schmerzen.

fol. 41^a

Synagoga canit Interim. Ihesus deponitur de cruce.

Et mater eius accedit eum Et canit:

- AWE, wo sol ich mich hin keren!
 Mein vngemach wil sich meren.
 1480 Awe, mir hertzen liebes mein⁸¹ kind!
 Ia, wist yr wol, wie lieb sy sind!
 Awe, wo sol ich nun trost vinden!
 Mein hend dy muesz ich winden
 Umb mein hertzen liebes kind.

Nicodemus dicit:

- 1485 MARIA, dw edle frucht,
 Wir müessen heind wider dein zucht
 Ihesum, deinen sun, von dir tragen.
 Dw solt nun lassen dein klagen.
 Ioseph, lasz vns fürpasz gen,
 1490 Wier süllen nit lenger hie sten.

80.=dem häufigeren *müg*; *ü* ist gleichwertig mit *i* im Bairischen, das *ch=g* bietet keine Schwierigkeiten. Cf. Vers 1532. 81. Der Schreiber hatte bereits *kind* geschrieben, strich es jedoch aus und setzte *mein* in dieser ungewöhnlichen Construction.

Et tunc violenter quasi Recipiunt corpus cristi Et deferunt ad sacristiam Et canunt: "Ecce quomodo moritur iustus," etc.⁸² fol. 41^b

Ioseph dicit:

SECHT, wie der gerecht gestorben ist!
Der was fürwar an argen list.
Seinen tod vnd grossen schmerzen
Niemand tregt in seinem hertzen.
1495 Er hat den pitterleichen tod
Gelitten durch der welde nodt.

Maria canit:

AWE, nun will man dich pegraben!
Das muesz ich armes weyb nün klagen.
Nun muesz ich mich von dir schayden
1500 Mit jamer vnd mit grossem layde.
Awe, wo sol ich arme hin!
Im hertzen ich pettruebt pin
Von meines lieben Kindes tod.⁸³

Iohannes dicit:

fol. 42^a

HERTZEN lieb frauwe,
1505 Dw solt nit sprechen awe!
Sunder hab guetten muet;
Das ist mein rat vnd ist auch guett.
Dir soll pillich sein vrstende
Dein hertzen layd wenden,
1510 Vnd seyde dich mir entpholchen hat,
So will ich dir helfen an seiner stat.

Cayphas dicit ad Ioseph:

IOSEPH, wie tarstu jhesum pegraben,
Das wir doch nit geschaffen haben?
Wir hetten selbs wol gewest,
1515 Was vnns wer zw thuen daz pest.

Ioseph Respondit:

DAS han ich durch guet gethan.
Er gedanckt mich ain frummer⁸⁴ man;
Wann er was mensch vnd got.

82. Es ist nach diesen Worten ein freier Raum gelassen, jedenfalls zur Eintragung der Cantatverse und der Noten bestimmt. 83. Der hier fehlende Vers lautet bei PICHLER p. 35, nach Tiroler Handschriften: *Awe mir der grossen not!* 84. Corrigirt aus *gueter*.

- Solt er der welt zw spot
 1520 Sein gehangen ausz ewrem neyd—⁸⁵
 Daz wer in allen landen
 Vns gar vbl angestanden.

Annas dicit:

Dw solt wissen sunder wan,
 Das dw nit recht hast than.

Ioseph respondit:

- 1525 WIE seyt yr mir als gehasz
 Vmb das, das ich so vleyssig was,
 Das mir ihesum pylatus gab;
 Den legt ich⁸⁶ in ain news grab
 Vnd vmb wand yn mit tüechlein rain;
 1530 Ich pedeckt das grab mit ainem stain.
 Daran hab ich gar wol gethan
 Als verre vnd ich mich verstan.
 Awer yr habt vñbels geworben,
 Wann er ist von euch gestorben.

Annas dicit:

- 1335 IOSEPH, so hör ich wol,
 Das dich dy jüdischayt haltten sol
 Als ainen der sein junger ist.
 Da von wirt in kurtzer frist
 Dein leyb vnd auch dein leben
 1540 Mit grymen yn den tod geben.

fol. 42^b

Ioseph dicit:

ICH verlaugen meus got[s] nicht,
 Was mir darumb von euch peschicht.

Cayphas ad Ioseph:

- So muestu vñnser gefangen sein
 Vnd muest leyden von uns des todes pein,
 1545 Seyt ich ye an dir spür,
 Kumbt dy österlich zeytt herfür;
 Dw muest darumb sterben
 Vñnd lästerlich verderben.

EXPLICIT PASSIO.

⁸⁵. Der fehlende Vers ist in Pf. *Hincz über die heilig zeyt.* Cf. W. p. 20. ⁸⁶. Ms. *ich legt.*

III.

IN NOMINE EIUS CUIUS RESURRECTIONEM DESIGNARE INTENDIMUS. PRIMO PILATUS INTRAT AD LOCUM SUUM, CAYPHAS ET ANNAS ET IUDEI ECIAM AD LOCA SPECIALIA, QUO ANGELI CANUNT: SILETE, SILETE, SILENCIUM HABETE!" fol. 43^b.

Primus angelus dicit:

- IR lieben in got cristenleyt, wir sein gesant,
Das jr durch vns werdt ermant,
Wie ihesus crist der Iuden henndt
Ist engangen mit seiner vrstendt,
5 Die geschehen ist götlich wider die natur,
Des wirt man euch heint tzaugen ain figur;
Vnd wie daz grab ihesu sey pehuet
Von ritteren vmm der iuden guet.

Secundus angelus:

- AUCH wir[t] euch furgehalten,
10 Wie in man[i]gerlay gestalten
Der herre sich diemuetiklich hat genaygt
Vnd sich seinen freunten ertzaygt;
Vnd die iuden haben güet gesendt
Den Ritteren, daz sy verschwigen ihesus vrstendt.

Precursor venit et dicit:

- 15 LIEBEN kindt, ich pin aber herfur kummen,
Als jr dan vor von mir habt vernummen,
Wie daz abentessen cristi ist volpracht
An dem pfintztag, als es cristus het gedacht;
Daz jr mit grösser andacht habt gesehen,
20 Daz ir fur die warhayt mügt iehen.
Darnach an dem karfreytag
Habt jr gehabt grosse klag
Vmb das leyden ihesu crist:
Wie das ergangen Ist,
25 Das er durch vns erlitten hat
Von wegen (durch) vnser grösse missetat,
Da von wir nü geraynigt worden sein

- Vnd erledigt von der helle pein.
 Nün sullen wir nach grössen klagen
 30 Herwiderumb freidt entphahen
 Vnd sullen loben mit grösser pegir
 Die vrstendt ihesu crist schier. fol. 43^b
 Vnd darumb suldt jr stiil gedagen
 Vnd merken, was man euch hie wirdt sagen.
 35 Vnd ob jr da würdt lachen,
 Daz sult jr doch nit lang machen;
 Wann got selbs hinter sein gelassen hat,
 Gröss traurikeyt wurdt zeletzt wol rat.
 Darumb, welcher mensch traurig ist gewesen,
 40 Der sol hinfur sein genesen
 Von aller traurikeyt hye vnd dört.
 Damit die sel nit werdt zerstört,
 So solt jr euch hietten vor den hauffen
 Vnd last die katz nit vbers dach lauffen.
 45 Sunder hüet euch vor sunden vnd schanden,
 Es sey hie oder jn anderen landen,
 Damit ir' an dem jungsten tag mit got erste
 Vnd mit jm jn sein ewig freydt gee.
 Darumb sult jr singen all
 50 Mit wuniklichem schal:
 "Crist jst erstanden!"

Primo Cayphas querit consilium a Iudeis:

- Ir herren von der Iüdischeyt,
 Euch sindt die mer gar wol gesayt,
 Wie ihesus der trügner
 Sagt vns allen die mer,
 55 Wie eer an dem dritten tag wel ersten
 Vnd lebentig von dem grab gen.
 Darumb gebt euren rat,
 Das wir vnttersteen dise tatt.

Annas Respondit:

- ICH schwer pey meiner handt:
 60 Dw hast vns sicher wol ermant.
 Darumb so gib ich meinen radt,
 Daz wir geen fur herren piladt,
 Das er vns helf das grab pewaren,

- Also daz wir nich[t] vbel faren ;
 65 Wann es ist nit ain kinds spil,
 Der es recht pedenken wil.

Primus judeus:

- GUETTEN radt gab annas der herre. fol. 44^a
 Zw pilato ist nit verr ;
 Darumb gee wir zw jm pehentlichlich,
 70 Damit vns ihesus nit auss dem grab entweych.
 Tunc vadunt ad pilatum. Angelj canunt : " Si'lete !"

Pilatus dicit:

- SEYDT willikommen, herre Cayphas,
 Annas, matusalem vnd warathias,
 Ioseph vnd jr all vnd auch bimelein,
 Ir vil lieben Iuden mein !
 75 Sagt mir eure mere,
 Sy pedüncken mich gar schwere.

Secundus Iudeus dicit:

- VIL edler herre pilat,
 Hilf vns mit deinem radt.
 Wann du villeycht hast vernummen,
 80 Warumb wir tzw dir seindt kummen.
 Wir haben von dem verrätter
 Ihesus vernommen dise mer,
 Die weil er lebt : er woltdt ersten
 Vnd an dem dritten tag vom grab gen.
 85 Geschech daz, so wirt der letzt irsal wirser
 Dan der erst ye vor gewesen wer ;
 Darumb thue es durch dein güetten
 Vnd schaff daz grab tzw pehuetten.

Pilatus dicit:

- WER treybt euch zw diser nöt ?
 90 Den jr da fürcht, der ist tödt.
 Es ist ain grösse affenhayt !
 Wer hat euch dise mer gesayt ?
 Maint jr, das er also erstee
 Vnd also von dem grab gee ?

Tercius Iudeus:

- 95 HERRE, wir gedencken, wie er sprach
 Vnd von seines vatters krafft iach :

Er woldt also ersten
An alle tödliche pen.

Pilatus dicit :

fol. 44^b

DYE weyl ihesus lebentig was,
100 Eur neydt vnd eur has
Gelaubten seinen worten nicht ;
Was er euch sagt, daz hielt ir fürnicht.
Nün sprecht jr all offenwar
Vnd furchtet, es werdt alles war.

Quartus Iudeus :

105 WIR furchten, lieber herre mein,
Daz die falschen junger sein
Den tötten stelen vnd sagen,
Er sey erstanden jn dreyen tagen.
Wurdt er vns nün verstolen
110 Vnd auch auss dem grab verholen,
So mach er tzw vnserm spot
Gehalten werden für^a ainen gott.
Darnach so wurdt daz volk verirt,
Das vns in dem allensambt gewirt.

Pilatus dicit :

115 KAIN rat kan ich euch geben.
Hiet jr jn lassen leben,
Als ich euch oft geraten han,
So werdt jr yetz der sorgen an.

Annas dicit :

WIR tuen doch nicht an deinen rat ;
120 Darumb erlaub vns, herre pilat,
So wollen wir selben haben huet
Oder den Ritteren darumb geben guet.

Pilatus dicit ad annam et caypham :

HUET tzwhaben wil ich euch geren vergunnen,
Ir mügt auch wol zw disen stunden
125 Volk, ritter vnd knecht dartzw gestellen,
Die sich an eurem soldt genugen wöllen.

Cayphas dicit ad milites :

IR edlen ritter wolgemüt,

2. Ms. *tzw* ; dem Schreiber ist wol das *tzw* des vor hergehenden Verses hierhergeraten.

- Ir seyt an euren eren wol pehuet.
 Welt jr verdienen vnsernn soldt,
 130 Payde silber vnd auch goldt,
 So soldt jr des grabes pflegen
 Vnd auch mit fleysß dartzw niederlegen,
 Zw pehuetten ihesum, der da leyt. fol. 45^a
 Vnd pey guetter warung seyt ;
 135 Wann er sprach, er woldt ersten
 Vnd an dem dritten tag von dem grab gen.
 Dez sult jr vntter kummen,
 Das es daraus nit werdt genummen ;
 Wan würdt er euch gestolen
 140 Vnd aus dem grab verholen,
 So wurdt die letzt warung wirser,
 Dann die erst vor nye gewesen wer.
 Darumb huet wol vnd eben,
 So wol wir euch gröss guet geben.

Primus Miles :

- 145 Ir herren, last die sorgen faren ;
 Wir wellen euch daz grab pewaren
 Vnd auch so schön pehuetten,
 Welt jr vns nür darum mietten.

Annas dicit :

- 150 Wir wellen euch darumb güttes gnueg,
 Dauon mügt ir gar wol leben ;
 Vnd wöllen euch dartzw machen reych.
 Hüet vns nün wol der leyh(t).

Secundus Miles :

- Ir herren, ir suldt gen vns nit wesen karg
 Vnd gebt vns sunderlich hundert marck
 155 An alle widerred schier ;
 Mit wein auch guetter flaschen vier,
 Mit güetter speis vnd guettem tranck,
 Des wellen wir euch sagen danck.
 So hüet wir des³ grabes wol,
 160 Fechtens werden wir paldt vol.

Tunc *Cayphas* mediante *Rigmo* dat iis pecuniam et dicit et milites stent Circulariter :

3. Ms. *das*.

SE hin: das ist aynerr, tzwen, drey ;⁴
 Schau, ob kainerr pöss sey.

Primus miles:

WECHSEL mir den, der jst von pley.

Cayphas dicit.

VIER, funf, sechs ;

165 Der hat vil güttes plechs.

Secundus miles:

fol. 45^b

ICH wil sein nicht, er⁵ ist ains alten plechs.

Cayphas dicit:

SIEBEN, acht, neun ;

Die sindt auch dein.

Tercius miles:

LIEBER, haldt dir den, er ist kupffren.

Cayphas dicit:

170 ZECHEN, ayndlif, tzwelf, dreyzehen ;

Wo hastü ye ain prayten gesehen ?

Quartus miles:

ER ist tzw nicht, das muess ich iehen.

Cayphas dicit:

NYM hyn die vbrigen dartzw,

Darumb kauff ain kalb oder kue.

Quintus miles:

175 WER wayss, was ich noch damit thue !⁶

Cayphas:

Sv sindt guet auff meinen pardt.

Sextus miles:

So wechsel mir den, er hat ain schart.

Postea vadunt ad sepulchrum cantantes vt infra :

WIR wöllen tzw dem grabe gan,

4. Diese Wechselrede zwischen Cayphas und den Soldaten, Vers 161-177, steht auch wörtlich in Pf. Sie wird also in der gemeinsamen Vorlage gestanden haben ; nur der obscöne Witz in Pf. Vers 189 und 190 ist Interpolation des Uebersetzers. *Quintus miles* kommt auch in Pf. zu seinem Gelde, wenn wir den *quartus* nur einmal antworten lassen, wie in unserem Spiel ; und die Form *kalt* (*gehalte*) in Pf. ist verschrieben aus *halt*, wie unser Spiel ebenfalls zeigt. Cf. W., p. 105, 106. 5. Ms. *es*.

Ihesus der wil auff stan ;
 180 Vnd ist das war, vnd ist das war,
 So wirdt gulden vnser har.

Paimus miles ad sinistrum latus saluatoris stans

dicat Rigmum :

NÜN hört jr herren, lat euch sagen,
 Lat euch mein redt nit verschmachen.
 Wir haben entphangen der juden soldt,
 185 Payde silber vnd das goldt ;
 Wölt jr nün volgen meinem radt,
 So wöllen wir hie an diser stadt
 Daz grab an allen orten vmblegen,
 So mügen sy vns nit petriegen ;
 190 Die junger ihesu sindt selten frum.
 Yedlicher leg sich an ain drumb,
 So leg ich mich hye an das ört
 Vnd trütz, daz nyemant sprech ain wordt.
 Ruert ihesus mir ain glidt,
 195 Ich wil jm schleg taylen mit,
 Sy möchten faulen auss jm ;
 Auff mein treu ich das nym.

fol. 46^a

Secundus miles :

Ir herren, ich leg mich hie auff die seyten
 Vnd wil auff den trugner peyten.
 200 Wirdt er sein vrstendt nit vermeyden,
 So müess er von mir marter leyden ;
 Ich gib jm schleg an aynen fuess,
 Das jm kain artzt mag geben puess.
 In dem tempel ertzaygt er grossen vbermüt,
 205 Da er trayb die wechslers von jrem guet.
 Kumbt er, so wil ich sein gedencken
 Vnd wil jn auff ain möss versencken.
 Ihesus, darumb las dich nit vertrösten,
 Ich wil dich villeycht lebentig rösten!

Tercius miles :

210 ICH leg mich hye an die spitzen,
 Vnd ob ihesus kem mit seinen wytzen,
 So mag er sich nymmer pewaren,
 Wil er anderst von dem grab faren

- Vnd vns also mit listen entgachen.
 215 Ich wil jn gar schämlich entphahen
 Vnd wil jn darnach also grüessen
 Mit henden vnd mit fuessen,
 Vnd wil jn peynnigen tzw diser stündt,
 Das er den schaden nymer vberwindt.
 220 Dye redt ist sicher ane hass,
 Er aeffs von ainem anpass.

Quartus miles:

- ICH wil mich legen an das eck,
 Trütz das mich ihesus ymer erschreck.
 Er hat vor sein ain schwäre tur.
 225 Wer er so keck vnd kem herrfür,
 Ich lief mit jm jn ain wandt,
 Des hab er jm mein treu zw pfandt;
 Vnd kem er herfur auff disen plan,
 So wurd er sechen, das ich wer ein man.

Quintus miles:

- IR herren, ich wil mich da her setzen
 Vnd wil mein schwert mit fleys wetzen,
 Ob ihesus käm tzw seinen synnen
 Vnd woldt von dannen trinnen,
 Das ich jm den weg für lieff,
 235 Es wer dann, das ich verschlieff.
 Ich zug jn herwider pey dem har,
 Das gelaubt mir sicher fürwar.
 Ia, vnd (ist) [wan] er sich jndert rüert,
 Er wirdt ain fardt von mir geführt,
 240 Dye jn jmer mueste reuen:
 Ich wol jm seinen rugken zerpleuen,
 Das solt jr gelauben mir.
 Ihesu, lig still, das rat ich dir!

fol. 46^b*Sextus miles:*

- ICH wil mich hye legen[nider]:
 245 Vnd het ihesus hören als ain wider
 Vnd stiess mit kreften als ain pock,
 Er nympt mir sicher nit mein rock.
 Vnd reckt er nun daz haubt heraus,
 Ich spil mit jm als die katz mit der mauss
 250 Vnd als der wolf mit den schaffen;

Darumb sol er mich lassen schlaffen.

Daz rat ich jm auff meinen aydt :

Erweckt er mich, es wirdt jm laydt.

Primus miles :

Ir fraydigen ritter, ich hab mich gedacht

255 Vnd hab ain guetten schies zeug⁶ pracht,

Ob ihesus von vns ein vorlauff gewün,

Daz ich damit auff jn hielt nachündt.

Ich woldt mit jm gröss wunder stiften

Vnd darauff wil ich mein pfeyl schiften

260 Vnd wil auff jn eben schiessen,

Daz das pluets von jm muess fliessen

Als von aynem erstochen schwein ;

Das glaubt, jr ritter, auff die treue mein.

Secundus miles :

So wil ich hie mit euch warten

265 Mit ayner guten⁷ helm parten.

Darumb, wirt er meinem gwaldt zw tayl,

Ich vertreyb jm schertz vnd alle gayll ;

Ich schlieg seinen leyb gantz voneinander,

Vnd wer er jn aynem rock selbwander.

270 Dar zü hab ich ainen gueten⁷ wurfpeyl,

Dar mit treff ich jn vber ain halbe meyl ;

Darumb pedurfft jr nit sorgen,

Wir pehalten jn leycht auff morgen.

Tercius miles :

LIEBEN herren, ir seyt jn so grössen sorgen !

275 Lat die redt an sten pis morgen.

fol. 47^a

Ob ihesus schön herfur tritt,

So pin ich alswol vernät,

Daz er mir nicht abgewün,

Im wurd dann ain vorsprung.

280 Dennoch(t) wolt ich jn wol erlauffen

Vnd gar hertiklich (mit) jm rauffen

Das har auss seiner schwarten,

So wirt er vnser dann geren warten.

Quartus miles :

Ir lieben ritter, jr suldt haben rüe

6 Ms. zing. 7. Ms. guetes.

- 285 Von heint hintz auff morgen frue.
 Wann es ist kain leben jn jm verhalten,
 Seydt daz jm das hertz ist gespalten ;
 So mag jn auch niemant wecken.
 Darumb lat euch kain sorg erschrecken.
- 290 Das er aber den tötten lazarum erhueb,
 Daz geschach mit krafft des belzebüeb.
 Nun hat jn belzebüb lassen sterben,
 Darumb wirt er⁸ nit vmb sein leben werben.

Hic ponunt se milites ad sepulchrum. Angeli canunt: "Silete!"
 Tunc venit *angelus percuciens* cum gladio igneo Et percutit quantum
 militem Et canit. Terra tremuit et quieuit.

Et dicit:

- IR ritter, lat eur schallen sein !
- 295 Naygt euch gen dem schöpfer mein.
 Ir habt verdient gottes zoren ;
 Ligt still, jr seyt all verloren !

Deinde angelus circuit Sepulchrum cantans Laudes saluatoris ;
 postea venit alter angelus portans dyademam et stat ad caput, alter
 ad pedes portans vexilla, et canunt simul :

"Exsurge, quare ob dormis domine?"

Secundus angelus dicit:

- WARÜMB schlaffest dw, kaysserr ob dem firmament !
 Stand auff, alles leyden sol haben endt !
- 300 Also ist der wil des vatters dein :
 Dw solt hinfür vnleidlich sein.
 Es ist volpracht der propheten geschrift :
 Dw hast vertriben der sündler gift
 Vnd hast auss deiner parmhertzigkaydt
- 305 Genadt erworben der menschaydt—
 Gottes erwelter sün tzwerden.¹⁰

Tunc resurgit dominus et stans circa sepulchrum et accipit ab
 angelo percucientj¹¹ dyadema et vexillum. fol. 47^b

Primus Angelus:

- HERRE got, nym den fan vnd die kron,
 Dye auss dem hymelischen obristen tron

8. Corrigirt aus: *Darumb wir nit*, etc. 9. Ms. *commeut*; der
 Schreiber hat 9 als Note für *com* gelesen. 10. Hier fehlt ein Vers,
 jedenfalls vor Vers 306. 11. Dies Wort hat der Schreiber aus Ver-
 sehen hinter *stans* gesetzt.

Dein vatter dir had gesanndt
 310 Herr ab auff dy jrdischen lanndt.
 Postea *Saluator* canit—Hic disponunt candelas :
 "Ego dormiui et somnum cepi."

Et dicit :

ICH han geschlaffen und pin erstanden,
 Des sey kund in allen landen ;
 Mein vatter had enpfangen mich,
 Das¹² solt jr wissen sicherlich.

Tunc vadunt ad infernum ; angeli praecedunt cum candelis can-
 tantes : "Cum Rex glorie." Et cum veniunt ad portas Infernj
 Secundus angelus canit :

"Tollite portas principes vestras !"

Et dicit secundus angelus :

315 IR hölle fürsten, tüedt auff ewre torr,
 Der künig der eren stet hye vorr !

Lucifer clamat :

Dw verfluechtes marter hauss mein helle,
 Palt dich dar nach stelle,
 Daz dw entphast ihesum crist,
 320 Der da gegenwirtig ist.
 Er hat mir laydes vil getan :
 Dye plinten lies er augen han
 Vnd die tött weren gewesen
 Mach[t]er mit seiner kunst genesen,
 325 Nür allain mit seinen worten.
 Tuet auff der pitteren helle porten !
 Wir sullen jn an diser stündt
 Pegraben jn der helle grundt.

fol. 48^a

Primus dyabolus :

LUCIPER, wer mag sein crist,
 330 Der dir so widerwärtig ist ?
 Oder wie jst es vmb jn gestalt,
 Daz er treybt so grossen gwaldt ?
 Chumbt er tzw vns herein,
 Er müess tzw leyden grösse pein.

Lucifer Respondit :

335 ER hat ain menschleyche figür

- Vnd ist wunderleycher natur.
 Er hat erlitten hungers nôt,
 Sein sel traurig wardt auff den töt.
 Seiner junger ayner jn verriedt,
 340 Do er sy tzw dem abentessen liedt;
 Da selben ich mit meinen listen erwarb,
 Das er an dem kreutz starb.

Secundus dyabolus :

- SAG an, luciper, tzw diser frist,
 Ob es sey der selb ihesus crist,
 345 Der lazarum hies von dem tödt ersten
 Vnd von vns aus der helle gen?
 Herre luciper, gib den jn mein vācknus
 In der helle grüntlöse vinsternus,
 So wil ich jn darein setze[n]
 350 Vnd seiner hoffart wol ergetzen
 Mit prinendem¹³ pech vnd schwebel,
 Mit vinsterem vnd stinkendem nebel
 Vnd mit aller grösser pein,
 Dye nindert jn der helle mag gesein.

Tercius dyabolus :

- ACH, awe vnd ymerr ach!
 Sölich wunder ich nye gesach!
 O jr teufelischen helle fursten,
 Lasset euch nach jm nit dursten!
 Er kumbt jn klarem, liechtem, grössem¹⁴ schein;
 360 Wir haben kain sölichen nie pracht herein
 Aus aller weldt vnd landen,
 Seydt vnser hel ye ist gestanden;
 Vnd ist nye kummen sölicher schein
 In dise grüntlöse helle pein.
 365 Er furcht nit vnser helle röst.
 Ich furcht die selen werden durch jn erlöst;
 Wann die selen sindt gar frölich,
 Er wurdtschaden tuen vnserm reych.

fol. 48^b*Quartus dyabolus :*

- ICH verpeut euren teufelischen gewaldt,
 370 Daz jr nit seydt dartzw zepaldt,

13. Ms. *prinenden*. 14. Ms. *grössen*.

- Das jr jn nit lasset herin.¹⁵
 Es wirt vnser grösser vngwin;
 Wann ich jn grösse forcht kam,
 Da er lazarum hies aufstan.
 375 Er ist ain mensch, mit dem got ist.
 Chumbt er herein tzw diser frist,
 Die selen werdent all erlöst
 Von vnserm gewaltigen helle röst.

Quintus dyabolus:

- O kunig luciper, schick daz helle tör
 380 Vnd stell dich wider den rauber zewör;
 Wann lass wir jn herein kummen,
 So wirdt vnser aller gewaldt genomen.
 Darumb sich, daz er vns nit müg vertrayben,
 Sunder das die selen pey vns peleyben.

Luciper Respondit:

- 385 MEIN fursten, ritter vnd knecht,
 Nu pewart mir die helle recht!
 Eylet ab pehendiklich tzw der tür
 Vnd schliesset eysen rigel fur.
 Verschliesset wol der helle tör,
 390 Das diser räuber peleyb davor.
 Tunc claudunt¹⁶ jnfernum. Deinde dicunt Sancti patres,

Primo Adam:

HÖRT, jr lieben freundt mein!
 Ich merck, das diser schein
 Von meinem herren jhesum crist
 Abher tzw vns kummen ist.

Ysaias:

- 395 ICH weyssag, ysaias,
 Do ich auff erden lebendig was,
 Dem volk, das jn der vinster lebt
 Vnd jn des tödes schaden¹⁷ strebt,
 Dem weyssagt ich ain liechten schein:
 400 Der scheintdt tzw der helle herein.

fol. 49^a

Symeon:

ICH, Symeon, auch sagen wil,

15. Corrigirt aus *herein*. 16. Corrigirt aus *concludunt*. 17. Pf.
nöten. Cf. W. p. 93.

- Das sich verlauffen hat daz zil,
 Das ihesus crist wardt geporen
 Von maria, magt ausser koren,
 405 In der stat tze wethlahem.
 Da pracht man jn gen jerusalem,
 In den tempel da er kam,
 In sein gnadt er mich nam.
 Ich waz plindt, darnach gesach
 410 Vnd jn dem geyst von jm jach
 Vor allen, die da sassen :
 " Nun soltu, herre, lassen
 Deinen knöcht jn fride gan,
 Wann ich dein hayl gesechen han."
 415 Den ich da weyssagt, symeon,
 Der kumpt vns zehilfe schön.

Ioannes baptista :

- ICH pin gehayssen johannes baptista.
 Ich ways wol von vnserm herren cristo,
 Da ich jn dauft mit meiner handt,
 420 Da der heylig geyst kam tzw handt,
 In ainer tauben weis geflogen,
 Da ich jn aus der tauff het gezogen ;
 In dem Iordan daz geschach.
 In dem geyst ich von jm sprach :
 425 " Das ist das lamp der gottheyt,
 Das aller menschen sunden trayt."
 Das lamp ist vns tzw tröst kummen
 Als jr von mir wol habt vernummen.

Seth dicit :

- ICH, seth, wil euch sagen gar füegsam :
 430 Da jch tzw dem paradeis kam,
 Den engel pat jch gar sere,
 Das er durch gottes ere
 Meins vatters nôt pedächte
 Vnd mir ein öleyss prächte,
 435 Das ich meines vatters quall
 Damit hayllat gar tzw mal.
 Da ich jn an das öleis mant,
 Ein reys gab er mir jn mein handt
 Vnd sprach : " ich wil dir sagen war :

fol. 49^b

- 440 Vber etwan vil tausent jar
 Nach dem wirdt gottes sun geporen
 Von ayner magt auserkoren;
 Vnd wann er dan wirt gemartert,
 Gewaltiklich er dann tzw der helle fert
 445 Vnd erlöst gar mit grössem wun
 Adam vnd euam tzw der selben stundt."
 Die jar sindt nun verlauffen tzw handt,
 Das ist mir gar wol erkandt.

David dicit:

- GOTTES wunder yederman
 450 Sol loben, so er pest kan.
 Sein parmung jst worden schein.
 Er hat vil starker rigel eysnein
 Zerprochen vnd auch vil eysner tor;
 Der stedt jn diser nacht hervor.
 455 Von diser nacht geschriben stadt:
 Dye nacht als der tag auff gatt.
 Luciper, thue auff die helle dein,
 Dein gwaldt mag nit mer sein!

Primus angelus alcius canit: "Tollite portas principes vestras!"

Et dicit primus angelus:

- IER helle fursten, thuet auf eur tör,
 460 Der kunig der eren ist dauor!
Luciper dicit alta voce: "Quis est iste rex glorie?"

Et dicit Rigmum:

- WER jst der kunig, der da vor
 Klophet vor der helle tör?
Secundus Angelus Respondit: "Dominus fortis, potens in proelio."
 LUCIPER, tue auff die hellischen tör,
 Wann gottes sun stet selbs hievor;
 465 Ein mächtiger kunig jn dem streyt,
 Vol lobs vnd eer tzw aller tzeit.
 Dem tuet auff die hellen porten.
 Er gesigt mit seinen worten
 An dir vnd an der helle;
 470 Er furcht nit dein vngeuelle.
 Er wil tzerstören dein angsthauss
 Vnd die erwelten nemen heraus;

fol. 50^a

Vnd dw müest ymer prinnen hye

Vnd alle, die jr sunden nye

475 Lebentig wolten lan durch got

Vnd die fräuelich vbertratten sein gepot.

Tunc Angelus canit jterum alcius quam prius: "Tollite portas principes!" Saluator trudit janua[m] jnfern[j] cum pede et aperit.
Tunc dyabol[j] clamant omnes mirabiliter.

Primus dyabolus dicit:

AWE, awe heut vnd ymmer mer!

Er eylt auff vns da her.

Fliecht ab tzwgründt der helle,

480 Das er vns nit erschnelle

Vnd als gar gewaltikleych

Tziech vns auss unserm reych.

Pfui sich der leste!

Der erst ist der peste!

Adam dicit:

485 VERNEMBT alle meinen rüef:

Ich sich die handt, die mich beschüeff!

*Ihesus*¹⁸ cantat: "Venite benedict[j] patris mei!"

KUMBT her, mein liebe kindt,

Dye von mir gesegent sindt,

Vnd entphacht alle ewigklich

490 Von mir meines vatters reych.

Tunc canunt sancti patres: "Aduenistj!"

Jeremias dicit:

GOT herre, pis willikommen!

Wier hietten lang geren vernummen

Dein götliche vnmässige guettikeyt,

Der wir so lang jn der helle pitrikeyt

495 Kaum haben gepitten mit grössen schmerzen.

In diser vinsternus rueffen wir von hertzen

Vnd sewfften tzw dir grösser klag,

Daz dw nit lang vertzugest den tag

Deiner pegerten tzw kunft

500 Vnd erleuchtest miltiklich vnser vernunft.

Nun pit wir dich, daz dein pitter tödt

fol. 50^b

18. Der Cantatvers und die vier folgenden Verse gehören im Ms. zu der Rede Adams; der Schreiber hat die Bühnenweisung ausgelassen.

Vns pehelf aus der kläglichen nôt.

Saluator dicit ad adam:

ADAM, lieber, sag mir,
Wer riet die törheit dir,
505 Daz dw den öphel wider mich
In speys entphyengest schuldiklich?

Adam respondit:

HERRE, dw hettest mir gegeben
Ein weib, die hat mir das leben
Verloren gar manigen tag.
510 S/ was meiner sel ein schlag;
Wann dw hyessest vns diemütig sein,
Da volgt ich dem weib mein;
Tzeschandt verschuldt jch mich gen dir.
Herre, dein parmung sey mit mir!

Saluator ad adam:

515 ADAM, seyt dw verstuendest mein zoren,
Warumb hettestu dan die frucht erkoren?
Dein weyb dw mer furchtest dan mich,
Des mustu schuldig geben dich.

Adam Respondit:

MEIN schuldt vergich ich dir, herre got,
520 Vmb die dw gelitten hast den tödt.
Herre, dw pist miltikleych reych;
Vergib mir die schuldt parmhertzikleych!

Deinde dominus conuersus ad euam dicit:

EUA, eua, dw soldt sagen mir:
In deinen muedt wie kam es dir?
525 Wie tarstu nemen das ast,
Daz dir von mir verpotten was?

Eua respondit saluatorj:

EIN pöse schlang gab mir den radt,
Dye mich von dir gescheyden hat.
Vber mich euam vil armen
530 Soltu dich genädiklich erparmen.

Abraham dicit:

HERRE got, ich pin abraham,
Der von dir peschneydung nam.

- Ysaac, jacob, moyses vnd tobias,
 Ioseph, heliseus vnd zacharias,
 535 Abacuck, baruch vnd daniel,
 Ieremias, samuel vnd etzechiel,
 Die deinen willen tetten ye,
 Die sindt alsambt von dir hye
 In dem grausamen helle kärcher.
 540 Aluätter, propheten vnd patriarchen,
 Alt, jung, man, frauen vnd kindt
 Auff dein parmhertzikayt hye sindt
 Vnd pitten deiner gnaden dich:
 Herre got, emphach vns parmhertziklich!

Saluator dicit ad animas:

- 545 GEET dan mit mir alle, die
 Meinen willen tetten ye.
 Ain freydenreychs leben
 Wil ich euch nach disem iamer geben
 In meines hymelischen vatters reich;
 550 Darumb erfreydt euch ewigkleych.

Tunc *saluator* ducit eos ad paradisum

et dicit michaelj archangelo:

MICHAEL, lieber engel mein,
 In das paradeys hinein
 Fuer das volk, daz ich han erlöst
 Von der argen helle röst.

Tunc angelus ducit eos in paradisum.

Saluator vadit ad turrim ad joseph [et] dicit:

- 555 IOSEPH, mein freundt, gee mit mir;
 Vmb dein treu wil ich dir
 Machen höher freydt schein:
 Dw soldt nit mer gefangen sein.

Ioseph dicit:

- Genadt mir, herre, almechtiger got!
 560 Durch dein götleychs gepot
 Gib mir deinen suessen tröst,
 Daz ich von hynnen werdt erlost.

Saluator dicit:

ICH wil geren helfen dir,
 Peut her dein handt vnd gee mit mir.

Tunc Saluator introduct Joseph ad paradisum et ipse recedit ad
sacristiam manens In ornamentis. Interim canunt angeli: "Silete!"

Adam dicit ad heliam et enoch: fol. 51^b

- 565 WER seydt jr tzwen, daz tüet mir kundt,
Daz jr nicht jn der helle gründt
Pey vns seydt gywesen?
Wie seydt jr an dem leyb genesen?

Ennoch Respondit:

- ICH pin Ennoch, das sag ich dir;
570 Helyas der ist hye mit mir.
Wier sein pehalten hintz auff die stundt,
Hüntz daz der anterkrist kumbt.
Mit dem sullen wir vechten
Vnd kriegen nach dem rechten;
575 So werden wir dann von jm erschlagen.
Darnach jn kurtzen tagen
Sicht man vns pey jm leben
Vnd jn den lufften pey jm schweben,
Vnd darnach an dem jungsten gericht
580 Mit jm man vns offentlich sicht.

Adam dicit ad latronem:

WER dw seyst, des frag ich dich,
Wann dw pist aynem schacher geleych.
Bas pedeuttet, daz dw hast getragen
Das kreutz? das soltu mit sagen.

Latro Respondit:

- 585 Dw sagst mir ware mer:
Ich was auf erdt ain schacher;
Vbels han jch vil pegangen,
Mit ihesus wordt ich erhangen.
Ich gelaubet, daz er wer
590 Aller weltdt ein erlöser;
Ich pat jn, daz er gedächt an mich,
Wann er käm jn seines vatters reych.
Er sprach: "furwar jch dir sag:
Dw kumbst noch heindt pey dem tag
595 In das paradeys tzw mir.
Nün trag hin das kreutz mit dir,
So lat dir der engel weys

Geren jn das paradeyss."

Do der engel mich ersach,

600 Nün höret all, wie er sprach:

"Enthalte dich ain stundt.

Adam mit allen selen chumbt,

Die gottes willen haben getan;

fol. 52^a

Die sindt erlöst an allen wan."

605 Do ich dem engel das kreutz hilte vor,

Da was mir offen dez paradeis tör.

Deinde procedunt *marie* ad sepulcrum et canunt tres simul vt infra:

Hew nobis internas mentes

Quanti pulsant gemitus

Pro nostro saluatore,

610 Qui primatur misere,

Quem crudeli Iudeorum

Morti dedit populo.

Prima maria dicit:

AWE iämerige traurikeyt,

Dye vns halten jn grösser leydt!

615 Das mag man vil wol schauen

An vns ellenden frauen.

Prima maria canit:

OMNIPOTENS pater altissime,

Angelorum re[c]tor mitissime,

Quid faciamus nos miserrime?

620 Hew, quantus est noster dolor!

Et dicit:

ICH mag wol klagen von seinem hertzen

fol. 52^b

Meines lieben herren schmerzen

Vnd seinen pitterleychen tödt,

Der vns hat erlöst von der helle nöt.

Tunc *secunda maria* canit eciam illum tonum sicut *prima maria* et alia vt infra patebit:

625 AMISIMUS enim solacium,

Ihesum cristum, *marie* filium,

Ipse erat nostra redemptio.

Et dicit:

WIR haben vnseren herren verloren,

Der von *maria* wardt geporen.

- 630 Er ist gywesen vnser trost,
Der vns von der helle hat erlöst.

Tercia maria canit:

- SED eamus [et] ad eius
Properemus tumulum ;
Si dileximus viuentem,
635 Diligamus mortuum
Et vngamus corpus eius
Oleo sanctissimo.

Et dicit:

- WAS wellen wir hie pestan !
Wir sullen tzw dem grab gan
640 Vnd sullen salben vnsers herren wunden ;
Wann si haben vns entpunden
Von dem teufel sathanas,
Der vns albeg wider wärtig was.

Tunc marie procedunt ad sepulchrum et canunt omnes tres simul :
"Quis reuoluet nobis ab hostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum ?" fol. 53a

Prima maria dicit:

- WËR hebt vns herab
645 Den stain ab disem grab ?
Angelj canunt jn sepulchro : "Quem queritis, o tremule mulieres,
in hoc tumulto gementes ?"

Primus angelus:

- WEN süecht jr hie, jr traurigen weib,
Daz so ser pidemt eur leib ?
Tunc jbi tres marie Respondent simul : "Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum querimus."

Secunda maria:

- WIR suechen vnseren herren ihesum crist,
Der von den juden gemartert ist.
Angelj iterum canunt : "Non est hic quem queritis, sed cito euntes
nunciate discipulis eius [et] petro, quod surrexit ihesus." fol. 53b

Secundus angelus dicit:

- 650 ER ist nit hye, den jr sücht ;
Secht herein, ob jr sein gerücht.
Er ist gen galilea gegangen :
Das saget seinen jungeren

Vnd petro besunder,
 655 Das er da nem wunder,
 Das er sey erstanden
 Von des todes panden,

Angeli jterum canunt simul: "Venite et videte locum vbi positus
 erat dominus, alleluia alleluia!"

Primus angelus dicit:

SCHAWET an, jr frawen, dye statt,
 Dar an man ihesum geleget hatt,
 660 Vnd die weyssen thüechelein,
 Da er wardt gepunden ein.

Post hoc canunt *due marie* simul recedentes vt infra:

AD monumentum venimus gementes,
 Angelos¹⁸ domini sedentes
 Vidimus dicentes,
 665 Quia surrexit ihesus.

Tunc *maria magdalena* vadit ad sepulchrum.

Et canit vt infra:

AWE der märe,
 Awe der iämerleychen clag!
 Das grab jst läre!
 Zweü sol mir mein leben,
 670 Seyt ich den nit vinden kan,¹⁹
 Den ich da sueche,
 Vnd doch jn disem grabe lag.

fol. 54^a

Post hoc venit ille *gartner* et canit: "Mulier, quid ploras, quem
 queris?"

Et dicit:

GUETTE fraw, nün sprich nur zw:
 Warumb wainstu oder wen süchstw?
 675 Ist das guetter frawen recht,
 Das sy vmb lauffen als dy knecht?

Maria canit vt infra: "Domine, si sustulisti eum."

Maria dicit ad ortulanum:

EYA, lieber gartner,
 Sagstw mir jch[t]guetter mer?
 Mir ist mein herr verloren

18. Ms. *Angelus*. 19. Auch Pf. hat *kan* für das durch den Reim
 bedingte *mag*. Cf. W., p. 108.

- 680 Vnd aus dem grab gestolen.
 Waystw darumb? das sag mir,
 Des wil ich geren dancken dir.

Gartner dicit :

- WARUMB fragestu mich, frewelein?
 Ich ways mit vmb den herren dein.
 685 Dw solt dich pas befragen,
 Des las dich nicht petragen.
 Dw solt furpas gachen,
 Villeicht möchstu frewdt empfachen.

Maria ad ortulanum :²⁰

- HASTU yn icht gesechen?
 690 Des soltu mir dy warhayt yechen.

Gartner dicit :

DEINES herren hab ich gesechen nicht,
 Das sprich [ich] wol an schulden pflicht. .
 Aber doch süech ain wenig fürpass,
 Vielleicht wirt dir kundt etwas.

Post hoc ortulanus vadit modicum vltra Et venit jterum Et canit:
 " Maria, quid ploras, quem queris?"

Maria Respondit :

fol. 54^b

- 695 HERRE, lieber herre ihesus crist,
 Offenwär dich mir, ob dw es pist.

Et tunc ortulanus recedit.

Maria canit : " Hew redemptor jsrahel vt qui sustinuit mortem
 patiens!"

- AWE, Ihesus, suesser got,
 Warumb leydestu der juden spot?
 Awe jhesus, suesser got,
 700 Pistu daz, so pin ich erlost.

Et jterum : " hew redemptor." ²¹

Maria dicit :

- HERRE, lieber herre gott,
 Warumb leydestw so grosse not?

fol. 55^a

Ihesus apparet marie et canit : " Maria. *Maria Respondit :* " Rabi!
 quod dicitur magister." ²²

20. Die folgenden zwei Verse sind von B später nachgetragen.
 21. fol. 54^b ist zur letzteren Hälfte unbeschrieben, da die Tinte der
 vorhergehenden Seite durchgeschlagen ist. 22. Das "Maria" und
 "Rabi," etc. war ursprünglich vertauscht, aber durch Nebensetzen
 eines a und b den richtigen Personen zugewiesen.

- HERRE got, mein trost,
 Pistw das, so pin ich erlost
 705 Von allen meinen sorgen.
 Wie pistw mir so gar verporgen !

Ihesus canit ut infra:

- PRIMA suffragia
 Sola tulit carnalia,
 Exhybendo communia
 710 Super nature nimia.

Maria canit: "Sancte deus."

SANCTE deus,
 Sancte fortis,
 Sancte jmmortalis,
 Miserere nobis.

Ibi ponit se maria ad pedes saluatoris. *Saluator* recedit ab ea modicum et canit: "Ergo," etc.

- 715 ERGO noli me tangere
 Nec vltra velis plangere.

Saluator dicit ad mariam:

fol. 55^b

- MARIA, dw solt mich nit rueren an,
 Wan ich hye vor dir stan
 Vnd han dir an alle missewende
 720 Ertzaygt mein heyllige vrstende.
 Dar zw soltu wissen gar,
 Das ich schier auffar
 Zw meines vaters reich;
 Da wil ich pleyben ewigleich.

Maria dicit ad saluatorem:

- 725 LIEBER herre, mein gott,
 Warumb leydestu so grosse not?

Saluator dicit:

- GROSSE marter ich erlitten han
 Vmb adam, den ersten man;
 Das hab ich vmb den menschen getan,
 730 Wie wenig ich danckes von jm han.

Maria dicit ad saluatorem:

SAG an, lieber mayster mein,
 Möchten sy nit anderst behalten sein?

Saluator dicit marie :

- Sv möchten wol behalten sein,
 Wär also gestanden der willen mein
 735 Vnd mein göttlicher muedt,
 Lyessen sy das v̄bel vnd tatten das guett.
 Ich gab dem ersten menschen frey wilkir,
 Wer v̄bel täd̄t, das er dar an verlür;
 Vnd wer lebt nach dem willen mein,
 740 Der sol mit mir jn freyden sein.
 Maria, dw solt gedagen
 Vnd solt meinen jungeren sagen,
 Das ich erstanden sey
 Vnd pin aller sorgen frey.
 745 Vnd sprich, daz sy gerüechen
 Vnd mich zw galilea süechen.

Tunc jhesus recedit et canit : " Resurrexi et aduc tecum sum," etc.
 Et tunc vadit *maria* de sepulchro modicum.

Et canit vl jnfra :

- ICH sach warleychen leben den herre[n] mein ; fol. 56^a
 Er lies mich nit an rueren die fuesse sein.
 Den jungeren sol das wer[d]en schein,
 750 Daz er mit²³ seinem vatter wil ewigklichen leben.

Maria dicit Rigmum :

ICH sach wärlich leben den herren mein,
 Er liess mich nit an rüeren die füess sein.
 Den jungeren sol werden schein,
 Das er ist ledig worden aller pein.

Thomas venit Et Clamat :

- 755 MARIA, lass dein schallen !
 Wie mag vns²⁴ das geuallen,
 Vnd möcht sich ymmer das vergan,
 Daz ain todter man sol auff stan,
 Es präch̄t dan der teuffel zw
 760 Mit seinen listen spat vnd frue !

Maria respondit thome :

EYA, dw vngelaubiger thomas !
 Fürwar soltu gelauben das,
 Das ich²⁵ sach sten meinen herren

23. Ms. *nil.* 24. Von B zugefügt. 25. Von B übergeschrieben.

- So gar in grossen eren ;
 765 Vnd sprach, ich solt sagen also
 Iohanni vnd petro,
 Das er wär erstanden
 Von des todes panden ;
 Vnd sollen gen galilea gan,
 770 Da vinden sy yn yn grossen eeren stan.²⁶

Thomas Respondit :

DAS glaub ich zw keinen stunden,
 Ich greyff jm den mit meinen vingeren jn sein wunden.

Maria dicit thome :

TREWN, thomas, dw solt gen gen galilea,
 So vindestu dye rechte(n) warhayt da.

Sic thomas vadit de loco ad alium locum Et inuenit ihesum
 cantantem : "Mitte manum."

fol. 56^b

"Mitte manum tuam et cognosce loca clauorum, alleluia. Et noli
 esse jnc[r]edulus sed fidelis, alleluia, alleluia !

Saluator dicit thome :

- 775 THOMAS, lieber frewndt mein,
 Leg her dy hende dein
 Vnd greyff her zw disen stunden
 Mit deinen fingeren jn mein wunden.
 Da wirstw gesunthaytt enpfachen
 780 Vnd von deinem vnglauben gachen.

Thomas canit : " Misi digitos meos in fixura clauorum et manus
 meas, alleluia, alleluia !"

Thomas dicit ihesu :

- HERRE vatter, ihesu crist!
 Ich erkenn, das dw mein mayster pist,
 Mein schoppfer vnd auch mein got ;
 Daz redt ich zwar an allen spott.
 785 Ich han mein finger dir gelaydt
 In deine wunden tyeff vnd praydt
 Vnd jn dein seyttten mein handt,
 Das ich (ich) dye warhayt hab erkandt.

Ihesus dicit thome :

- DEINE sündt sein dir vergeben.
 790 Dw solt von deinem vnglauben streben

²⁶ Vers 769 u. 770 von B am Rande zugefügt.

Vnd solt predigen vnd leren
 Vnd dye vnglaubigen bekeren ;
 Vnd solt sagen also
 Iohannj vnd petro,
 795 Das ich pin erstanden
 Von des todes panden.
 Vnd hayss sy gen galilea gan, fol. 57^a
 Da finden sy mich frolich stan
 In meiner heylligen driualtighait,
 800 Dy mir²⁷ mein vater hat angelaidt.

Thomas dicit :

HER, jch erfull geren dein gepott,
 Wan du pist mein her vnd mein gott.

Saluator recedit cum thoma. Postea venit maria magdalena Et canit :

"Victime pascali laudes jmolent cristiani" Tunc veniunt *petrus et johannes* et respondent cantantes : "Dic nobis."

DIC nobis maria,
 Quid vidistj in via ?

Petrus dicit marie :

805 MARIA, dw solt vns veriechen,
 Wastw auff dem weg hast gesechen.

Maria canit : "Sepulchrum cristi."

Sepulchrum cristi viuentis
 Et gloriam vidi resurgentis.

Et dicit :

ICH hann gesechen vnseren herren jhesum crist,
 810 Der von dem²⁸ todt erstanden ist.

Iohannes et petrus iterum canunt : "Dic nobis maria," etc.,
 Angelicos testes
 Sudarium et vestes ;
 surrexit cristus spes mea,
 precedit suos jn galilea.

Maria dicit :

815 ICH sach zwen engel klar
 Sitzen in dem grab, das ist war ;
 Dar jn lagen auch dye klaydt, fol. 57^b
 Darein der herre wart gelaydt.

27. Mr. *mich.* 28. Ms. *den.*

Iohannes et petrus iterum canunt simul: "Dic nobis maria, quid," etc.

Iohannes dicit marie:

MARIA, thu es durch gott
 820 Vnd sag vns an allen spott,
 Wie es vmb ihesum sey ergangen,
 Der an das kreutz wart gehangen
 Vnd jn das grab wart gelaydt;
 Oder was haben dir dye engel gesaydt?
Maria canit: "Surrexit cristus spes mea," etc.

Et dicit:

825 ICH sag euch an argen list:
 Vnserr herre ihesus crist
 ist erstanden von dem todt
 Vnd hat vberwunden all sein nott
 Vnd wil den jungeren sein
 830 Zw galilea werden schein.
 Ir sult gen zw dem grab,
 So findt jr den stayn geworffen herab.

Petrus dicit ad johannem:

WIR sullen nit lenger hye sten.
 Wir sullen zw dem grab gen
 835 Vnd dar nach gen galilea,
 Ob wir ihesum vinden da.

Tunc currunt ad sepulchrum et canunt; iohannes precedit: "Currebant duo simul et ille alius discipulus praecurrit cicius petro et venit prior jn monumentum, alleluia!"

Petrus dicit ad johannem:

IOHANNES, wie lauffestu so paldt!
 Dw sychst wol, daz ich pin krank vnd alt.
 Aber dw pist gar ein gäche gersten,
 840 Dw wildt albeg sein der ersten.
 Dw test mirs auch am abent essen,
 Da warstu auch für mich ge[se]ssen.
 Vnd zwar ihesus ist mir holder dan dir,
 Wan er hat geben den schlüssel mir.

Iohannes dicit petro:

845 O petter, petter, dw alter priester,
 Wie zewchstu so träg deine riester!
 Dw pist so gar wunderleich,

fol. 58^a

- Vntter allen jungeren ist kainer dem gleich.
 Ihesus hatt mir vil genadt than,
 850 Des ich jm ymmer zw dancken han.
 Dw solt mich nit also schwächen,
 Wir wellen zw dem grab gächen;
 Ich wil noch der peste sein
 Vnd wesen der geuertte dein.
 855 Wollauff, gee wir mit einander schön!

Petrus dicit johannj:

Sv also, das dir gott lonn!

Iterum petrus dicit:

- Wir wellen pey ainander peleyben
 Vnd dye vart jn lieb vertreyben.
 Nün schleuff jn das grab vnd puck dich,
 860 Wann dw pist vil lenger⁹⁹ dan ich.

Primus miles dicit surgens Cum capite:

- HÖRTT an dye toren,
 Wie schreyen sy vns zw den oren!
 Last paldt von ewrem gedage!³⁰
 Was mausset jr vmb das grabe?
 865 Hebt euch paldt von hynnen!
 Würt ich ewr fürpas jnnen,
 Ich wil das fürwar iechen,
 Es wurdт euch nit vber sechen.

Postea petrus et johannes ostendunt linteamina Et canunt simul:
 "Cernite, o socij, ecce lintheamina et sudarium Et corpus non est
 inventum, alleluia!"

Iohannes dicit:

- SECHT jr frawen vnd jr man,
 870 Secht das gross wunder an:
 Das ist das thuech sicherleich,
 Dar ein gottes sün von hymelreich
 In dem grab wardт gepunden;
 Wir haben auch nit anders funden. fol. 58^b

Petrus³¹ ad johannem:

- 875 IOHANNES, Es ist doch dye warhaytt,
 Was vns maria magdalena hat gesaytt.

²⁹ Pf. *junger*. Cf. W. p. 109. ³⁰ Ms. *ewren gedagn* ursprünglich; über die Abbreviatur ist später ein *e* gesetzt. ³¹ Zuerst war *Iohannes* geschrieben, das dann dem folgenden Verse vorangesetzt wurde.

Nün gee wir hyn gen galilea,
So werden wir ihesum vinden da.

Et sic recedunt; *primus miles* surgit

Et dicit:

IR herren, jr sült sein muntter!

- 880 Ich hab gehört ain gross vnkuntter:
Es ist fraysamlich gestalt,
Es mag auch wol haben grossen gewaltt.
Ich sprich wol pey meinem pain:
Ich wolt geren sein da haym.

Secundus miles dicit:

- 885 SCHAWET an denn affen!
Was hatt er hye zw klaffen!
Wie pistw als gar vertzaytt,
Nün hat dich nyemant geiaytt!

Tercius miles:

- IR ritter, wie schlafft als die schwein,
890 Ich glaub ir seytt all vol wein.
Ich wil euch heymlich warnen,
Ir sült recht mit den sachen varen;
Wär das also fürwar geschechen,
Es würt euch nit vber sechen.
895 Ich wil das für die warhaytt sprechen,
Wir müsten darumb schlachen vnd stechen.

Quartus miles³²:

- WAFFEN, jr herren, vnd ymer waffen!
Wie haben wir das verschlaffen,
Das ihesus ist erstanden!
900 Ach der vil grossen schanden!
Wie hab wir das alle verschwigen,
Schlaffent pey dem grabe ligen!

Quintus miles:

- WIR haben vns verschlaffen zw ewren trewen;
Das muess vns ewiglich reuen.
905 Aber wir lassen euch wol klagen,
Es wir[t] noch dar auss ain frisch schlachen.
Es ist nit vmb ain spercken,

32 Der Schreiber setzte aus Versehen die Rede des *quintus miles* vor die des *quartus*.

Wir süllen euch das pillich mercken.

Sextus miles:

- WIE der sach sey, das ways ich nit.
 910 Es ist ain wunderleich geschicht,
 Das wir haben ihesum verloren, fol. 59^a
 Dar für wir all hyetten geschworen.
 Ich wil es pey meinen trewen iechen.
 Wir haben hye nyemandt gesechen,
 915 Der jn mocht getragen hann.
 Wie es vmb jn sey getann,
 Des wayss ich weder³³ weys noch wordt.
 Dye engel hab ich wol gehört,tt,
 Dy kammen mit grossem³⁴ schein,
 920 Da möcht er wärlich erstanden sein.

Primus miles dicit ad sextum militem:

- SOL wir dan ihesum haben verloren?
 Das thuet mir ymer zoren.
 Ich schätz, dw laussiger edelman,
 Dw seyst schuldig dar an;
 925 Daz muess ich für dy warhayt iechen.
 Dw sprichst, dw habst des gleychen gesechen:
 Das sol dir auff diser erden
 Von vns nymmer vertragen werden.

Secundus miles dicit:

- WIR lassen euch wol pagen,
 930 Wir streychen euch auff den kragen.
 Ich furcht, jr welt holwangen,
 Ir wert darumb guet schleg erlangen.
 Ir seyt villeich[t] mit ihesus jungeren
 Vnd haymlich falsch als dy vngeren;
 935 Dye verlust welt wir nu rechen
 Mit schlachen vnd mit stechen.

Tercius miles:

- SEYDT jr euch krieges vleyssset,
 So hab wir auch da peysset
 Alhye jn vnseren handen.
 940 Ir werdt von vns wol pestanden,
 Vns wel dann glück nit erneren,

33 Ms. wider. 34 Ms. grossen.

Wir wellen vns eur wol erwerben.
 Ir fraydigen helt, nün tret hertz w!
 Trützw, das vns yemant laydt tüe.

Quartus miles :

- 945 VART schön, jr herren, seyt nit so gäch
 Vnd hengt eurem zoren nit nach,
 Hüntzw jr euch erfragt der rechten mer.
 Mir ist die scheydt auch nit lâr,
 Dye ich trag hye pey mir.
 950 Ich wil euch sagen, wie es ergieng schier :
 Es was villnachten gen dem tag,
 Das jch hye lag bey dem grab
 Hutten mit euch, gesellen mein.
 Do kam von licht ein grosser schein
 955 Vnd dar zu ain tonder schlag,
 Dauon jch auff der erden lag ;
 Ain wort jch nit gesprechen kund.
 Darnach vber ain kurtze stund,
 Do dasselb licht vergie,
 960 Da was jhesus auss dem grab alhie.

fol. 59^b

Quintus miles :

- Du sprichst, wir süllen paytten der mer,
 Da pey jst das grab worden ler.
 Du sagst auch von li^chtem schein,
 Es mag kaum halbs war sein.
 965 Datan mag sich auch nymant keren.
 Wir müssen ain weill an ainander scheren ;
 Vnd las sich kainer nit erschrecken,
 Dy schwert müssen nun plecken.
 Wir müssen ain weill darumb fechten,
 970 Etwan treff wir den rechten.
 Tunc percucunt se mutuo et post afflictionem

Sextus miles dicit :

- HORT auff, liben gesellen mein !
 Es mag doch nit anders gesein ;
 Las wir nun von vnserem vechten ;
 Was well wir an vns selber rechnen !
 975 Habben wir nun jhesum verschlaffen
 Oder wie es vmb jn jst geschaffen :
 Darumb sullen wir zu den [juden] kumen,

Wan jren soldt haben wir genomen,
 Vnd jn segen dise geschicht;
 980 Villeicht gelauben sy oder nicht.
 Dy mugen vns auch woll geben radt,
 Was vns hin fur zu thun stadt.

Et sic manent cum sepulchro;

quidam Rabi moyses dicit ad Iudeos:

Ir herren, ich noch nit vergessen han, fol. 60^a
 Waz vns joseph hat getan
 985 Vnd wie er gefangen leytt.
 Nü geet dann, es ist nü tzeyt,
 Für vnseren pischof Cayphan,
 Des rat süllen wir han,
 Wie wir penemen jm sein leben,
 990 Daz er nicht mer müg vns widerstreben.
 Tunc vadunt ad Caypham.

Primus Iudeus dicit ad caypham:

Dw wayst wol, herre Caypha,
 Wie Ioseph von aromathya
 Ihesum jn sein grab hat pestät
 Vnd gegen vns frauelich gyredt hat,
 995 Darumb er noch gefangen leydt.
 Nü soltu ratten, es ist tzeyt,
 Daz wir jn pringen dartzw,
 Das er vns sölichs nit mer tüe.

Cayphas dicit:

Ir herren, ich gib euch meinen radt:
 1000 Geet hin pehendiklich vnd dradt
 Vnd Hayst den falschen tzw gericht stan.
 Er sol es selber hören an,
 Wie wir vrtayl vber jn geben
 Vnd jm mit recht nemen sein leben.
 Tunc Iudey vnanimiter vadunt ad turrim et querunt joseph.

*Secundus Iudeus dicit:*³⁵

1005 SCHAUET, jr herren all gemain: fol. 60^b

35 Der Schreiber hat hier in seiner Gedankenlosigkeit die ganze Rede des primus judeus sowie die ersten Verse der Rede des Caiphas nochmals niedergeschrieben, dann aber das grobe Versehen bemerkt und den doppelt geschriebenen Passus ausgestrichen.

- Wir wonten, joseph wer versorget schön
 Vnd das er hynnen wol gehalten wer ;
 Nün jst der turen worden ler.
 Habt jr nye vor gesechen,
 1010 Wie sölich wunder vor mer sey geschehen ?

Famulus turris dicit :

- LIEBE herren, ich pesünder klag :
 Ich sach heut lang vor dem tag
 Ain glast, der lautter prann,
 Darin ihesus cristus kam.
 1015 Da spielt sich der turen durch die wandt,
 Do reckt ihesus joseph sein handt
 Vnd fuert jn an sein gwar ;
 Das sey kundt offenwar.
 Das ist ain wunderleiche tat,
 1020 Niemand söleychs mer gesechen hat.
 Würdt das dem volk schein,
 Sich erhuebe vil manige pein ;
 Darumb sült jr das nit sagen,
 Ir sült das alsambt haymlich tragen.

Tercius Judeus dicit ad Caypham :

- 1025 HERRE Caypha, wir haben joseph verloren,
 Darumb nym dir kain tzoren ;
 Wann mag er vns yetz entschleyffen,
 So mug wir jn aber hernach wol ergreyffen.
 Hic milites nunc veniunt de sepulchro ad Caypham.

Quartus Judeus dicit ad milites :

- IR ritter, seydt mir willikommen.
 1030 Waz habt jr neuer mer vernommen ?
 Oder wie stet es vmb den trugner crist,
 Der euch tötter pefolchen jst ?

fol. 61^a

Primus miles dicit ad Caypham et ad judeos :

- IR herrenn, vernembt was geschechen jst :
 Do wir huetteten ihesum crist,
 1035 Die erdt pydnet, ain engel kam,
 Von dem grab er stain nam ;
 Er sas auff jn, ich sag euch das,
 Sein anplick geleych aynem plitz was.
 Do kommen drey frauen dahyn,

- 1040 Do sprach der engel tzw jn :
 " Furchtet euch nit ! jr suechet crist,
 Der von dem tödt erstanden ist,
 Als er euch vor hat gesaydt.
 Schauet, da wardt er her gelaydt ;
 1045 Vnd sagt den jüngeren tzw diser frist,
 Das ihesus nün erstanden ist.
 Er wil gen galilea kummen,
 Als jr von jm habt vernümmen
 Da wil er sich schauen lan,
 1050 Da sült jr alle tzw jm gan."

Cayphas Respondit :

- Dw sagst gar wunderleiche mer
 Von jhesum, dem trugnär.
 Ich wil selbs schauen, wie es sey gestaltdt,
 Vnd wil schicken ritterleychen gwaldt
 1055 Gen bethania vnd auch gallilea,
 Ob sy jn noch vinden da.
 Darumb, schwächer annas, gebt jn guetz gnueg,
 Daz sy stil schweygen ; daz jst vnser fueg.

Quintus Iudeus dicil :

- Dw hast gröss vnpildt gesaydt.
 1060 Es wer ain grösse torheyt,
 Daz wir gelaubten aym oder tzwen ;
 Des käm wir nymer vberain.
 Den vnd den euren gesellen
 Wir darumb auch hören wollen.

Sextus Iudeus :

- 1065 Ir Ritter, wię habt jr gehüet ?
 Eur schlaffen vns gar seer müedt.
 Sagt an, wo ist ihesus hinkumen,
 Oder wer hat jn aus dem grab genummen ?

fol. 61^b*Secundus miles :*

- Wir huetteten so wir mochten daz pest.
 1070 Des Engels kraft was so vest,
 Dem mocht wir nit widersten ;
 Der hyes ihesum aus dem grab gen.
 Wir hörten, daz er dreyen frauen,
 Die dar kommen durch schauen,

1075 Sagt(er), daz ihesus wår erstanden
Von des tödes panden.

Primus judeus:

WER waren dyse frauen, daz sag an,
Damit der engel zerede gan?
Wie was euch, jr pöswicht,
1080 Das jr der frawen fiengt nit?

Tercius miles:

DER frawen erkandt wir nicht.
Wir wurden von des engels geschicht
Geschaffen als die totten man.
Wie möcht wir sy dan gefangen han?

Secundus Iudeus:

1085 Euch ist sicherlich furwar
nicht gelauben als vmb ain har.

Quartus miles:

Vil tzaychen vnd grös wunder
Tet ihesus pey euch pesunder,
Pey euch, da er lebentig was;
1090 Dem glaubt jr nicht durch euren hass,
Das ir vns gelaubet nicht,
Als villeycht wol geschicht.
Got lebt, als jr jm jachet,
Den jr an dem kreutz sachet.
1095 Darumb jr joseph habt gefangen;
Aber es ist im wol ergangen.
Den jr verhiet mit verschlosner tür,
Denselben gebt vns auch herfur.
Nun gebt jr den tzw diser frist,
1100 So wel wir euch geben ihesum crist.

Tercius Iudeus:

GEBT vns ihesum her tzw handt,
So wirt euch joseph von aromathia bekandt.

fol. 62^a

Quintus miles:

OB tzw aromathia joseph jst,
So vindet jr tzw gallilea ihesum crist,
1105 Als wir den engel hörten sagen,

Do er die frauen hörte klagen.

Tunc judey habent consilium.

Quartus Iudeus dicit:

- Ir herren, jr suldt vber ainkumen.
 Die redt, die jr habt vernummen
 Von den rittern tzw diser stündt,
 1110 Würdt die redt dem volk kundt,
 Sy gelaubten gar an ihesum krist.
 Darumb sullen wir tzw diser frist
 Den rittern geben guetz vil,
 Das sy sprechen tzw disem zyl:
 1115 Ihesum haben die jünger verholen
 Vnd heymlich aus dem grab gestolen;
 Daz wir mit gemeines krafft
 Wären vestigkleych pehafft.

Quintus Iudeus:

- Ir lieben ritter, tuet so wol,
 1120 Daz vnser guet vmb euch verdienen sol.
 Nembt von vns grössen soldt,
 Payde silber vnd goldt,
 Vnd sprecht, daz ihesum die junger hin haben getzogen
 Vnd heymlich aus dem grab gestolen.
 1125 Vnd ob daz fur pilatum kumbt,
 Ob er euch strafft vmb die sindt,
 Dye wel wir euch ablegen
 Vnd sein hertz mit guet erwegen.

Sextus miles:

- Wir tüen geren nach eurem müedt,
 1130 Welt jr vns darumb geben guet.

Tunc *sextus Iudeus* dat militibus pecuniam

Et dicit:

Geet hyn vnd sprecht vberall:
 Ihesum sein junger ayner stall.
 Darnach haben die anderen hintzogen;
 Also sey wir von jm petrogen.

Sextus miles dicit ad populum:

fol. 62^b

- 1135 GELAUBT nit, das auss dem grab
 Ihesus sein leben wider hab.
 Seine jünger kamen heymlich

Vnd stallen jn dieppleich.

Wir schlieffen, darumb sach wir es wol ;

1140 Schlaffenden zeugen man pillich glauben sol,

Wenn sy nicht liegen

Vnd nyemant mit Ir kunschaft petriegem.

PRECURSOR CONCLUDIT.

REGISTRUM IN DIE CENE.

fol. 63a

Precursor, Synagoga sequitur
Cayphas vnd annas
Iohannes vnd perger
Genebein vnd Satler
Kandler vnd Zolner, Malchus sequitur
Ioseph vnd Nicodemus
Zedonios vnd Rabysamuel
Sequitur turba iudeorum Et due ancille
Saluator cum discipulis maeter cum ortu ipsius Sixtj (?)
Saluator
Iohannes et petrus
Iacobus maior et philippus
Thomas et Bartholomeus
Matheus et Mathias
Iacobus minor et Simon
Andreas et Iudas
Dyabolus.

fol. 64a

Precursor
Famulus pilatj
Pilatus
VI milites duo et duo simul cum . . . familia
Famulus vxoris pylatj
Vxor pylatj
Famulus herodis
Herodes cum suis militibus
Cayphas
Annas
Longinus
Sex Iudej ducentes saluatorem
Ioseph et Nicodemus
Seruus Ioseph[i] et Nicodemj
Seruus Iudeorum ducens latrones
Latro
Tres marie
Iohannes ducens matrem Ihesu
Tres mulieres
Symon cyronensis
Scola Iudeorum.

IN DIE PASCE

fol. 64b

Precursor, Duo angelj, Angelus percuciens precedit eis

Famulus pilatj
 Pylatus
 Sex milites pylati
 Cayphas et Annas
 Sex Iudej et turba Iudeorum
 Rabi moyses et Ioseph
 Tres marie
 Petrus et Iohannes
 Thomas et ortulanus
 Adam et Eua
 Ysayas et Daud
 Iohannes baptista et Seth
 Simeon et Ieremias
 Abraham et latro
 Helias et Enoch.

Regierten } pfarrer
 } Runngkär (?)

Precursor Iungsmaster
 Zu Pilatus erwelt Eberhart
 Sein knecht—Newwirt
 Ritter (Jung—moser) Hanns an der fischpanckh
 Hanns Rogkär
 (Warburger Huebler) Hans an der fischbanckh Regarin (?)
 (Iaerg an der fischpanckh) Huebler

.....
 vxor pilatj matheys Satler vird Eua
 famulus (Florian) Iäger
 Cayphas Burgermaister
 Annas maister Iacob pfeffer
 erst Jud Iohannes altist
 Jung perger genant Fritz
 Gennwein
 (Zolner an der Talfer) Kandler
 (Gaspar Im armthaws) partlere Schlosser
 (Hanns an der wag) Florian satler
 Herodes liünhart Hirtmayr
 Ritter
 (Liennhart) Rocker
 Wilhalm tschotscher (?) im Spital
 Kayserperger vetter famulus herodis
 (Sein knecht)
 (Alberte Iarhueber)
 Cayphas
 Saluator Schulmaister
 Iudas Zolner an der Zolstangh
 Iudas tewfel hainricus auf der Schul
 Der Iuden knecht hanns osterreicher

Barrabas Hanns maier
Symon cyronensis Cosmar Schaller
Tres mulieres
Latro auf der gerecht hanndt
Georg Iunn,
auf die ternigkh hanndt lienhart da . . .
Mario cleopfe Erasmus purchart
Madalene Iohannes pictoris
Mater Ihesu anndre scuto
Iohannes dominus Iohannes in hospitali
Lannginus pfarrer brueder
sein knecht knecht an der wag
Ioseph Zolner an der eysacksprugken
Sein knecht pair Scherer brueder
Nicodemus Kesler
Sein knecht hanns forwalt.

VOL. V.

No. 4.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

OF AMERICA, 1890

EDITED BY

A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT

Secretary of the Association

OCTOBER-DECEMBER.

BALTIMORE:

1890.

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At the Fifth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, held in Cincinnati, December, 1888, it was determined by the Executive Council to publish the Transactions of the Society in *quarterly* instalments; and, furthermore, to add other Papers that may not have been presented at the Convention, provided, in the judgment of the Editorial Committee, they are suitable to appear in the publications of the Association. The following contribution constitutes the fourth issue of volume v of this series, which will be pushed forward as rapidly as the material is furnished to the Secretary and as the funds of the Society permit. These PUBLICATIONS will be furnished to members gratis; to non-members, the price is \$3.50 per annum; single copies \$1.00. All communications relating to the PUBLICATIONS should be addressed to the Secretary of the Association, Professor A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

*Shakespeare's Part in the "Taming of the Shrew."**

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*See pp. 9-11 of the *Proceedings*, 1889, for the discussion on this paper.

INTRODUCTION.¹

Some of the plays published in the Shakespeare Folio of 1623 show in their different parts very great inequalities in style and in dramatic effectiveness. In some places these differences become so marked that the question is forced upon the attentive reader,—Can this play be wholly the work of SHAKESPEARE?

We know that the dramas which come to us from the days of Elizabeth and James the First were frequently produced by two or more writers working together. The literary partnership of BEAUMONT and FLETCHER was remarkable only for the number of dramatic compositions which were produced by the common labors of those authors. That it would not have been considered a strange thing in SHAKESPEARE'S day for him to be engaged in this kind of literary composition, is shown by the first edition of the play entitled *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. This piece was first published in 1634, and declares on the title page, whether truly or not, that it was "Written by the memorable Worthies of their time, Mr. John Fletcher and Mr. William Shakespeare, Gent."

Let us look for one moment at a play published as SHAKESPEARE'S in the Folio of 1623, *King Henry VIII*. The poet TENNYSON came to the conclusion, as a young man, that this drama is not entirely the work of SHAKESPEARE. He called the attention of his friend, Mr. JAMES SPEDDING, to the similarity

I am indebted to Professor TEN BRINK for suggesting to me the subject of this dissertation, and for most valuable help during the preparation of the same. Inasmuch as the dissertation has been finished in the United States, Professor TEN BRINK is in no way answerable for its shortcomings.

I am grateful to Professor ALBERT S. COOK, Dr. HERBERT EVELETH GREENE, and Mr. LANE, of the Harvard University Library, for helping me to the use of much-needed books. I desire to thank, also, the management of the Boston Public Library for granting me, while this paper was being completed, every facility in the use of their remarkable collection of Shakespeariana.

I am very especially indebted to Dr. HERBERT EVELETH GREENE for reading this paper before the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA in my stead. His hearty interest in the work of another was as intelligent as it was unselfish; and his friendly help will always be to me a most pleasant remembrance. His published comments apply perfectly to the form which the paper had when read by him.

of the style in certain portions of this play to that of the poet FLETCHER. SPEDDING, in a careful article, assigned certain parts of the play to SHAKESPEARE and the remainder to FLETCHER.² This division was determined by considerations drawn from differences in the style and the metre of the various parts. The division which he made has been confirmed by the judgment of many critics of high rank, and by the application of different metrical tests. KÖNIG, a German scholar, in a new and thorough investigation of SHAKESPEARE'S versification, finds SPEDDING'S conclusions to be supported by a full consideration of the metrical evidence.^{2a} Mr. FURNIVALL even says: "Mr. Spedding's division of the play may be lookt on as certain."³

DELIUS, however, does not feel sure of the presence of a second hand in "Henry VIII"; and thinks, in any case, that some imitator of FLETCHER is more likely to have helped SHAKESPEARE than FLETCHER himself.⁴

There are other plays in the Folio of 1623 concerning which either a few or many, reputable critics, think that SHAKESPEARE cannot have been the sole author. Such plays are *Titus Andronicus*, *Timon of Athens*, *Pericles* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. This last piece will form the subject of the present paper.

I. Sources of THE TAMING OF THE SHREW (TTS.).

A. Direct Sources.

a. THE TAMING OF A SHREW (TAS.) and THE SUPPOSES are direct sources of TTS. and the most important ones—unless TAS. and TTS. have a common source in a work of SHAKESPEARE'S youth, an earlier version of TTS.

The Taming of the Shrew (TTS.) stands in very close connection with a play entitled *The Taming of a Shrew* (TAS.). The latter piece was first printed in 1594, again in 1596, and a

² 1850. Reprinted *Trans. New Shak. Soc.* 1874.

^{2a} "Der Vers in Shakspeare's Dramen," p. 136. *Quellen und Forschungen*, lxi, Strassburg, 1888.

³ 'Leopold Shakspeare.'

⁴ *Jahrb. der deutschen Sh. Ges.*, xiv.

third time in 1607. "This play and Shakespeare's," says HUDSON, "agree in having substantially the same plot, order and incidents, so far as regards the Lord, the Tinker, Petruchio, Catharine, and the whole taming process The underplot, however, is quite different." I may add that such striking agreements exist in the language of the two plays, that, with a single exception, no investigator, so far as I know, has failed to take it for granted that one of the plays must be directly based upon the other, but students of SHAKESPEARE have not felt entirely certain as to which play should be looked upon as the original.

Until recently, TTS. has not been supposed to have appeared in print previously to the publication of the First Folio edition of SHAKESPEARE'S plays in 1623; but Mr. Quaritch, the London bookseller, offered for sale a few years ago an undated Quarto of TTS. which he believes to belong between the years 1615 and 1620. This Quarto may explain the absence of TTS. from the list of those plays of SHAKESPEARE, which, in 1623, had not been "entered to other men."

The conjecture of Professor TEN BRINK⁵ that both TAS. and TTS. go back to an earlier play, a work of SHAKESPEARE'S youth, is as helpful as it is original. Some difficulties have never been explained, I think, except by this view. Professor TEN BRINK, however, has not yet presented the evidence in full upon which his theory is based. This view will be given more at length in another place. (See p. 228.)

It was originally my desire to publish as a part of this paper an edition of TAS. and TTS. in parallel columns. After I had given up all hope of doing this, I was gratified by the appearance of Volume ii. of the 'Bankside Shakespeare.'^{5a} In this book Mr. ALBERT R. FREY gives us both plays, with an Introduction. As a parallel edition of the two comedies, this book seems to me, both in plan and execution, to deserve the highest praise.

Both TTS. and TAS. borrow very much of their plot from *The Supposes*, "a comedy written in the Italian tongue by Ariosto, Englished by George Gascoigne, of Gray's Inn, Esquire; and there presented, 1566." TTS. borrows much more from *The Supposes* than does the companion play.

⁵ *Jahrbuch der deutschen Sh. Ges.*, Bd. xiii.

^{5a} New York, 1888. Pub. by Shakes. Soc. of N. Y.

I. *Outline of the story of THE SUPPOSES, of the story of TAS.
and of that of TTS.*

It seems best to begin our consideration of these three comedies and the relations existing between them by putting before us a comparative table of the characters which appear in them, and a synopsis of the action of each play. A knowledge of the story of TTS., however, and the occasional use of the comparative table of characters, will be sufficient for a clear understanding of the following paper. The drier work of comparing in detail the course of action in the three plays can be postponed if desired. The correspondences between the characters of the three plays that we are to consider are indicated in the following table. The differences between two corresponding characters are sometimes very marked. Some characters in *The Supposes* to which the other plays have no corresponding rôles are the following:—Pasiphilo, a Parasite; Balia, Polynesta's nurse; Psiteria, an old hag; an Inn-keeper of Ferrara; Petruchio, servant of Scenese; Litio, servant of Philogano. The *names* of these last two characters have been taken into TTS.—The characters in the Inductions of TTS. and TAS. are omitted.

In the table, the real names of real lovers and the pretended names of pretended lovers are put in CAPITALS. The names of servants and teachers, real and pretended, are put in *Italics*. A dash stands between the rightful and the assumed rôle of a person; also, in the case of *Valeria* (TAS.), between the first-assumed rôle and the second.

<i>The Supposes. Scene, Ferrara.</i>		<i>Taming of the Shrew. Scene, Padua.</i>		<i>Taming of a Shrew. Scene, Athens.</i>	
Damon.		Bianca	Baptista	Philema	Alfonso
Polynesta					
EROSTRATO— <i>Dulippo</i> .			LUCENTIO— <i>Cambio</i>		AURELIUS (son of Duke of Cestus)—MER. SON.
<i>Dulippo</i> —EROSTRATO			<i>Tranio</i> —LUCENTIO		<i>Valeria-Musician</i> (Cp. HORT. TTS.)—Son of Duke of Cestus.
<i>Crapino</i>			<i>Biondello</i>		
Scenese-Philogano			Pedant-Vincenzio		Phylotus—Father of AUR. as MER. SON
Philogano			Vincenzio		Duke of Cestus
CLEANDER			GREMIO		
			HORTENSIO— <i>Licio</i> (Until iv. ii. Cp. Val. T. AS.)		
		Widow (after iv. ii.)		Emilia	
			HORTENSIO (after iv. ii.)		POLIDOR
					Boy of POL.
		Katharina		Katharina	
			PETRUCHIO		FERANDO
			<i>Grumio</i>		<i>Sander</i>

The Supposes is "the first play written in prose in our language."⁶

The story may be outlined as follows :

THE SUPPOSES.

(I. i.) From a conversation between Balia, the nurse, and Polynesta, it appears that Erostrato-Dulippo, the servant of Polynesta's father, Damon, visits Polynesta in secret as her accepted husband. Dulippo-Erostrato, servant of the true Erostrato, has taken the rôle of his master, and urges a pretended suit for Polynesta. (I. ii.) Pasiphilo, a parasite, flatters Cleander, an old lawyer, and assures him of success in winning Polynesta. (I. iii.) Pasiphilo complains of Cleander's parsimony and the scant fare at his table. Eros-Dulippo explains in soliloquy his unfortunate position as the guilty lover of Polynesta. Damon, the father, wishes her to wed Cleander, since Dul.-Erostrato can give no assurance of a dowry. (I. iv.; II. i.) Dul.-Erostrato explains to Eros-Dulippo that he has induced an old Scenese to play the rôle of Philogano (father of the real Erostrato), and to make assurance of a dower for Polynesta as the bride of Dulippo-Erostrato. Scenese [Sienese] has been frightened by a false story of unfriendly relations between Siena and Ferrara. (II. ii.) Scenese instructs his servants concerning his new rôle. (II. iii.) Eros-Dulippo explains to Cleander that Pasiphilo gives pretended assistance to each suitor. (III. i.; III. ii.) Eros-Dulippolaments his unfortunate position. (III. iii.) Damon has learned of Polynesta's shame. He commands that Eros-Dulippo be bound and put into the dungeon. He laments over his own disgrace. (III. iv.) Pasiphilo overhears the truth concerning Polynesta. (III. v.; IV. i.) Dul.-Erostrato is in distress because the true Philogano has unexpectedly arrived. (IV. ii.) Philogano appearing, Dul.-Erostrato runs away. (IV. iii.) Ferrarese inn-keeper leads Philogano to the house of the pretended Erostrato. (IV. iv.) They are told by the servant that Philogano has *already* arrived. (IV. v.) The false and the true Philogano give each other the lie. Scenese-Philogano goes back into the house. (IV. vi.; IV. vii.) Dul.-Erostrato maintains his assumed rôle before Philogano. (IV. viii.) Ferrarese advises that Philogano seek the help of the lawyer Cleander. (V. i.; V. ii.) Dul.-Erostrato learns from Pasiphilo of the imprisonment of Eros-Dulippo. (V. iii.) Dul.-Erostrato decides to confess all to Philogano. (V. iv.; V. v.) It appears that Philogano's former servant, the real Dulippo, is Cleander's long-lost son. (V. vi.; V. vii.) Pasiphilo tells Damon the whole truth about Dulippo and Erostrato, and the change of rôles. (V. viii.) Scenese and Philogano are reconciled. (V. ix.; V. x.) Meeting of all the characters. Mutual explanation and forgiveness.

The story of *The Taming of a Shrew* and that of *The Taming of the Shrew* will be given in parallel columns for convenience of reference.

⁶ HAWKINS: 'The Origin of the English Drama.' Vol. iii, 1773.

The Taming of a Shrew.

TAS.

(Induction.) Tapster beats Sly out of doors. Sly gives a drunken answer and falls asleep. A Lord, returning from hunting, finds Sly. He proposes to dress Sly as a Lord, and to make him think, on waking, that he is such. The servants are instructed to carry out the plot.—A travelling troupe of players offer their services. They are told that they are to play before a Lord who is "something foolish."—A page is instructed to play the rôle of Sly's Lady.

Sly wakes. Servants offer him drink and apparel. Music plays. Servants suggest different pleasures. Page comes in as Lady. Sly says to the real Lord, "She and I will go to bed anon"; but he welcomes the proposed play.

[TAS. is not divided into Acts and Scenes.]

[Sc. i.] Polidor welcomes to Athens Aurelius, son of the Duke of Cestus. Alfonso and three daughters pass by. Aurelius suddenly conceives love for the second. Polidor declares that he has long loved the youngest, but that the father requires that the eldest, a shrew, shall first be married. Polidor thinks of Ferando as a match for the shrew, Katharine. Aurelius decides to woo in the character of a Merchant's son. Ferando enters, on the way to woo Katharine—of his own motion. [Sc. ii.] After Ferando makes an arrangement with Alfonso, the father of the shrew, he and Kate have a sharp dialogue. Alfonso, coming back, appoints Sunday next as the marriage day.—[Sc. iii.] Jestng between Sander and Ferando; then between Sander and Polidor's boy.—[Sc. iv.] Aurelius sends Valeria to Alfonso as a Musician. Valeria is to get an opportunity to instruct Katharine on the lute. Thus Aurelius hopes to get free access to Emilia.—[Sc. v.] Polidor presents Aurelius to Alfonso as a Merchant's Son. [Sly and the Lord converse.]-[Sc. vi.] Valeria seeks to teach Kate. She threatens to strike him with the lute and leaves him.—(Sc. vii.) Polidor and Aurelius make love in grand words to Emilia and Philema, and are kindly answered.

The Taming of the Shrew.

TTS.

(Ind. I.) Hostess comes in quarreling with Sly. He gives drunken answers and falls asleep. A Lord, returning from hunting, gives directions for the care of his dogs. He finds Sly. He forms the plan to dress Sly as a Lord and to make him believe, on waking, that he is such. The servants are instructed to carry out the plot.—A travelling troupe of players offer their services. They are told that they are to play before a lord who may show some "odd behavior."—A page is instructed to play the rôle of Sly's Lady.

(Ind. II.) Sly wakes. Servants offer drink, food, raiment. Music plays. Servants suggest different pleasures. Sly is convinced. Page comes in as Lady. Sly asks her to come to bed; but yields reluctantly to the pretended requirements of the physicians. Accepts the play that is offered, but has no interest in it.

(I. i.) Lucentio and his servant Tranio have come to Padua to study. Baptista enters with his two daughters, Katharine and Bianca, and two suitors of Bianca, Hortensio and Gremio. Baptista declares that Katharine must be married before he can bestow Bianca; he asks for teachers for Bianca. Katharine displays her shrewishness. The sight of Bianca inspires Lucentio with love. He takes the rôle of Cambio, a teacher of languages. Tranio takes the rôle of his master, with Biondello as his servant. Tranio-Lucentio is directed to make one of Bianca's suitors. [Sly converses with servant and Page-Lady.]—(I. ii.) Petruchio, with his man Grumio, comes to visit Hortensio. He tells Hortensio that he is seeking his fortune and wishes to marry. Hortensio laughingly suggests Katharine, the shrew; but Petruchio at once decides to woo her because of her wealth. Petruchio is to present Hortensio to Baptista as Licio, a music-teacher. Gremio comes in with Lucentio-Cambio. Tranio-Lucentio comes in with Biondello, and declares himself a new suitor for Bianca.—(II. i.) Katharine torments Bianca. The suitors come. Petruchio offers himself as suitor for Katharine. Hortensio and Luc.-Cambio are presented as teachers for Bianca. Tran.-Lucentio offers himself as suitor for Bianca. Petruchio and Baptista make an agreement as to dowry. Hortensio, coming in with a broken head, tells of his attempt to teach Katharine on the lute.

[Sc. viii.] Ferando comes to his wedding basely attired; he explains that the Shrew would spoil his costly suits. All object; but he insists, and they go to the church.—[Sc. ix.] Jesting between Sander and Polidor's boy.

[Sc. x.] After the wedding, Ferando insists on going home at once. Kate refuses, but is made to go. Alfonso accepts Aurelius-Merchant's Son as the betrothed of Philema.

[Sc. xi.] Sander prepares the servants at Ferando's house for their master's coming. Ferando, on coming, finds fault with preparations, beats Sander for pulling his boot off carelessly, throws down table and meat, and beats the servants. Explains his purpose to subdue Kate by depriving her of sleep and food.—[Sc. xii.] Aurelius and Valeria plot to have Phylotus play the rôle of the Merchant, father of Aurelius as Merchant's Son.—[Sc. xiii.] Katharine tries in vain to coax meat from Sander. Ferando brings meat on point of his dagger. Kate not being thankful, he is about to take it away, but keeps it at Polidor's intercession. Kate is defiant.—[Sc. xiv.] Phylotus, as Merchant-father of Aurelius, promises Alfonso to give means to the young couple. Valeria is now presented as Son of Duke of Cestus.

[Sc. xv.] Haberdasher brings cap for Katharine, which she likes but Ferando rejects. Tailor brings her a dress, which Ferando derides and rejects. Ferando proposes that they go to the house of Kate's father. Incidentally he names the hour incorrectly. Because Kate does not agree with him as to the house, he gives up the journey.—[Sc. xvi.] High-sounding love-making between Polidor and Emilia, and Aurelius and Philema. They go to be married. [Sly and the Lord comment.]—[Sc. xvii.] Ferando and Katharine set out for Alfonso's. Ferando speaks of the moon as shining. Kate says it is the sun, but yields rather than go back. The Duke of Cestus, entering, is ad-

Petruchio declares his method of wooing. Katharine coming in, he and she have a sharp dialogue. He tells the others on their return that Katharine loves him, but he and she have bargained that "she shall still be curst in company." Tran.-Lucentio outbids Gremio for the hand of Bianca.

(III. i.) Luc.-Cambio and Hort.-Licio contend for precedence in instructing Bianca. Each woos while pretending to teach. Luc.-Cambio receives encouragement.

(III. ii.) It is Petruchio's wedding-day, but he has not come. Biondello announces the arrival of Petruchio and describes his mean attire. Petruchio insisting on being married in this array, they go to the church.

Tran.-Lucentio suggests to Luc-Cambio a stolen marriage with Bianca.

Gremio describes the marriage scene. The company comes from church. Petruchio insists on going home at once with Katharine, and does so in spite of her blunt refusal.

(IV. i.) Gremio, at Petruchio's house, describes to the servants the homeward journey of the married couple. Petruchio comes, and is furious because the servants do not meet him. He strikes one for pulling his boot off carelessly; finds fault with the meat and throws it about the stage. Explains his plan to deprive Kate of food and rest while pretending "That all is done in reverend care of her."

(IV. ii.) Tran.-Lucentio and Hort.-Licio see that Luc.-Cambio is loved by Bianca, and they swear together to give her up. Hortensio discloses himself, and goes off to woo a widow. Tran.-Lucetio deceives a Pedant from Mantua with a false story of a war between Mantua and Padua. He induces the Pedant to save his own life by feigning to be Vincentio, the father of Lucentio.—

(IV. iii.) Katharine in her hunger begs Gremio in vain for meat. Petruchio brings her meat.

Haberdasher brings cap for Kate. She likes it, but Petruchio derides it. Tailor brings dress. Petruchio derides the dress and scolds the Tailor. The dress is refused. Petruchio proposes that they go to the house of Kate's father. Because she does not follow him in naming the time of day wrongly, he at once refuses to go.

(IV. iv.) Pedant-Vicentio arranges with Baptista for the marriage of Tranio-Lucentio with Bianca. Biondello arranges with Luc-Cambio for the secret marriage of the latter with Bianca.—(IV. v.) Petruchio, Katharine and Hortensio set out for Baptista's. Petruchio speaks of the moon as shining. Kate says it is the sun, but yields rather

dressed by Ferando as a woman; then by Kate in the same strain. Ferando commends Kate.—[Sc. xviii.] Alfonso, Phylotus, Valeria and the two newly-wedded pairs come from the wedding; they wonder that Ferando and Katharine are absent. Duke of Cestus comes in while Valeria is speaking as his son; he accuses Valeria of falsehood, and orders that he be taken to prison. [Sly will have no sending to prison, on his authority as a Lord. Drinks and falls asleep.] Duke reproaches Aurelius. Aurelius implores forgiveness. All join him. The Duke relents. [Sly is dressed in his former clothes while asleep and borne to the place where he was found.]

(Sc. xix.) The three husbands enter from supper. Aurelius proposes a test for a wager to see whose wife is most obedient. Polidor thinks Ferando should not be asked to take part; but he does, and gets the wager raised. Alfonso predicts that Ferando will lose. Aurelius sends for his wife; she is busy but will "come anon." Polidor's wife bids him come to her. Kate comes when sent for. At Ferando's request, she first treads her cap under foot; then brings her sisters in; and then expounds to them the duty of wifely obedience. [The Tapster, in the midst of a grandiloquent speech, finds Sly. Sly thinks he has dreamed the whole night's experiences. He goes home to use his newly-acquired knowledge upon his wife.]

than go back. The true Vincentio entering is addressed by Petruchio as a woman, then by Kate in the same strain; then Petruchio addresses him as an old man, and Kate changes in the same way.

(V. i.) Petruchio takes Vincentio to the house of Tran-Lucentio, and presents him as Lucentio's father. Pedant-Vincentio asserts his assumed rôle. Biondello and Tran-Lucentio refuse to recognize Vincentio. Luc-Cambio and Bianca come in from being married and beg for pardon, which is granted them. Petruchio compels Kate to kiss him in the street.

(V. ii.) All sit and jest at a banquet. After the ladies have gone out, Petruchio is joked with because of his shrewish wife. He proposes that the obedience of the wives be tested for a wager. Bianca, when sent for, is busy and cannot come; Hortensio's widow bids him come to her; Katharine comes at once when called. She is sent after the other ladies and brings them. When told to tread her cap under foot she does so. At Petruchio's request she explains to the other ladies the duty of wifely obedience and its grounds.

2. THE DATE OF TAS.

The date of the composition of T A S. has not been determined. A passage in GREENE's novel, "Menaphon. Camila's alarm to Slumbering Euphues, etc," contains a possible allusion to TAS. The passage reads: "Wee had, answered *Doron*, an Eaw amongst our Rams, whose fleece was as white as the haire that grow on father *Boreas* chinne, or as the dangling deawlap of the siluer Bull."⁷ With this, compare the lines,—

"Sweete Kate the louelier then Dianas purple robe,
Whiter then are the snowie Apenis,
Or icie haire that gooes on Boreas chin."⁸

Says HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS,—"It is obvious to be as likely for the author of the comedy [TAS.] to have had Greene's words in his recollection, as for the latter to have quoted from the play."⁹ The words of THOMAS NASH, however, in a pre-

⁷ ARBER's 'Reprint,' p. 74.

⁸ TAS. 'Bankside S.,' ii, ll. 678-680.

⁹ 'Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.' Vol. ii., p. 280).

face to 'Menaphon. Camila's alarm. . . .', addressed "To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities," seem to me to make it probable that T A S. was in existence when he wrote. The passage runs as follows:

"I am not ignorant how eloquent our gown'd age is grown of late; so that euerie moechanicall mate abhorres the english he was borne too, and plucks with a solemne periphrasis, his *vt vales* from the ink-horne; which I impute not so much to the perfection of arts, as to the seruite imitation of vainglorious tragoe-dians, who contend not so seriouslie to excell in action, as to embowell the clowdes in a speech of comparision; thinking themselves more than initiated in poets immortalitie, if they but once get *Boreas* by the beard, and the heavenlie bull by the deaw-lap."¹⁰

Professor ARBER thinks "that Nash's Preface *could not* have been written before November, 1588." The novel itself was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, on Aug. 23, 1589, and was printed during the same year. If an allusion to T A S. is intended by NASH, the date of the play cannot be put later than 1588. As already noted, T A S. was first printed in 1594.

3. THE DATE OF T T S.

Let us look first at the allusions to contemporary plays, etc., which are contained in T T S., in order to see if these will help us in fixing the date of the play. The force of some of the supposed allusions seems to me to be entirely uncertain. Says FLEAY: "II. i., 297 ['For patience she will prove a second Grissel'] refers to *Patient Grissel*, by Dekker, Chettle and Haughton, December, 1599; 'curst' in II. i. 187, 294, 307; V. ii. 188, to Dekker's *Medicine for a Curst Wife*, July, 1602; and IV. i. 221 ['This is a way to kill a wife with kindness'] to Heywood's *Woman Killed with Kindness*, March, 1603."¹¹ There is nothing in these passages, I think, to show that T T S. is either earlier or later than any one of these plays. SHAKESPEARE regularly uses "curst" in this sense. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* has it (III. i., 347), a play which MERES mentions in 1598. The old ballad, *The Wife Lapped in Morels Skin*, uses the word in this sense; that ballad was probably known to SHAKESPEARE; at any rate it exemplifies the usage of the time. ROLFE's edition of T T S. cites CLARKE as saying,

¹⁰ "Arber Reprint," p. 6. Cf. FLEAY's 'Life and Work of S.,' p. 99.

¹¹ 'Life and Work of S.' 1886. p. 225.

concerning the phrase "to kill a wife with kindness,"—"A familiar expression which suggested the title of Heywood's play, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*." This interpretation is as natural as that of FLEAY.

Twelfth Night IV. i., 55, "Rudesby, begone!"—and T T S. III. ii., 10, "Unto a mad-brain rudesby full of spleen," are probably allusions to the old comedy *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*. This was entered on the Stationers' Registers in 1606 and was published in the same year. The heroine is said to be "the best scholler of any woman but one in England." BULLEN considers this to be a plain allusion to Queen Elizabeth, which would make the date of the play at least as early as 1603.¹² FLEAY says that *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* "must date between 1599 and 1601," "because it was produced by the Children of the Chapel"; also that "the reference to the Maréchal de Biron's visit, III. i., proves conclusively that the play cannot have been written earlier than the autumn of 1601."¹³ The phrase in *Twelfth Night*, if it is an allusion to *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* would seem to put the date of the latter play as early as 1601. T T S. would then have to come in 1601, or later.

In *Women Pleas'd*, a play of FLETCHER, or of BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, one Soto, the son of a farmer, attempts to clamber up to the window of the heroine of the play by means of a ladder. His purpose is to make love to the lady, not on his own account, but on behalf of his deeply enamored master, Claudio. Soto is detected in this attempt, and is thoroughly frightened. He does not actually woo the lady at all, not even on behalf of another. There is an allusion to this in T T S.:—

"Lord. . . . This fellow I remember,
Since once he play'd a farmer's eldest son:
'Twas where you woo'd the gentlewoman so well:
I have forgot your name; but sure, that part
Was aptly fitted and naturally perform'd.
A Player. [Folio, *Sincklo*] I think 'twas Soto that
your honour means."¹⁴

FREY says that *Women Pleas'd* was written by BEAUMONT and FLETCHER in the year 1604, and TIECK puts it "before 1607." I have found no certain evidence of the date. WARD says

¹² BULLEN's 'Collection of Old Eng. Plays.' London. 1884. Vol. iii. Introd.

¹³ BULLEN, iii, pp. 93-4.

¹⁴ T T S. Ind. i. ll. 83-88.

simply "before 1625."¹⁵ FLETCHER was born in December, 1579, and BEAUMONT about 1584. Most of the editors, including DYCE, consider *Women Pleas'd* to be the work of FLETCHER alone.

L. 88 in the above passage is printed in the Folio of 1623 as being spoken by *Sincklo*. According to FLEAY, "Sinklo was an actor with the Chamberlain's men, from 1597 to 1604."¹⁶

Sly's words in the Induction of TTS., "Go by, Jeronimy" (l. 9, Folio, "go by S. Jeronimie"), are an undoubted allusion to *The Spanish Tragedy* of THOMAS KYD. This allusion does not help us much, however. WARD thinks that *The Spanish Tragedy* "was certainly printed before its first-known edition of 1599, and was probably acted about 1588."¹⁷

The usually accepted date for the composition of *Hamlet* is 1603, in which year the first Quarto of the play was printed. In *Hamlet*, III. ii. 250, Baptista is used incorrectly as the name of an Italian woman. It is hard to see how SHAKESPEARE could make this mistake after his connection with the Baptista of TTS.

The composition of TTS. has probably never been put later than 1609; but SAMUEL ROWLANDS'S *A Whole Crew of Kind Gossips* furnishes us direct, though not conclusive, evidence that it was then in existence. ROWLANDS'S work was printed in 1609, and seems to contain an allusion to TTS. I cite the passage, to which attention was first called, I think, by Mr. FURNIVALL:

"In sober sadness I do speake it now,
And to you all I make a solemne vow,
The chieffest Art I have I will bestow,
About a worke cald taming of the Shrow.
It wakes my heart to fret, my looks to frowne,
That we should let our wiues thus put us downe."¹⁸

Lecholas Ling issued a third edition of TAS. in 1607, and then sold his copyright, Nov. 19, 1607, to John Smithwick, one of the proprietors of the first edition of SHAKESPEARE, the Folio of 1623. These facts may well have some immediate connection with the date of TTS; but we do not know definitely how to interpret them.

¹⁵ *English Dramatic Literature*, ii, 210.

¹⁶ *Life and Work of S.*, p. 226.

¹⁷ *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, i. 170.

¹⁸ Answer of the fifth husband. 'Complete Works' of SAMUEL ROWLANDS, vol. ii. Hunterian Club. 1880.

The last one of the four numbered paragraphs which conclude Mr. FREY'S "Introduction" to Vol. ii. of the 'Bankside Shakespeare' reads as follows :

"4. If the play [TTS.] as it now stands was not written before 1609 and after November 19th, 1607, all the contemporary evidence of Greene, Dekker, Henslowe, Kyd, Beaumont, Fletcher and Rowlands must be considered as worthless; we must assign an earlier date to *Hamlet* than the one now usually received; and we must ignore the remarkable circumstance that Smethwick bought the old play in 1607, and lent the proprietors of the first Folio an improved version of it in 1622 or 1623."¹⁹

I have been constantly indebted to Mr. FREY'S work in discussing this topic. In some points, however, I am compelled to differ with him. I do not know why he mentions GREENE here. I do not attach any force to the supposed allusions in TTS. to the plays of DEKKER; and the citations from HENSLOWE which FREY gives have reference only to DEKKER'S *Medicine for a Curst Wife* and to HEYWOOD'S *Woman Killed with Kindness*. FREY gives the date of *The Spanish Tragedy*, by KYD, as 1602, disagreeing with WARD. The different allusions that we have been considering seem to put the date of TTS. between 1604 and 1609.

I have said nothing yet about the evidence as to the date of TTS. which can be derived from the metrical peculiarities of the play. There are difficulties here which I am entirely unable to solve. FURNIVALL says, "The stopt-line test makes Shakespeare's part of the play his earliest work."²⁰ KÖNIG, too, finds fewer unstopt (run-on) lines in TTS. than in any other of the plays.²¹

In a later portion of this paper I discriminate between those parts of TTS. which I think to have been written by SHAKESPEARE and those which I cannot think to be his. In doing this I add to the difficulty which has just been noticed. According to my division, unstopt lines are used much more freely in the non-Shakespearian than in the Shakespearian parts of TTS. (See p. 271). This added difficulty, however, does not originate with me. The division of the play which I make differs in details, but not in its broad outline, from that made by WHITE, FLEAY and FURNIVALL. Any one who admits the

¹⁹ 'Bankside S.,' ii, p. 38.

²⁰ 'Leopold Shak.'

²¹ 'Der Vers in Sh. Dramen.' Strassburg, 1888. p. 133.

composite character of the play would be likely to make a somewhat similar division.

The Induction of TTS. shows such a high degree of artistic skill as to suggest that it may have been written at a different time from the body of the play ; yet the unstopt lines are only slightly more frequent here than in those other portions of the play which I believe to be the work of SHAKESPEARE. I speak thus particularly of the unstopt lines, because that test is the one of all the so-called metrical tests which seems to me most likely to furnish an outward mark of the mental and artistic growth of the poet.

How this difficulty is to be explained, I do not know. Perhaps some way of escape may be found in connection with the theory of Professor TEN BRINK that TTS. is the revision of a play written in the earliest part of SHAKESPEARE'S career as an author. (See p. 228 f.)

4. THE RELATION OF TAS. TO *The Supposes*.

TAS. seems plainly to have taken the following features from *The Supposes*, whether directly or indirectly :

1. A young gentleman (Erostrato-Dulippo, Aurelius-Merchant's Son) disguises himself in order to woo a lady (Polynesta, Philema) to better advantage, and wins her heart. His servant (Dulippo-Erostrato, Valeria—Son of Duke of Cestus) assumes the rôle of the master.

2. The pretended master and suitor in *The Supposes* (Dulippo-Erostrato) secures an aged man (Scenese-Philogano) to play the rôle of his father. The real master in TAS., wooing under a false name (Aurelius-Merchant's Son), secures an old man (Phylotus—father of Aurelius as Merchant's Son) to act as father to him. The false father, in each case, gives assurance that his pretended son shall receive the necessary marriage portion.

3. The real father (Philogano, Duke of Cestus) of each young gentleman (the real Erostrato, Aurelius) comes seeking his son ; but he finds that the servant is usurping the son's name and rights. The servant (Dulippo, Valeria) refuses at first to recognize his master's true father. Confession follows on the part of the lovers (Erostrato and Polynesta, Aurelius and Philema) ; and forgiveness is granted by the father.

5. THE RELATION OF TTS. TO *The Supposes*.

TTS. seems to have taken from *The Supposes*, whether directly or indirectly, the following important features :

1. }
 2. } The same that have just been given for TAS.
 3. }

In TTS. the young gentleman is Lucentio-Cambio ; the lady is Bianca ; the servant is Tranio-Lucentio ; the false father is Pedant-Vicentio ; the real father is Vincentio.

4. The servant who has assumed his master's rôle (Dulippo-Erostrato, Tranio-Lucentio) urges a pretended suit for the hand of the same lady (Polynesta, Bianca.)

5. The young lady (Polynesta, Bianca) who is wooed by the young gentleman in disguise (Erostrato-Dulippo, Lucentio-Cambio) has also as suitor an old but wealthy man (Cleander, Gremio.) The lady's father desires to give her hand to the wealthiest suitor. In *The Supposes* the young lady and the young gentleman disguised as a servant are secretly living as man and wife.

6. An old man (Scenese, Pedant) is deceived by the story that he has come to a city that is in unfriendly relations with his own. He is glad to escape from supposed danger by assuming the rôle of father to a pretended son (Dulippo-Erostrato, Tranio-Lucentio.)

7. This false father (Scenese-Philogano, Pedant-Vicentio) unknowingly encounters the true father (Philogano, Vincentio), and vigorously maintains his assumed rôle.

There are certain clear references to *The Supposes* in TTS., as follows :

"I see no reason but supposed Lucentio
Must get a father called 'supposed Vincentio.'"

TTS. II. i. 409, 410.

"Here's Lucentio,
Right son to the right Vincentio;
That have by marriage made thy daughter mine,
While counterfeit supposes bleared thine eyne."

TTS. V. i. 117-120.

In *The Supposes*, the Scenese has a servant named Petruchio ; and Philogano has a servant named Litio. These names have been taken into TTS., but are applied to other characters.

6. IS TAS. ONE SOURCE OF TTS.?

TAS. and TTS. have each an Induction. In a few words, phrases and lines, there is a striking resemblance in the language of the two Inductions. The expressions which are nearly the same in both amount to about seven lines in all. The word "pheeze" (TTS. Ind. I. i.) the mention of the "roe" (ii, 50), and a mistake in the use of the word "comedy" (intentional in TAS. in "commoditie," blundering in Sly's "comonty"—TTS., Ind. ii. 140),—are found in both. The agreement in the plan of the two Inductions is complete. The handling of this common material is somewhat fuller in the Induction of TTS., and is dramatically very much finer.

In the plays themselves, we call attention again to the common features taken into both plays from *The Supposes* (pp. 205-6) DYCE makes a false impression when he says, "... the earlier play [TAS.], the author of which has been vainly guessed at, contains nothing similar to the incident of the Pedant personating Vincentio." It is Tranio-Lucentio in TTS. who secures a pretended father. In TAS. the false father is gotten by Aurelius-Merchant's Son, the counterpart of Lucentio-Cambio in TTS.

The correspondence between those parts of TTS. where Katharine and Petruchio are upon the stage together and similar passages in TAS. is very remarkable. The occurrences are the same in both plays. This is also true of the connected incidents in Petruchio's house. We find also, in these parts, an agreement of the very language, which, though much less complete than the agreement in the action, is far more remarkable. With the exception of Parts ii and iii of *Henry VI*, I think that such a close correspondence as we have here between the language of a play attributed to SHAKESPEARE and that of another existing play cannot be found.

Outside of the Induction, of the Petruchio Katharine parts, and of the connected incidents in Petruchio's house, and outside of the common features taken into both plays from *The Supposes*—TTS. shows the following additional points of agreement with TAS:

1. Lucentio (Aurelius in TAS.) has come to Padua (Athens in TAS.) to visit his old friend Hortensio (Polidor in TAS). He

unexpectedly sees and becomes enamored of Bianca (Philema in TAS.).

2. Hortensio (Valeria in TAS.) takes the rôle of a teacher of music, and endeavors to instruct Katharine. The hard treatment of the musician by the shrew is much the same in both plays. It is weakly acted in TAS., sharply related in TTS.

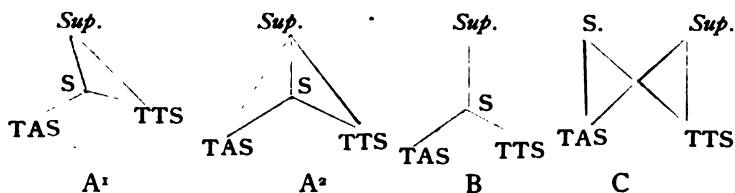
The setting of this common feature is very different in the two plays. Hortensio, in TTS., becomes a teacher of music in order that he may woo Bianca while pretending to teach her. Valeria takes this rôle in TAS. in order to instruct Kate, the shrew, and so to leave her two sisters free to receive the attentions of their suitors. Valeria's assumption of his master's rôle comes after this. Except as a music teacher, Valeria corresponds to Tranio-Lucentio in TTS.

In TAS. we have uneventful, grandiloquent love-making between two lovers, Aurelius-Merchant's Son and Polidor, and their conventionally duteous and affectionate ladies. There is nothing corresponding to this in TTS. The poetry of these passages in TAS. is written in the manner of MARLOWE, contains many lines borrowed from his 'Faust' and 'Tamburlaine' (see p.239 f.), and is often very beautiful, even when decidedly lofty and inappropriate. Some weak conversations between Ferrando's man, Sander, and Polidor's boy have also no counterpart in TTS.

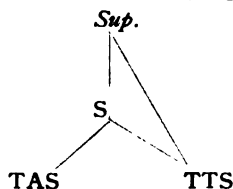
In TTS. we have here a sharp race for the hand of Bianca on the part of three real suitors and one pretended one. This contest is borrowed from *The Supposes*, but Hortensio as a third real suitor for Bianca is new. When he changes his purpose and pays court to the widow, the situation resembles in a measure the three-fold wooing of TAS.; but the old Gremio, and Tranio-Lucentio as a *lover*, are not in TAS. in any form.

As regards the origin of the plays, TAS. and TTS. may stand to each other in any one of several relations :

1. The common part of TTS. and TAS. may be derived from a common source (S). These plays may get some (A¹, A²), or all (B), or none (C) of the features found in them and also in *The Supposes* through this common source. The following figures may help to make this clear :

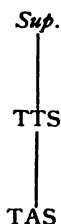


Since there is no part of that which has been taken from *The Supposes* into TAS., which is not also found in TTS., the figures A² and C represent suppositions which are very improbable. The amount of the borrowing from *The Supposes* in TTS. is so much greater than in TAS., that B may also be eliminated, as being very improbable. The only figure which remains is A¹.

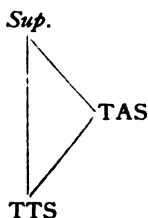


This figure represents very well the theory of Professor TEN BRINK (see p. 228 f.)

2. TTS. may be a direct source of TAS. In this case there is no need that TAS. should take anything from *The Supposes* except through TTS.



3. TAS. may be a direct source of TTS.



The students of SHAKESPEARE have generally accepted as

true the supposition which I have numbered 3; although, as HUDSON points out, this "does not seem to have been proved." I wish to offer now some reasons why this third supposition, which makes TAS. older than TTS. and a direct source of it, is more probable than the second, which reverses this order. The considerations which I advance have for the most part, however, no force against the first supposition.

A. The superiority of TTS. to TAS. in the dramatic effectiveness of its language and handling, and especially in the force of those speeches and incidents which are found only in TTS., make it unlikely that TAS. is derived from TTS. Some of the most effective features of TTS. are not present in TAS.

The most important points of difference between the two Inductions (and their short continuations) show the superiority of TTS. I can perhaps particularize them as follows:

1. The Induction in TTS. opens more dramatically than that of TAS., with more taunts and retorts, and sharper ones.

2 The Lord in the Induction of TTS. is more realistically drawn than his counterpart. Instead of uttering high-sounding declamation, he makes sharp comments on the day's hunting, and gives careful directions as to the care of his hounds. The following comment is of interest in connection with the two points just particularized:

"Ist auch Manches nicht übel darin [im Vorspiel TAS.], so wird es doch von den Ungehörigkeiten und Plattitüden überwuchert. Der Gegensatz zu Shakespeare aber ist handgreiflich. Dieser ermässigt das Widerwärtige in der Erscheinung des Trunkenbolds durch wirklichen Humor und zeigt seine Welt- und Menschenkenntniss, indem er den Lord natur- und sachgemäss sprechen lässt. Sein Euphuismus im Gespräch mit Schlaw ist beabsichtigt und als Spass gemeint. Gleich die Rückkehr von der Jagd ist voller Leben, Bewegung und Individualisirung. Demnächst das Gespräch mit den Schauspielern."²²

3. The plan for deceiving Sly is not formed at one burst in the Induction of TTS., but is a gradual, though rapid growth in the mind of the Lord.

4. The elevated language of the Induction of TAS. has no especial fitness, unless it be where the servants are imposing upon the ignorant and vulgar Sly. Here only does the Induction of TTS. take a similar tone.

²² "Shakespeare und seine Vorläufer." W. HERTZBERG. *Jahrbuch der deutschen Sh. Gesellschaft.* xv., p. 382.

5. The servants, in the Induction of TTS., refer to the persons and scenes which belong to Sly's past life, but claim to know these only through his own delirious ravings. By this device Sly is convinced that the past life, which he seems to remember, has never existed.

6. Sly talks vigorously in his proper character, in the Induction of TTS., before yielding to the deception. These speeches are admirable in their realism and rich humor.

7. The troupe of actors, in the Induction of TAS.,
 " . . . Are referred to as a company employed by the Lord. This is crude workmanship, as only a few lines below we find the nobleman asking,

"Now sirs, what store of plaies have you?"

It would thus appear that he is unacquainted with the performances of his own troupe. But in the Folio they are designated as

'players
 That offer service to your lordship,'

A most decided improvement upon the older version."²³

In all the points so far made, the Induction of TTS. is more effective than that of TAS. In two features the Induction of TAS. seems to be the more effective:

8. It seems unfitting that Sly should talk blank verse (TTS. Ind. ii, 70-119). This appears to be FLEAY's reason for rejecting the Shakspearean authorship of the Induction.²⁴ DELIUS and A. VON WEILEN, however, consider the final use of blank verse by Sly to be a fine feature, as making an attempt on his part to make his language correspond to the new rôle in which which he finds himself.

"Wahrscheinlich wollte Shakespeare damit die gute Manier andeuten, mit welcher Sly sich in die ihm zugemuthete Edelmannsrolle findet."²⁵

"Er findet sich in die ihm aufgedrungene Rolle, aber nicht so plötzlich wie in der Vorlage, sondern erst nach und nach orientirt er sich in der fremden Umgebung, wobei Shakespeare ihn sehr glücklich auch aus seiner prosaischen Sprache in die rhythmische Redeweise des neuen Kreises übergehen lässt."²⁶

²³ 'Bankside Shakes.,' ii., FREY's Introd., p. 8.

²⁴ 'Life of Shakes.,' p. 226.

²⁵ N. DELIUS. *Jahrb. der deutschen Sh. Ges.*, xv., p. 234.

²⁶ A. VON WEILEN. 'Shakespeares Vorspiel zu der Widersp. Zähmung,' p. 15.

9. In TAS. the action of the Induction is set forward by the comments of Sly and his companion, the Lord, at different points in the progress of the main play; and the story of the Induction is brought to a satisfactory conclusion at the end of the principal action. Sly falls asleep, and is skillfully restored to his former sphere of life.

Here TTS. is badly deficient. Sly is left upon the stage, but nothing more is heard of him. The realistic portrayal of his amorousness at the close of the Induction of TTS. may seem to make it undesirable to follow his mental processes any farther; but this consideration would not have troubled SHAKESPEARE. What explanations are possible, however, for this failure to complete the action of the Induction of TTS.? I can think of two:

a. "It may have been customary for the actors to carry out the tinker in his chair at the conclusion of the performance. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that Sly 'nods and does not mind the play.'²⁷

b. Our text of the Induction of TTS. may be imperfect. ELZE suspects that SHAKESPEARE originally wrote a conclusion for the Induction, but that this has been lost through the negligence of ignorant and careless copyists.

The part of Sly would call for an excellent actor, and it might be necessary to restore this actor to the stage. If a part of the continuation of the Induction were once omitted on the ground of this stage necessity, the play might then be preserved and handed down in an imperfect form.

HUDSON thinks that we have all of the Induction that there ever was and all that we were ever intended to have. He says:

"I am convinced that in this as in other things the Poet was wiser than his critics. For the purpose of the Induction was but to start an interest in the play; and he probably knew that such interest, once started, would be rather hindered than furthered by any coming-in of other matter; that there would be no time to think of Sly amidst such a whirlwind of oddities and whimsicalities as he was going to raise. But the regret in question well approves the goodness of the thing; for, the better the thing, the more apt men are to think that they have not enough until they have too much."²⁸

We cannot suppose that the actor who took the part of Sly

²⁷ TTS., I. i., l. 254. FREY'S *Intro.* p. 10.

²⁸ 'Harvard Shakes.,' vol. ii.

was left free to continue his rôle with impromptu absurdities. We certainly have SHAKESPEARE'S own views in Hamlet's directions to the players: "And let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them."²⁹

It is a remarkable fact, for which I do not know how to account, that the brief continuations of the Induction which are scattered through TAS. are worthy of SHAKESPEARE himself. Especially good are Sly's ideas of stage propriety, which closely resemble those of Bottom the Weaver, and which Sly demands to have respected on his authority as a Lord. The Duke of Cestus wishes to have Phylotus and Valeria sent to prison for their deception. Sly breaks in:

"I say wele have no sending to prison.

Lord.—My Lord this is but the play, they're but in jest.

Sly.—I tell thee *Sim* wele have no sending to prison, that's flat: why *Sim* am not I Don Christo Vary? [*Sly's name is Christopher.*] Therefore I say they shall not go to prison.

Lord. No more they shall not my Lord, they be run away.

Sly. Are they run away, *Sim*? that's well. Then gis some more drinke, and let them play again."

Lord. Here my Lord."

(*Sly drinks and then falls asleepe.*)³⁰

I now take up the two *main* plays. I call attention to the following points in which the general superiority of TTS. makes it very unlikely that TAS. is directly derived from it:

1. In TAS. there is an artificial symmetry in the grouping of the characters. There are three daughters and three suitors, and the wooing is free from rivalry. The arrangement in TTS. is freer and more vital.

2. The very point of the play is blunted in TAS. by representing Kate as already tired of her own shrewishness, and already partially cured. Kate says, when Ferando first woos her:

"But yet I will consent and marrie him,

For I methinks haue liude too long a maid."

TAS. 'Bankside Sh., ii., 348-9.

Polidor says, immediately after the marriage of Ferando with Kate:

²⁹ *Ham.*, III. ii. 42f.

³⁰ TAS., Ed. of *Shakes. Soc.* p. 42.

"And yet it may be she will be reclaimde,
For she is very patient grone of late."

TAS., 'Bankside S.,' II., 808-9.

3. The love-making scene between Ferando and Kate (TAS.) is comparatively bare and inadequate. Petruchio's shrewd declaration at the end of the corresponding scene that Kate loves him madly but is not to acknowledge this in company,—is peculiar to TTS.

4. Ferando boasts to Katharine of the expected success of his treatment while she is still untamed, and boasts of his victory as soon as she yields.

5. Petruchio pretends that he does everything for the good of Katharine. In spite of its apparent absurdity, this claim is true. This is a fine feature.

Those who look upon TTS. as a pure farce will consider this point over-subtle. Says a German writer, "Von einem wirklichen Respekt vor dem Weiblichen kann hier [in TTS.] gar keine Rede sein."³¹

6. In TTS., the final yielding of Katharine is carefully mitigated. She consents to call the sun the moon, at the intercession of Hortensio, and gives as her ground, "since we have come so far."

7. Hortensio becomes a musician in order to woo Bianca. Valeria, on the other hand, has only an over-subtle plan to keep the shrew away from her sisters by instructing her in music, and thus to give these ladies an opportunity to receive their lovers.

8. Valeria's double change of rôle in TAS. is confusing.

9. The description of the attire of Petruchio and Gremio as they come to the wedding has but a brief counterpart in TAS.

10. The description of the wedding comes only in TTS.

11. Petruchio's causeless scolding of the tailor, an effective object lesson to Kate, is almost entirely lacking in TAS.

12. Katharine's characteristic tormenting of Bianca is peculiar to TTS.

13. Gremio's humorous description of the homeward journey of Petruchio and Katharine has no counterpart in TAS.

14. The wager at the end of the play comes in naturally in TTS; in TAS. it has no apparent occasion.

In the above mentioned points of difference between the two

³¹ GOSCHE. *Jahrb. der d. Sh. Ges.*, xxi., p. 4.

plays, TTS. seems to be the superior. These points make it more probable, I think, that TAS. is based upon TTS., than that the reverse is true. In one respect, however, TAS. seems to me superior to the companion play.

15. Petruchio's mercenary and emphatic choice of Katharine before seeing her, is unpleasant. Ferando, on the contrary, lives in Athens (the scene of TAS.), knows Katharine, has marked her worth, has determined to woo her, and has already obtained her father's consent. His friend Polidor, too, selects him as Katharine's proper suitor.

Perhaps it is partly this unfortunate feature of TTS. which causes Mr. FURNIVALL to speak of the play as a *farce*, and which leads Mr. ELLIS to say flatly,—“This play is an outrageous farce, and that must be fully borne in mind.”³² This term I cannot accept. The subject naturally tempted to a farcical treatment; and the unfortunate light in which we first see Petruchio makes us unprepared for the genuine and wise affection which he afterward displays. Judging him by the standards of SHAKESPEARE'S age—standards which still have their advocates—, and judging him by the requirements which Katharine's character puts upon him,—Petruchio's conduct, broadly speaking, is noble and thoroughly wise. This wise love, finally, in one victory, saves him from the shrew and the shrew from herself. This salvation of the nobler Katharine is the central action of the play; and such a play is no farce. I know that this opinion will be challenged by many, and it may need some modification. Perhaps the final judgment will not vary much from that expressed in the following careful words of Professor DOWDEN:

“The Katharine and Petruchio scenes border upon the farcical, but Shakspeare's interest in the characters of the Shrew and her tamer keep these scenes from passing into downright farce.”³³

The non-appearance of “my cousin Ferdinand” is a noticeable oversight in TTS. (IV. i., 154.)

B. A second ground for believing that TTS. goes back directly to TAS. is the presence in TTS. of some words and phrases that can well have been suggested by the other play.

³² *Trans. New Shaks. Soc.*, 1874, pp. 110 and 119.

³³ ‘Shak. Primer,’ p. 102.

These passages, however, do not seem to me to prove that the writer of them had TAS. in his mind.

1. The line,

"Why came I thither but to that intent?"

TTS., I. ii., 199,

does not fit Petruchio well; but it is perfectly appropriate in the mouth of Ferando. Compare, in TAS., l. 288, "Faith I am euen now agoing."

2. The line,

"I love her ten times more than e'er I did."

TTS., II. i., 162,

is perhaps jokingly uttered. It cannot belong to Petruchio except in joke; he has never seen Katharine, and has heard only evil of her. It can fairly be said in this case as in the preceding one, that the situation of TAS. seems to be present, more or less clearly, in the mind of the author.

3. There is another phrase in TTS. which seems to be a reminiscence of TAS. "In the Fölio we read (Ind., l. 15):

"I'll not budge an inch, boy."

This, as it now stands, does not make very good sense [Sly is addressing the Hostess], but our author probably overlooked the fact that he had changed the sex of the inn-keeper, and, having his (?) older version before him, he unconsciously wrote a line which, although it would be appropriate enough for *The Taming of a Shrew*, is out of place in its successor."³⁴

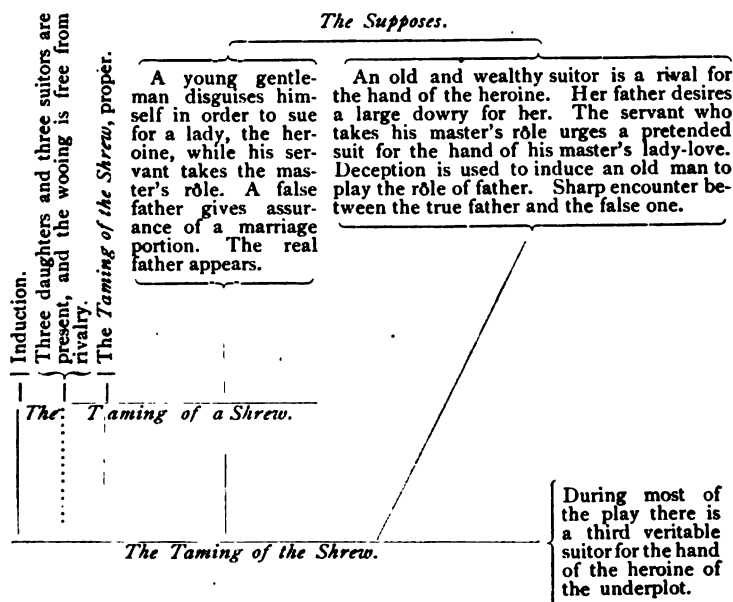
Sly's drunkenness gives to the word "boy" in the above passage a certain blundering fitness; but Mr. FREY's explanation is, perhaps, the natural one.

The phrase, "Go by Jeronimy," of the Globe text (Ind., TTS., l. 9,) need not be considered. We have an unquestionable allusion to a line in Act iv. of THOMAS KYD's play, *The Spanish Tragedy*,—"Hieronimo beware, go by, go by." The Folio text shows us, however, in the Ind. of TTS., "go by S. Jeronimie." It is entirely possible that Sly turns the borrowed phrase into a blundering oath, and not that he uses a man's name in addressing the Hostess. This is the Sly who answers the information that he is to see "a pleasant comedy," by asking, "Is not a comonty a Christmas gambold or a tumling trick?"³⁵

³⁴ FREY, 'Bankside S.,' Vol. ii. Introd., p. 10.

³⁵ Ind., TTS., l. 140.

I have now given my reasons for thinking that TTS. goes back to TAS., if either of the two plays is based upon the other. Only the three passages cited under B, however, have any force against the theory of Professor TEN BRINK. In case TTS. is directly derived from TAS., the probable relation of the three plays, *The Supposes*, TAS. and TTS., to one another, can be indicated by the following table :



After IV. ii., in TTS., when Hortensio gives up Bianca and becomes the accepted lover of the widow, three lovers and their three ladies are present, as in TAS.

7. THE THEORY OF PROFESSOR TEN BRINK.³⁶

That neither one of the two plays TAS. and TTS., is the

³⁶ Professor TEN BRINK helped me most kindly in the preparation of this Dissertation, but he was equally careful to leave me free to form my own opinions. Thirteen months after the Dissertation had been presented for the degree of Ph. D., and eight months after it had been read before the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, I came upon the published opinion of Professor TEN BRINK which is here cited. Although my honored teacher had asked me to consider the possibility that TAS. and TTS. might go back to a common source, I must confess that I did not appreciate the real force of his suggestion until I saw it in printed form. In making a final revision of this paper, I have been unable to give to Professor TEN BRINK's hypothesis the careful attention which it deserves. I have therefore sought rather to state his theory than to discuss it.

source of the other had not been suggested, I think, until something over ten years ago. Yet great difficulties are left unsolved by either of the two familiar theories. I have already stated why I am inclined, as between the old alternatives, to make TAS. the source of TTS. If the theory for which I have thus provisionally contended be granted me, what are the difficulties which I have invited? Some of them may be stated as follows:

1. The circumstances attending Petruchio's decision to woo Katharine are unfortunately changed from those present in the case of Ferando. (See p. 225.) Some critics, however, would not object to this change.

2. It is just the most successful and the most intensely Shakespearian parts of TTS. which borrow most freely from TTS.; and this borrowing concerns not only the plot but also the very language. The gravity of this consideration is apparent.

3. The phrases and lines in TAS. and TTS. between which a close verbal agreement exists are often very *unimportant*. We often wonder why SHAKESPEARE adhered to the language of TAS. in these cases. It is hardly strange that Mr. FREY makes SHAKESPEARE to be the author of TAS. also; yet I cannot myself accept that view, for reasons which will be given later. In no other case, I think, has SHAKESPEARE borrowed thus freely from the language of any play in the authorship of which he is generally considered to have had no part.

If we suppose TAS. to have been stolen from an early play of SHAKESPEARE, and that this early play became, after revision TTS.,—we have, indeed, a bold hypothesis; but it is one which meets our difficulties in a remarkable manner.

4. The theory that TAS. is a stolen piece would explain why so fine a comedy was published anonymously. SWINBURNE has lavished praise upon TAS. (See p. 245.) This supposition would also explain the remarkable frequency with which the manner and the very language of MARLOWE are employed by the gifted writer of TAS. (See p. 239.) Since he was stealing from SHAKESPEARE, why should he not also steal from MARLOWE?

Professor BERNHARD TEN BRINK was the first scholar to offer a *tertium quid* as a solution for the difficulties besetting this question of the true relation of TAS. and TTS. to each other. His theory has been already suggested. It is, in brief, as follows:—At some time before the composition of *Midsummer*

Night's Dream, SHAKESPEARE had written a youthful play which afterwards became the source both of TAS. and of the Folio play, TTS. After citing Professor TEN BRINK'S own words, I will leave this difficult question with my readers:

“Die Art, wie ich *Taming of the Shrew* beiläufig erwähne, macht eine Verständigung in Betreff der *Taming of a Shrew* nothwendig. Letzteres Stück halte ich weder für ein Jugendwerk Shakespeares noch für das Original, welches dieser benutzt hat, noch endlich für eine Bearbeitung der Shakespeare'schen Komödie, die uns in der Folio überliefert ist. Meiner Ansicht nach beruhen *Taming of a Shrew* und das beinahe gleichnamige Stück der Folio auf einer gemeinsamen Quelle; diese Quelle aber war eine Jugendarbeit Shakespeares, die sich von der spätern Fassung namentlich auch dadurch unterschied, dass das aus den *Supposes* entlehnte Motiv ihrer einfachen Intrigue noch abging. Für eine Begründung dieser Hypothese ist hier kein Raum. Einstweilen möge es ihr zur Empfehlung gereichen, dass sie zwischen den ältern Ansichten vermittelt, diese gewissermaßen in sich vereinigt und den Bedenken, welche gegen jede derselben geltend gemacht worden sind, nicht unterliegt.”³⁷

b. LESS IMPORTANT WORKS THAT MAY BE DIRECT SOURCES OF TTS.

I believe that the old ballad entitled *A merry Ieste of a shrewde and curste Wyfe lapped in Morrelles Skin, for her good behauyour* was known to SHAKESPEARE, although it furnished him with nothing of consequence that was not already in TAS. The story of the ballad runs as follows:

A father has two daughters. The elder of them is “curst,” the younger is gentle. The father has himself suffered much from the ill-tempered mother, and he is very unwilling to give the shrewish elder daughter in marriage to a worthy young man who becomes a suitor for her hand. The young man is persistent, and the wedding takes place, though the lady warns him that she cannot refrain from sometimes being the master. The young man is so tried by his wife that he finally whips her until she bleeds, and then wraps her in the well-salted hide of his old horse Morel, that has been killed for the purpose. At last, overcome with pain, the shrew promises amendment. The husband soon invites in the father and mother and many neighbors as guests, that they may observe his wife's patience.

³⁷*Jahrb. der d. Shakespeare-Gesellschaft.* Bd. xiii. “Ueber den Sommer-nachtstraum.” Ein Vortrag. Von BERNHARD TEN BRINK. Vorbemerkung S. 94.

This ballad "came from the press of Hugh Jackson about 1550 or 1560," and is known to have been popular.^{37a} The language of TTS. in one place seems to me to have been suggested by the following stanza, which is appended to the close of the ballad :

"He that can charme a shrewde wyfe
Better then thus,
Let him come to me, and fetch ten pound,
And a golden purse."

"He that knows better how to tame a shrew,
Now let him speak : 'tis charity to show."

TTS. IV. i. 223-4.

The language with which Lucentio makes love to Bianca while pretending to instruct her (TTS. III. i.) bears some resemblance to a passage in a "morality play" printed in 1590,—*The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*. *Simplicity*, one of the characters, has been grossly deceived by *Fraud*. *Fraud* is detected, and punishment is pronounced as follows :

Pleasure [addressing *Simplicity*.]

That his punishment may please thee the better, thou shalt punish him thyself: he shall be bound fast to yon post, and thou shalt be blindfold, and with thy torch shalt run, as it were, at tilt, charging thy light against his lips, and so (if thou canst) burn out his tongue, that it never speak more guile.

Simplicity.

O, *singulariter nominativo*, wise Lord *Pleasure*: *genitivo*, bind him to that post; *dativo*, give me my torch: *accusativo*, for I say he's a cosener: *vocativo*, O, give me room to run at him: *ablativo*, take and blind me. *Pluraliter per omnes casus*,

Laugh all you to see me, in my choler adust,
To burn and to broil that false *Fraud* to dust." ³⁸

Mr. FREY thinks that the passage beginning, "'Young budding virgin, fair and fresh and sweet'" (TTS. IV. v. 37), "is perhaps taken from the fourth book of OVID's *Metamorphoses*, which had been translated into English by ARTHUR GOLDING, as early as 1565." ³⁹

^{37a} COLLIER'S 'Shakespeare Library,' Hazlitt. Part I., Vol. iv.

³⁸ DODSLEY'S 'Collection of Old Eng. Plays,' Hazlitt, Vol. vi.

³⁹ 'Bankside S.,' ii. p. 35.

B. *Remoter Sources of TTS.*

a. OF THE INDUCTION.

A German scholar has carefully traced the story of the Induction from its earliest known form down to our own century.⁴⁰ He considers that the Induction of TAS. was unquestionably the direct source of TTS. (p. 14.)

MARCO POLO, who probably finished writing his account of his travels in 1298, gives us the first form of the story. It runs as follows:

Alaodin, the prince of the Assassins, the "old man of the mountains," drugs by means of a powerful draught those young men whom he wishes to win over to his service. These victims have been previously instructed by his accomplices in the Mohammedan doctrine of the joys of Paradise. The young men are brought in an unconscious state into a garden which offers them, when they awake, all the pleasures of which they have been told. Soon another draught is given them and they awake in their original condition. Their customary life now seems insupportable, and they gladly join the Assassins on receiving the promise that the joys which they have seen shall always be theirs.

A historical kernel is believed to be in this story. *Rocneddin* is said to be the true name of the one called here *Alaodin*; the Assassins flourished in the thirteenth century; and the drink was the well-known *hasheesh*.⁴¹

In the *Arabian Nights* we find the story of Abou Hassan (or Abu-l-Hasan) who confided to a supposed stranger his desire to be the Caliph for a single day. The stranger was Haroun Alraschid himself. Abou Hassan was put to sleep by means of a potion, was taken to the Caliph's palace and dressed in fine clothes, and was treated as Caliph for an entire day. In the evening he was again put to sleep, and awoke in his proper condition. Alraschid meets him a second time and the entire experience is repeated, just as before. At last the Caliph explains all to the bewildered Abou.

Mr. EDWARD W. LANE tells us that this story is not in the usual copies of 'The Thousand and One Nights,' and "that its chief and best portion is an historical anecdote, related as a fact."⁴² Mr. LANE says further:

⁴⁰ A. VON WEILEN. 'Shakespeares Vorspiel zu der Widerspenstigen Zähm.' Frankfurt a./M., 1884.

⁴¹ EILEN, p. 2. ⁴² '1001 Nights.' London, 1840. Vol. ii, p. 376.

"The author by whom I have found the chief portion of this tale related as an historical anecdote is El-Is-hákee, who finished his history apparently in the year 1623. He does not mention his authority; and whether it is related by an older *historian*, I do not know."

The first European version of this story professes to be an account of something which actually took place at the court of Philip the Good (1419-1467), Duke of Burgundy and ruler of Flanders. It has been conjectured that the story preserved to us in the 'Arabian Nights' had been narrated to Philip by some ambassadors from the East who are known to have visited his court.

LUDOVICO VIVES, in his 'Letters'. (printed in Latin, 1556) tells us at greater length than is here permissible to note, the following story, which he says that he learned from a courtier who was an eye-witness of the occurrence:

Philip, while walking about Brussels with some of his followers, came upon a man buried in a drunken sleep. The Duke caused the fellow to be carried to the palace, and put into his own bed. When the drunkard awoke, the attendants offered him every form of service. He was clad in princely robes, was taken to chapel, and then to breakfast. Afterwards he was amused with all kinds of diversions, including cards, hunting, hawking, and music and dancing. He was also treated to dramatic representations [*exhibitae sunt fabulae*]. Frequent draughts of wine at length took away his consciousness. He was dressed in his own clothes, and placed where he had been found. On waking he was much bewildered; but decided, at last, that his experience was only a dream.

WARTON, in his 'History of English Poetry,' tells us that a collection of stories by RICHARD EDWARDS, dated 1570, contained the incidents of the Induction. This book has disappeared. The form of the story discovered by Mr. H. G. NORTON in 1845, in an undated fragment of a book, and printed by the *Shakespeare Society*, does not correspond with the Inductions of TAS. and TTS. as well as does the earlier version of VIVES.

The next versions of this story do not especially concern us until we come to TAS. and TTS. These later versions make prominent the fact that a drama was employed to amuse the deluded drunkard. GOULART says: "Then they played a pleasant comedie."⁴³

⁴³ 'Admirable and Memorable Histories.' 1607. Translated from original French edition of the same year.

The deception practiced upon Sly by means of a page who is dressed up for the rôle and pretends to be his lady, is a stroke of humor wholly new, so far as I know, to TAS. and TTS.

b. *Remoter Sources of the Bianca Intrigue.*

I have found no source for the Bianca intrigue back of ARIOS-TO's play, *Gli Suppositi*, of which *The Supposes* is a translation.

c. *Remoter Sources of the Taming Process, the Taming of the Shrew Proper.*

No direct source for the taming of the shrew proper, the Ferando-Kate comedy of TAS., has been found; though almost every part of that story appears in essence in some form older than TAS. and TTS. Nowhere, however, do we encounter any suggestion of that fine feature of TTS., Petruchio's half-pretended and yet real kindness towards Kate and solicitude for her. The one source of this element seems to be SHAKESPEARE.

Few subjects were more common to the popular thought during the Middle Ages, few recur more constantly in story and in song, than that of the supremacy of the husband over the wife. The shrewish wife is a figure that is everywhere met. The question of how best to tame a shrew, the dire consequences to the husband if a shrew should succeed in ruling him,—these ideas were the property of all minds. The reader of CHAUCER will remember the "Wife of Bath," chuckling as she tells how each of her successive husbands was made to serve her will; also the "Merchant's Wife," "the worste that may be." FURNIVALL cites the bequest in the old *Wyll of the Deuyll*,—"Item, I geue to all women souereygntee, which they most desyre."⁴⁴ Any higher idea of married life than the wise *ruling* of a good woman by a good man perhaps never dawned upon the mediæval mind.

The half morality, half comedy, *Tom Tiler and his Wife*, gives an amusing account of an attempt to tame a shrew. This play was printed in 1598. A second edition, in 1661, claims to give it "as it was printed and acted about a hundred years ago." FREY says, "This play was acted by children as early as 1569."⁴⁵

Tom Tiler laments his hard fate in being ruled by a shrew.

⁴⁴ 'Leopold Shakspeare.'

⁴⁵ 'Bankside S.' ii. p. 34.

Strife, the wife of poor Tom, sitting to drink and chat with her neighbors, Sturdie and Tipple, wishes that her husband were present. "Ye should see how I could tame him." Tom Tiler appears, and is soundly drubbed by Strife for leaving his work. Tom Tailer, coming in, learns from Tiler what has happened. He induces Tiler to change clothes with him. Strife comes in and gives her supposed husband a blow, but she is beaten until she is sore. Tipple and Sturdie have witnessed the beating of Strife. Tipple says of Tiler, "Belike he hath learned in a new school."⁴⁶ Tiler, learning the good news, goes home, and finds his wife for once humble and gentle. The simpleton informs her of the trick. She then beats him in double measure. Patience comes in and patches up a hollow peace, and the play closes.

The many comedies of the age of Elizabeth and James which deal with the general topic of shrewish and unmanageable wives show the enduring popularity of the theme; and a number of more modern plays have been either adopted from TTS. or suggested by it.^{46a}

In Germany, HANS SACHS preceded SHAKESPEARE in making dramatic use of this subject. In a *Fastnachtspiel* of SACHS, a husband suffering from a shrewish wife comes to King Solomon for advice. He receives the brief reply: "In verbis, herbis, et lapidibus est magna virtus." The husband first tries to mollify his wife with gentle words, then with flowers. When these fail, he gathers stones, and pelts her until she promises amendment.⁴⁷

A German play entitled *Kunst über alle Künste | Ein böß Weib gut zu machen* was printed in 1672. It is an imitation of TTS, and is "the earliest impression of a German version of an entire Shakespearian piece."⁴⁸ The Induction, however, is wanting. The rocking of the shrew in a cradle and the brushing of the soles of her feet, were features in a later German play, *Die böse Catharine*.⁴⁹

REINHOLD KÖHLER, in Vol. iii. of the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, gives a German translation of a folk-tale, written down in Jutland, which he met in SVEND

⁴⁶ Cf. TTS., IV. ii. 54, and TAS., I, 1902.

^{46a} For the names of some of these later plays, as well as for other information, see TALCOTT WILLIAMS'S "Bibliography of TTS.," *Shakespeariana*, v. 445 and 497.

⁴⁷ See *Kunst über alle Künste*, edited by REINHOLD KÖHLER. Berlin. 1864. p. xlii.

⁴⁸ COHN'S 'Shakespeare in Germany,' London, 1865. p. cxxiv.

⁴⁹ KÖHLER'S *K. über alle K.*, p. xiii f.

GRUNDTVIG's collection of Danish folk-tales.⁵⁰ This tale comes the nearest of anything that has been found to the story of the taming in TAS. and TTS. I give the tale in a condensed form:

A man and woman had three daughters, Karen, Maren and Mette. They were all beautiful, but all shrewish; and Mette was the worst of the three. Karen and Maren were soon married, but not Mette. Finally a suitor for Mette's hand came from a distance. He promised to meet her at the church at a definite hour for the performance of the marriage ceremony. He was not on hand at the appointed time; but at last he appeared, riding on an old gray horse, carrying a rifle, wearing a pair of woolen gloves, and followed by a large dog. Immediately after the wedding, in spite of urgent protests from the father, the pair set out for the groom's house. Soon the husband commands his dog three times to pick up the glove which he has let drop, but in vain. He shoots the dog on the spot. The pair rest in the wood on the way home; after this the horse is three times commanded to come to his master and is then shot for disobedience. The husband next takes a green twig, bends the ends together, and gives it to his wife with the words, "Keep this, until I ask it from you." They then walk to their new home.

After many years, during which the wife was always kind and obedient, the husband proposed that they make a visit to her parents. On the way they meet some storks; the man calls them ravens. When the wife tries to correct him in this, he returns with her to their own home. Again the visit is attempted, and again it is postponed, because she will not join with him in saying that some sheep and lambs are wolves. On the third trial, Mette consents to call some hens crows, and they reach the home of her parents. They find Karen, Maren, and their husbands also there. While the mother talks with the daughters, the father fills a pitcher with gold and silver coins, and promises to give it to the man who shall prove to have the most obedient wife. The husband of Karen asks her to come and join them, but he calls in vain. Maren is equally disobedient. Mette comes at once when called. Her husband now asks for the twig which he gave her in the wood. Taking it, he turns to the other men and says, "I bent this twig when it was green. You should have done the same."

We shall meet this killing of pets or domestic animals in order to frighten a wife into obedience in other stories older than SHAKESPEARE. KÖHLER cites also an old French *fabliau*, in which a Count, on the journey home with his young wife, kills his two greyhounds and then his horse. KÖHLER believes that

⁵⁰ Reprinted in SIMROCK's 'Die Quellen des Sh.,' 2te Aufl. 1872.

the Danish folk-tale is older than TAS. and TTS., and that other versions of this story have existed, out of which the Danish tale and the English comedies were both alike derived.

The conjecture that an Italian source lies back of TTS. probably sprang from the discovery of a similar story by the Italian writer STRAPAROLA, and from the Italian features and names in the play. These Italian features go back to *The Supposes*, a translation from the Italian. STRAPAROLA was still living in in 1553. 'Les Facetieuses Nuits' is the name of the French translation of the work which contains, in the second volume, the story that interests us. This volume was first printed in French in 1573. I give the story in outline :

Pisardo and Silverio were bosom friends. Silverio, the younger, married the beautiful but shrewish Spinella, and weakly yielded to her in all things. Pisardo afterwards married Fiorella, the younger sister of Spinella. When Pisardo first brought Fiorella to his home, he took two cudgels and a pair of breeches, and demanded of her that she should fight with him for the possession of the breeches. She refused to fight and promised to be obedient. He then showed her his horses, and killed before her eyes one which refused to obey him. Fiorella proved ever kind and dutiful. Silverio asked Pisardo "to what school" he had sent his wife, (see note 46) and learned what had been done. Silverio then sought to do exactly the same with Spinella; but she ridiculed him and became more unmanageable than ever.⁵¹

I will summarize some other stories of this sort which seem to me to be of interest. Two of these are found in vol. iii. of the work by SIMROCK that has just been cited.⁵² The first of these is the 'Story of the Cat,' from Kisseh Khun, the Persian storyteller.

Sadik Beg, immediately after his marriage, cuts off the head of his wife's pet cat, and throws the head and body out of the window. His wife is always obedient. A friend of his acts in the same way; but he gets a box on the ear, and is told that he ought to have killed the cat on his wedding day.

In the old German poem of the "Anger-mole" (Zornbraten), are found some points of the shrew-story of TAS. and TTS:

⁵¹ SIMROCK and others. 'Die Quellen des Shakespeare.' Berlin, 1831, Vol. i.

⁵² They are also in HALLIWELL's translation,—Remarks of KARL SIMROCK on "Plots of Shakespeare's Plays." *Shakespeare Soc.* 1850.

A knight had an evil wife and an evil daughter. At last a young knight sought the daughter in marriage. The father concealed none of her bad qualities, but the marriage was solemnized. The mother urged the daughter to follow her own example. The young pair rode to the groom's house along unfrequented roads. On the way, the husband killed successively his hawk, his hound, and his horse, because they refused to obey him. He then saddled and bridled his wife, and made her carry him fully half a mile. She then promised to obey through her whole life, and was ever afterward kindly treated. The father begged the son-in-law to help him in taming the mother. The young man explained to his mother-in-law that she had two anger-moles (*Zorn-braten*) on her loins, and that, when these were cut out, she would be a good wife. The cutting out of only one of them worked a complete cure.

DOUCE thought that he had found the source of the taming part of TTS. in a Spanish collection of stories, '*El Conde Lucanor*.' The author lived in the fourteenth century; the first edition of his work appeared in 1575, but the second, the one used by DOUCE, in 1642. The story may be condensed as follows:

Don Alvar Fannez took into his family a nephew, a spirited young nobleman. The nephew complained one day that the uncle gave too much power into the hands of his wife. On the morrow the three rode to Don Alvar's country-seat. On the way, they see a herd of cows grazing. Don Alvar speaks of them as *mares*. The nephew, in astonishment, contradicts him. The dispute is at last left for settlement to the wife. She decides at once that her husband is right. They next come to some mares, which Don Alvar calls cows; and then to a brook flowing toward the right, which Don Alvar claims to be flowing toward the left. When they reach their journey's end, Don Alvar asserts that it is midnight, and that the moon is in the sky; it is really midday, with the sun shining. In each of these cases a dispute arises, which the wife instantly decides in favor of her husband. Don Alvar, when he is alone again with the nephew, admits that his own assertions have been false; and then asks, "Have I not good reason to put absolute trust in my wife?"⁵³

SIMROCK finds that some copies of '*El Conde Lucanor*' lack the dispute concerning the sun and the hour of the day, and he thinks that this feature has been taken from TTS. into the fuller version of the Spanish story.

Another story in '*El Conde Lucanor*' has been thought by some to be the one referred to by DOUCE. I give it in brief:

The only daughter of a rich Moor was a Shrew. The son of

⁵³ SIMROCK, '*Die Quellen des Sh.*' 2te Aufl. Bonn. 1872.

a poorer neighbor decided to better his fortune by marrying her. The father tried to dissuade him, but the marriage took place. When the young couple were left alone, the husband commanded his hunting dog to bring him water for washing his hands. The command was repeated. He then chased the hound about the room with his sword drawn, killed it, and hacked it to pieces. Next a lap dog received the same absurd command, and died in the same way. Then the young husband's only horse was killed. In a transport of rage, the groom turned at last to the bride and commanded her to bring him the water. She hastened to do it, and was kept busy waiting upon him during the entire night. Finally the husband commanded her to get breakfast, and to allow no one to disturb him. The next morning the parents and relatives feared they might find the young man wounded or dead. They were rejoiced to learn how the night had been past. Afterwards the father-in-law tried to imitate the young man; but his wife informed him that it was too late, as they already knew each other.

d. *Remoter Sources of the Wager Episode.*

The wager at the close of TAS. and TTS. forms a distinct episode. The prize offered by the father in the Danish folk-tale above cited (see p. 235) to that one of his three sons-in-law who should prove to have the most obedient wife, is much like what takes place in the two English comedies. Another interesting parallel to this wager scene has been pointed out to me by Professor TEN BRINK.

The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, a popular work written in French in 1371-72, was published in an English translation by CAXTON in 1484. The author, GEOFFROY DE LA TOUR-LANDRY, under the pretext of instructing his own daughters, writes "a treatise on the domestic education of woman." Among the many anecdotes which he collects, is the following:

Three merchants, riding home from a fair, fell to talking about the charm of obedience in a wife. At last they laid a wager of a dinner, agreeing that the one whose wife should prove the least obedient should pay for the dinner. Each man was to warn his wife to do whatever he might bid; afterward he was to set a basin before her and bid her leap into it. The first wife insisted on knowing the reason for the command; she received several blows from her husband's fist. The second wife flatly refused to obey; she was thoroughly beaten with a staff. The wife of the third merchant received the same warning as the rest, but the intended trial was postponed until after dinner. During the meal this wife was asked to put salt upon the table. Because of

a similarity between the two expressions in French, she understood her husband to command her to leap upon the table. She at once did so, throwing down the meat and drink and breaking the glasses. When she stated the reason for her conduct, the other merchants acknowledged without further trial that they had lost the wager.⁵⁴

II. THE AUTHORSHIP OF TAS.

The question of the authorship of TAS. is interesting and important, not only because of the connection of the play with TTS., and because of the opinion of some critics that SHAKESPEARE himself wrote all or a part of it,—but also because of the excellence of TAS. in itself considered.

TAS. was published anonymously in 1694. There are in it, it seems to me, at least two distinct styles. One of these is elevated and stately. The passages which show it are filled with classical allusions, but are often really beautiful. These parts of the play have been found to contain many lines taken almost word for word from MARLOWE. The second style found in this play is simple and natural, becoming familiar when the comedy demands it. An anonymous American correspondent of CHARLES KNIGHT was the first person to point out the fact that TAS. "abounds in passages that either strongly resemble or directly correspond with passages in the undoubted plays of Marlowe."⁵⁵ *Faustus* and *Tamburlaine* are the only dramas of MARLOWE that show passages of this kind. The American scholar seeks to show that MARLOWE wrote TAS. I cite first the passages in which the verbal agreements between TAS. and MARLOWE are most striking and complete. I have made an independent comparison of the two, but I have found few agreements not already noted by Mr. KNIGHT's anonymous correspondent.⁵⁶

"Now that the gloomy shadow of the night,
Longing to view *Orions* drisling lookes,
Leapes from th' antarticke world unto the skie,
And dims the welkin with her pitchie breath,"

TAS. p. 161, S. S. ed. p. 1.

⁵⁴ WRIGHT's Ed. *Early Eng. Text Soc.*, p. 26.

⁵⁵ DYCE's 'Marlowe.' 1859. Introd. li. See KNIGHT's 'Library Ed. of Shakspeare.' 1842. Vol. ii., p. 114 ff.

⁵⁶ When not otherwise indicated, the citations from MARLOWE are from DYCE's ed. of 1859; those from TAS. from 'Six Old Plays,' London, 1779, and from the *Shakespeare's Society's* ed., 1844.

"Now that the gloomy shadow of the earth, [night, in Qu. of 1616]
 Longing to view Orion's drizzling look,
 Leaps from th' antartic world unto the sky,
 And dims the welkin with her pitchy breath,"

Faustus. Qus. of 1604 and 1616, pp. 82 and 110.⁵⁷

"But staie, what dames are these so bright of hew
 Whose eies are brighter than the lampes of heaven?
 Fairer then rocks of pearl and pretious stone,"

TAS. p. 167, S. S. ed. p. 7.

"Zenocrate, the loveliest maid alive,
 Fairer than rocks of pearl and precious stone,

Whose eyes are brighter than the lamps of heaven,"

I. *Tamburlaine the Great*. III. iii.

(APPLIED TO A WOMAN.)

"The image of honor and Nobilitie,
 In whose sweet person is comprisde the somme
 Of natures skill and heauenlie maiestie."

TAS. II. 237-239 (Bankside Sh. II.)

(APPLIED TO A MAN.)

"Image of Honor and Nobilitie,

In whose sweete person is compriz'd the Sum
 Of nature's Skill and heauenly maiestie."

I. *Tamburlaine* V. ii.⁵⁸

"Eternall heaven sooner be dissolv'd,
 And all that pierceth *Phoebus* silver eie,
 Before such hap befall to *Polidor*."

TAS. p. 181, S. S. ed. p. 19.

"Eternal heaven sooner be dissolv'd,
 And all that pierceth *Phoebus*' silver eye,
 Before such hap fall to *Zenocrate*!"

I. *Tamb.* III. ii.

"Thou shalt have garments wrought of Median silke,
 Enchac'd with pretious jewels fetcht from far,
 By Italian merchants that with Russian stemes,
 Plows up huge furrowes in the *Terrene Maine*." ⁵⁹

TAS. p. 183-22.

"Thy garments shall be made of Median silk,
 Enchas'd with precious jewels of mine own,

And Christian merchants that with Russian stemes
 Plow up huge furrows in the Caspian Sea."

I. *Tamburlaine*, I. ii., pp. 10 and 12.

⁵⁷ WARD, 'Old Eng. Drama,' Scene iii.

⁵⁸ Ed. of A. WAGNER, Heilbronn, 1885.

⁵⁹ "The Terrene main" occurs in II. *Tamb.* I. i.

The verbal agreement is not so complete in the following cases :

"Whose sacred beauties hath enchanted me,
More faire than was the Grecian Helena
For whose sweet sake so many princes dide,
That came with thousand shippes to Tenedos."

TAS. II. 257-260.⁶⁰

"Her sacred beauty hath enchaunted heaven;
And had she liu'd before the siege of Troy,
Helen, whose beauty summond Greece to armes
And drew a thousand ships to Tenedos,
Had not been nam'd in Homers Iliads."

II *Tamb.* II. iii.⁶¹

"Brighter then the burnisht pallace of the sunne,
The eie-sight of the glorious firmament."

TAS. II. 583-4.⁶²

"Batter the shining pallace of the Sun,
And shiver all the starry firmament."

II. *Tamb.* II. iii.⁶³

. "orient pearle." TAS. I. 439.

"And dive into the sea to gather pearle."

TAS. I. 606.

"Ransacke the Ocean for orient pearle."

Faustus. I. 110 (1604) and 107 (1616).⁶⁴

"As was the Massie Robe that late adorn'd
The stately legat of the Persian king."

TAS. p. 183-21.

"And I sat down, cloth'd with a massy robe
That late adorn'd the Afric potentate."

II. *Tamb.* III. ii.

"*Boy.* Come hither sirha, boy.

Sander. Boy, oh disgrace to my person! sounes, boy of your face, you have many boyes with such Pickadenaunts [*Sh. Soc. ed.*, Pickadeuantes] I am sure, souns would you not have a bloudy nose for this?"

TAS. p. 184-22.

"*Wagner.* Sirrah boy, come hither.

Clown. How, boy! swowns, boy! I hope you have seen many boys with such pickadevaunts as I have: boy, quotha!"

Faustus. Qu. of 1604, p. 84.

60 'Bankside Sh.' ii.

61 WAGNER's ed.

62 'Bankside Sh.' ii.

63 WAGNER's ed.

64 Ed. of BREYMANN, Heilbronn, 1889.

"*Wagner.* Come hither, sirrah boy.

Clown. Boy! O, disgrace to my person! zounds, boy in your face! You have seen many boys with beards, I am sure."

Faustus. Qu. of 1616, p. 111.⁶⁵

"As was the Thracian Horse *Alcides* tamde,
That king *Egeus* fed with flesh of men,"

TAS. p. 191-28.

"The headstrong jades of Thrace *Alcides* tam'd,
That King *Aegeus* fed with human flesh,"

II. *Tamb.* IV. iii.

"As faire as is the milke white way of *Jove*."

TAS. p. 191-29.

"Shall mount the milk-white way, and meet him there."

II. *Tamb.* IV. iii.

"As once did *Orpheus* with his harmony,
And rauishing sound of his melodious harpe."

TAS. II. 1168-9.⁶⁶

"he that built the walls of Thebes
With rauishing sound of his melodious harpe."

Faustus. II. 647-8 (1604), II. 586-7 (1616).⁶⁷

"Muske Cassia : [Musk, cassia,] sweet smelling *Ambergreece*."

TAS., I. 1295.⁶⁸

"Embalm'd with Cassia, Amber-Greece, and Myrre."

II. *Tamb.* II. iii.⁶⁹

"And hewd thee smaller then the Libian sandes,"

TAS. p. 205-42.

"Or hew'd this flesh and bones as small as sand,"

Faustus. Only in Qu. of 1616, p. 126.

The words *crystal* and *crystalline* are very frequently used both in *Tamburlaine* and in TAS.—In *Tamburlaine*, that great conqueror gives meat to the captive Bajazeth upon the point of his sword.⁷⁰ Ferando brings Kate a piece of meat upon the point of his dagger.⁷¹

WHITE supposes that TAS. "is the joint production of Greene, Marlowe, and possibly, Shakespeare."⁷² The reason for naming SHAKESPEARE here is, of course, the fact that certain scenes of TAS. seem to have been drawn upon freely to furnish language as well as incidents for corresponding scenes in TTS.

65 WARD'S ed. Sc. iv.

66 'Bankside Sh.' ii.

67 BREYMANN'S Ed., Heilbronn, 1889.

68 'Bankside Sh.' ii.

69 WAGNER'S Ed.

70 I. *Tamb.* IV. iv.

71 TAS. p. 193-31.

72 'Shakes.,' iv, 391.

These agreements in the language of the two plays will be considered in another place. (See p. 247.) Looking at TAS strictly by itself, there is no occasion, I think, for seeing in it the work of more than two authors.

Must we, however, trace the two distinct styles of TAS,—one elevated, and the other familiar; one full of the manner and the very words of MARLOWE, and the other free from them,—to two distinct authors? I cannot think that this is necessary. The play makes so distinctly the impression of having been written at one burst, the two styles are at some points so intimately woven together, that I feel forced to hold the view of unity of authorship. The writer seems to consider the style of MARLOWE to be the model of excellence for formal love-making, for the expression of elevated thoughts, and even for elegant transitions. He makes a Tapster utter a strain of pure poetry as he begins the day :

TAPSTER.

“Now that the darkesome night is overpast,
And dawning day appeares in cristall skie,
Now must I haste abroad: but soft, who's this?
What Sly, o wondrous! hath he laine heere all night?
Ile wake him, I thinke hee's starved by this,
But that his belly was so stufft with ale:
What now Sly, awake for shame.”

TAS. p. 214-50.

Aurelius praises his lady in this wise before he begins a discussion of the ways and means for securing her :

“*Valeria* attend, I have a lovely love,
As bright as is the heaven crystalline,
As faire as is the milke white way of *Jove*,
As chaste as *Phoebe*, in her summer sports,
As softe and tender as the azure downe,
That circles *Citherea's* silver doves.”

TAS. p. 191-29.

The author of TAS seems to write under the immediate influence of *Tamburlaine*; he feels free to quote from it, perhaps because his own play was anonymous. As we have seen, the American writer who first pointed out the borrowings from MARLOWE, considers these to establish him as the author.⁷³ I must interpret this very fact differently, and believe that MARLOWE would not have repeated himself so exactly. “Poets of

⁷³ KNIGHT'S 'Library Ed. of S.,' vol. ii. p. 116.

MARLOWE'S class do not repeat themselves in this wholesale manner." ⁷⁴

Moreover, the American student was able to find only a few striking cases of repetition in the accepted plays of MARLOWE. When these occur within the same play they have little bearing on the case now in hand. I cite the most important passages which he gives in this connection :

" All sweating, tilt about the watery heauens,
With shiuering speares enforcing thunderclaps."

I. *Tamb.* II. 1059-60.⁷⁵

" Run tilting round about the firmament,
And break their burning Lances in the aire."

II. *Tamb.* II. 3876-77⁶

" Oh, no, sweet Margaret ! the fatal poison
Works within my head ; my brain-pan breaks ;
My heart doth faint."

*The Massacre at Paris.*⁷⁷

" Oh, the fatal poison works within my breast !"

Ibid. p. 358.

" And make Damascus spoiles as rich to you,
As was to Jason Colchos golden fleece."

I. *Tamb.* II. 1640-1.⁷⁸

" I'le be thy Jason, thou my golden Fleece."

The Jew of Malta. I. 1782.⁷⁹

" I'll fire thy crazèd buildings, and enforce
The papal towers to kiss the lowly ground."

*Edw. the Second.*⁸⁰

" I'll fire his crazèd buildings and incense
The papal towers to kiss the holy (qy. lowly) earth."

*The Massacre at Paris.*⁸¹

The strongest argument for MARLOWE as the author of TAS. lies, perhaps, in the beauty and excellence of some of the passages which are written in his manner. The extract beginning "Valeria attend," cited above, is equal to MARLOWE'S very finest work. Mr. KNIGHT'S correspondent points out several passages of this kind. Who could thus out-Marlowe MARLOWE? Still, the power to write well in a borrowed manner is

⁷⁴ BULLEN'S 'Marlowe.' London, 1885. Vol. i, p. lxxiv.

⁷⁵ Ed. of A. WAGNER.

⁷⁶ WAGNER.

⁷⁷ DYCE'S M. 1850. ii. p. 303.

⁷⁸ Ed. of WAGNER.

⁷⁹ Ed. of WAGNER, Heilbronn, 1889.

⁸⁰ DYCE'S M. 1850. ii. p. 183.

⁸¹ DYCE'S M. 1850. ii. p. 356.

not a very uncommon gift, as some famous literary forgeries have shown.

DYCE argues forcibly that TAS. is too effective a comedy to be by MARLOWE, "to whom, we have good reason to believe, nature had denied even a moderate talent for the humorous."⁸² Mr. SWINBURNE calls the author of TAS. "of all the pre-Shakespeareans incomparably the truest, the richest, the most powerful and original humourist."⁸³

A passage already cited—that beginning "Now that the darksome night is overpast"—shows us how intimately the two styles of TAS. are woven together. I add two other extracts which illustrate the same point; the second of these, a complete scene, will also be needed later for another purpose.

"O might I see the center [censer, 1607] of my soule
Whose sacred beauty hath enchanted me,
More faire than was the Grecian *Helena*
For whose sweet sake so many princes dide;
That came with thousand ships to *Tenedos*.
But when we come unto his father's house,
Tel him I am a Merchants sonne of *Cestus*,
That comes for trafficke unto *Athens* here,
And here sirha, I wil change with you for once,
And now be thou the Duke of *Cestus* sonne,
Revel and spend as if thou wert myselfe,
For I will court my [thy, 1607] love in this disguise."

TAS. 169-9.

Ferando. Come Kate, the moone shines cleere tonight me thinkes.

Kate. The moone? why husband you are deceiv'd. It is the sun.

Ferando. Yet againe, come backe againe, it shal be the moone ere
we come at your fathers.

Kate. Why ile say as you say, it is the moone.

Ferando. Jesus, save the glorious moone.

Kate. Jesus, save the glorious moone.

Ferando. I am glad *Kate* your stomacke is come downe,
I know it well thou knowst it is the fun,
But I did try to see if thou wouldst speake,
And crosse me now as thou hast done before,
And trust me *Kate* hadst thou not namde the moone,
We had gone backe again as sure as death.
But soft, who's this that's comming here?

Enter the Duke of Cestus alone.

Duke. Thus al alone from *Cestus* am I come,
And left my princely court and noble traine,

⁸² DYCE's 'M.,' Intro .lii.

⁸³ Cited by BULLEN, 'The Works of Marlowe,' vol. i, p. lxxvi.

To come to *Athens*, and in this disguise,
 To see what course my son Aurelius takes.
 But stay, heres some it may be travels thither,
 Good sir can you direct me the way to *Athens*.

Ferando speaks to the old man.

Faire lovely maide, yong and affable,
 More cleere of hew and far more beautifull
 Then pretious *Sardonix* or purple rockes,
 Of *Amithests* or glittering *Hiasinth*,
 More amiable far then is the plain,
 Where glistering *Cepherus* in silver boures,
 Gaseth upon the Giant *Andromede*,
 Sweet *Kate* enttaine this lovely woman.

Duke. I thinke the man is mad, he cals me a woman.

Kate. Faire lovely lady, bright and cristaline,
 Bewteous and stately as the eie-train'd bird,
 As glorious as the morning washt with dew,
 Within whose eyes she takes her dawning beames,
 And golden sommer sleepes upon thy cheekes,
 Wrap up thy radiations in some cloud,
 Lest that thy beauty make this stately towne
 Inhabitable like the burning Zone,
 With sweet reflections of thy lovely face.

Duke. What, is she mad too? or is my shape transformd
 That both of them persuade me I am a woman,
 But they are mad sure, and therefore ile be gone,
 And leave their companies for feare of harme,
 And unto *Athens* haste to seek my son.

Ferando. Why so, *Kate*, this was friendly done of thee,
 And kindly too: why thus must we two live,
 One minde, one heart, and one content for both,
 This good old man dos thinke that we are mad,
 And glad he is I am sure, that he is gone,
 But come sweet *Kate*, for we will after him,
 And now persuade him to his shape againe."

TAS. 202-3, 39-40.

Mr. FURNIVALL, in the 'Leopold Shakspeare,' speaks of "an adapter [of TAS.] who used at least ten bits of Marlowe in it"; but in his facsimile reprint of TAS. (London. 1886) he does not seem to assume the existence of any earlier form of the play. With the following words of Mr. FURNIVALL, I can entirely agree:

"With regard to the authorship of *A Shrew*, I do not myself feel the necessity of its having had two writers . . . I am content to suppose *A Shrew* the work of some one unknown man."⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Facsimile Reprint TAS., p. viii.

The agreements of language between TAS. and TTS. are still to be considered. Apart from that inquiry, it seems to me probable that TAS. was the work of a single author, and that this author was an admirer and imitator of MARLOWE rather than that poet himself. Farther than this I have no clear opinion. Mr. BULLEN thinks that the imitation of MARLOWE was done "as a joke."⁸⁵

I now ask the question, What are we to conclude as to SHAKESPEARE'S connection with TAS. from the fact of the many phrases that he borrows from that play? The agreements and disagreements between corresponding parts of the two plays may be classified as follows for our purpose:

1. Short phrases common to the two plays, or nearly so, in which the words are almost, so to speak, *given in the situation*.
2. Agreements of language which are not "given in the situation."
3. Complete change of language in a speech which has otherwise a counterpart in TAS.
4. Complete omission of parts present in TAS.
5. Passages which are peculiar to TTS. both in thought and wording.

These five classes of passages cover, I think, the most important points for comparison. Of course the classes run together somewhat, and we must weigh carefully the individual passages. Let us consider under these five heads two representative scenes of TTS., Scenes iii. and v. of Act iv., with reference to the agreements and disagreements between the two plays.

I.

IV. iii. TTS.

"I prithee go and get me some rest."

"What say you to a piece of beef and mustard?"

"Ay, but the mustard is too hot a little."

"I pray you, let it stand."

"And 'twill be supper-time ere you come there."

TAS. (Ed. Shakes. Soc.)

"I prethe help me to some meate."

"What say you to a a peese of beefe and mustard now?"

"I doubt the mustard is colerick for you."

"I pray you sir let it stand."

"It will be nine o'clock ere we come there."

2.

"When you are gentle, you shall have one too, And not till then."

"Belike you mean to make a puppet of me. *Fet.* Why 'true, he means to make a puppet of thee."

"I, when ye'r meeke and gentell but not before."

"Belike you meane to make a foole of me. *Feran.* Why true he meanes to make a foole of thee."

⁸⁵ Cited by FURNIVALL. 'Facsimile of TAS,' p. xiii.

"Thou hast faced many things. *Tai.* I have. *Gru.* Face not me: thou hast braved many men; brave not me; I will neither be faced nor braved. I say unto thee, I bid the master cut out the gown; but I did not bid him cut it to pieces: ergo thou liest. *Tai.* Why, here is the note of the fashion to testify. *Pet.* Read it. *Gru.* The note lies in's throat, if he say I said so. *Tai.* [*Reads*] 'Imprimis, a loose-bodied gown:' *Gru.* Master, if ever I said loose-bodied gown, sew me in the skirts of it, and beat me to death with a bottom of brown thread: I said a gown. *Pet.* Proceed. *Tai.* [*Reads*] 'With a small compassed cape:' *Gru.* I confess the cape. *Tai.* [*Reads*] 'With a trunk sleeve.' *Gru.* I confess two sleeves."

"Go take it up unto thy master's use. *Gru.* Villain, not for thy life: take up thy mistress' gown for thy master's use! *Pet.* Why, sir, what's your conceit in that? *Gru.* O, sir, the conceit is deeper than you think for: Take up my mistress' gown to his master's use!"

"Well, come, my Kate; we will unto your father's.
Even in these honest mean habiliments:
Our purses shall be proud, our garments poor;"

[For convenience the order of the two next parts is inverted.]

"Dooost thou heare Taylor, thou hast braved many men: brave not me. Thou'st faste many men. *Tay.* Well sir. *San.* Face not me. Ile neither be faste nor braved at thy hands I can tell thee."]

"Why sir I made it as your man gave me direction. You may reade the note here. *Feran.* Come hither sirra Taylor reade the note. *Tay.* Itam, a faire round compost cape. *San.* I thats true. *Tay.* And a large truncke sleeve. *San.* That's a lie maister. I sayd two truncke sleeves. *Feran.* Well sir goe forward. *Tay.* Item a loose-bodied gowne. *San.* Maister if ever I sayd loose bodies gowne, sew me in a seame and beat me to death, with a bottome of brown thred. *Tay.* I made it as the note bad me. *San.* I say the note lies in his throate and thou too and thou sayst it."]

"Go I say and take it up for your maisters use. *San.* Souns villaine not for thy life touch it not, souns take up my mistris gown to his maister's use? *Feran.* Well sir whats your conceit of it. *San.* I have a deeper conceit in it than you thinke for, take up my mistris gowne to his maisters use?"

"Come Kate we now will go see thy father's house
Even in these honest meane abilliments,
Our purses shall be rich our garments plaine,"

3. Nothing especial.
4. Nothing especial.
5. Katharine's long speech at the beginning of the scene, Grumio's "why the mustard without the beef," Petruchio's causeless scolding of the Tailor are all peculiar to TTS.

I.

IV. v. TTS.

"Good Lord, how bright and goodly shines the moon!"

"*Kath.* The moon! the sun; it is not moonlight now."

"It shall be moon, or star, or what I list, or ere I journey to your father's house."

"I say it is the moon. *Kath.* I know it is the moon."

"A' will make the man mad, to make a woman of him."

2. Nothing.

3. Petruchio's address to Vincentio and Kate's obedient words

TAS.⁸⁶

"Come *Kate* the moone shines clear tonight methinks. *Kate.* The moon? why husband you are deceived it is the sun."

"Yet againe come back againe it shall be the moon ere we come at your father's."

"Jesus save the glorious moone. *Kate.* Jesus save the glorious moone."

"I thinke the man is mad he calls me a woman."

⁸⁶ For full scene, see p. 245 of this dissertation.

in the same strain are remarkable for their dramatic identity with the same parts in TAS., but they show a complete difference of phraseology. In both plays the language is high-flown; but in TTS. alone is it Shakespearian. The passage from TAS. has already been given. (See p. 246.)

4. Ferando has a congratulatory speech after this victory in TAS. It is tastefully omitted in TTS.

5. It is peculiar to TTS. that Petruchio corrects Katharine for addressing Vincentio as a young woman (though she has only followed him in this). This calls out a second speech from her, contradicting her first one.

The general impression which I get from comparing TTS. IV. iii. with TAS. is that SHAKESPEARE could well have written the parallel parts of TAS. The impression from comparing IV. v. with TAS. is most decidedly that SHAKESPEARE, if he is using TAS. at all, is using the ground-plan of *another* author. The other scenes of TTS. stand with IV. v. rather than with IV. iii. We have seen that the two Inductions have few agreements of language. V. ii. has many phrases and lines taken more or less accurately from TAS., but these expressions are mostly in the short speeches, and the additions and changes are very important. Katharine has a long theological disquisition at the end of TAS; TTS. furnishes us here a clear-cut argument from facts. In all cases, the agreements between the two plays come in short speeches, or in one line, two lines, or at most three lines within a longer speech. In every passage that is of any length, in Shakespeare's part of *The Taming of the Shrew*, the great poet finds easily and at once "a more excellent way."

The relation of TTS. to TAS. is very different in these respects from that of Parts ii. and iii. of Henry VI. to the two older plays, *The First Part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*.

In the following passage, the Midas touch of SHAKESPEARE gives us a striking contrast between the two plays:

"Sweete Kate, thou lovelier than Dian's purple robe,
Whiter than are the snowie Apenis,
Or icie haire that growes on Boreas chin.
Father, I sweare by *Ibis* golden beake,
More faire and radiant is my bonie Kate,
Then silver Xanthus when he doth embrace
The ruddie Simoes at *Idas* feete."

TAS. p. 183-22.

"Did ever Dian so become a grove
 As Kate this chamber with her princely gait?
 O, be thou Dian, and let her be Kate;
 And then let Kate be chaste and Dian sportful!"

TTS. II. i. 260-263.

In passing judgment upon SHAKESPEARE's relation to TAS., the editors of the 'Cambridge Shakespeare' say: "The Taming of a Shrew is manifestly by another hand."

Mr. FREY, in vol. ii. of the 'Bankside Shakespeare,' after a careful comparison of TAS. and TTS., unhesitatingly adopts the view of POPE and CAPELL that SHAKESPEARE wrote both plays. In reaching this conclusion, he distrusts all considerations that admit of personal bias, and seeks to settle the question by means of purely objective evidence. Let us weigh this evidence.

"A Stephen Sly is mentioned several times in the records of Stratford. A Christopher Sly was a contemporary of Shakespeare at Stratford."⁸⁷

Following Mr. FREY, I copy from the Registers of the Company of Stationers, London,⁸⁸ the following entries:

1606 [i. e. 1607]

22. Januarij

Master Linge Entred for his copies by direcon of A Court and with consent of Master Burby vnder his handwrytinge
 These iij copies.

viz.

ROMEO and JULIETT.

Loues Labour Loste.

The taminge of A Shrewe.xviij^dR

1607

19. Novembris.

John Smythick. Entred for his copies vnder th[e h]andes of the wardens. these bookes followinge
 Whiche dyd belonge to Nicholas Lynge

viz:

[Then follows a numbered list of sixteen books, four of which I give.]

6. A booke called HAMLETT vj^d

9. *The taminge of a Shrewe* vj^d

10. ROMEO AND JULETT vj^d

11. *Loues Labour Lost* vj^d

Three out of the four numbered paragraphs which conclude

⁸⁷ FREY's Introd., p. 7.

⁸⁸ ARBER's 'Transcript,' vol. iii.

Mr. FREY's scholarly Introduction give a summary of his grounds for believing that SHAKESPEARE was the author of TAS. I cite the paragraphs in question :

" 1. If the author of *The Taming of a Shrew* was not William Shakespeare, he must have been a man acquainted with Stratford-on-Avon, with Wilmecote, with the Sly family and with the tinker himself. Is it probable that two authors should exist having a cognizance of all these facts ?

" 2. If the author of the older comedy was not Shakespeare, the latter must have pirated an enormous quantity of lines and scenes from some other man, a fact which would not have escaped the notice of those who were ever ready to ridicule and censure him. But there is nothing on record to prove that he was ever criticised unfavorably for his production.

" 3. Burby in 1606-7 sold three plays to Ling, all of which were then recognized as Shakespeare's [?], and one of them was the older comedy. Burby's transactions were honorable, and he would scarcely have foisted a counterfeit production upon his buyer."

In answer to these arguments I would advance the following considerations :

1. The use of the name *Sly* is all the Warwickshire coloring which is found in the Induction of TAS. The names of Warwickshire localities appear only in TTS. *Sly* and *Katharina* are the only characters whose names are the same in TAS. and TTS. SHAKESPEARE may retain this name in TTS. because he knew the Sly family of Stratford. Perhaps he is making a half-apology for his free use of an honored name, when he makes the tinker say, "The Slys are no rogues; look in the chronicles; we came in with Richard Conqueror."⁸⁹

2. If the author of the older comedy *was* SHAKESPEARE, then SHAKESPEARE *did* pirate a large number of lines, many of them verbatim, from his great contemporary MARLOWE. Mr. FREY says nothing at all about the large MARLOWE element in TAS.

3. How does Mr. FREY know that the three plays sold to Ling "were then recognized as Shakespeare's"? If SHAKESPEARE made direct use of TAS., as he is usually supposed to have done, he certainly borrows the plot and the situations of that play with complete freedom and fullness; in his additions and alterations, however, there are some very fine touches. He is also strangely free in appropriating the very language of

⁸⁹ Ind. TTS., ll. 3-5.

TAS., if he used that play at all, but he does not seem to follow that language as if it were his own.

III. SHAKESPEARE'S PART IN TTS.

The *Jahrbücher* of the German *Shakespeare Society* for the four years 1885-8 tell us that, during the years 1884-7, *Othello* was presented upon the stage in Germany 352 times; *Hamlet*, 349 times; and TTS., 318 times. These are the three dramas among those attributed to SHAKESPEARE that were acted most frequently during these four years.—Can it be that SHAKESPEARE was not the sole author of TTS.? a play which still holds the stage in England and America, and which is so exceptionally popular in Germany, the second father-land of the great poet.

At the foot of each one of the statistical tables which have been used in obtaining the above figures, stands a special note concerning TTS. It is the only play in the list which calls for supplementary statistics. During these same four years, 1884-7, in addition to the 318 presentations noted above, TTS. was acted 139 times in the so-called Holbein revision (*Bearbeitung*), which bears the title *Liebe kann Alles*. Here is a new proof of the popularity of this piece. But how does it happen that this play alone among the plays attributed to SHAKESPEARE permits of being so skillfully rewritten by a modern author that his revision secures permanent approval and acceptance in critical Germany?

The most divergent views have been held with reference to the authorship of TTS. POPE made SHAKESPEARE the author not only of this play but also of TAS.^{89a} Dr. WARBURTON considered TTS. to be certainly spurious, as far as any connection with SHAKESPEARE is concerned.⁹⁰

FARMER and STEEVENS held less pronounced but still opposing views. FARMER supposes TTS. to be "not *originally* the work of Shakespeare, but restored by him to the stage." SHAKESPEARE'S contribution to this restored play was the whole Induction, "and some occasional improvements, especially in the character of Petruchio."⁹¹ STEEVENS says on the contrary:

"I know not to whom I could impute this comedy, if Shakespeare was not its author. I think his hand is visible in almost

^{89a} WARD, 'Eng. Dram. Lit.'

⁹⁰ 'Variorum Shakes.,' of 1821. Vol. v.

⁹¹ 'Variorum' of 1821.

every scene, though perhaps not so evidently as in those which pass between Katharine and Petruchio."⁹²

The wide divergences of earlier critics, however, are giving place to a good measure of agreement. Of later critics, WHITE, FLEAY and FURNIVALL have studied the question of the authorship of TTS. with substantially the same results. WHITE says:⁹³

"In it [TTS.] three hands at least are traceable; that of the author of the old play, that of Shakespeare himself, and that of a co-laborer. The first [hand, that of the author of TAS.,] appears in the structure of the plot, and in the incidents and the dialogue of most of the minor scenes [I question the truth of this phrase in its apparent meaning. It is the *major* scenes of TTS. which especially resemble parts of TAS.], . . .; to the last [hand, that of the co-laborer,] must be assigned the greater part of the love business between *Bianca* and her two suitors [*Grumio* and *Tranio* are omitted from consideration]; while to Shakespeare belong the strong, clear characterization, the delicious humor and the rich verbal coloring of the recast Induction, and all the scenes in which *Katharine* and *Petruchio* and *Grumio* are the prominent figures, together with the general effect produced by scattering lines and words and phrases here and there, and removing others elsewhere, throughout the rest of the play."

The single authorship of TTS. has been doubted, also, on metrical grounds. KÖNIG, the careful investigator of SHAKESPEARE'S versification, obtains such contradictory results from a comparison of the metrical peculiarities of TTS. with those of the other plays that he is forced to the conclusion that it cannot be entirely the work of SHAKESPEARE.⁹⁴

Mr. F. G. FLEAY⁹⁵ and Mr. F. J. FURNIVALL⁹⁶ have both sought to divide the Shakespearian from the non-Shakespearian parts of the play. Mr. FLEAY apparently makes little use of his elaborate paper "On the Authorship of the Taming of the Shrew" in determining what parts he shall assign to SHAKESPEARE. Mr. FURNIVALL claims to be guided only by his sense of style. With reference to both of these attempts to determine the part of SHAKESPEARE in this drama, there is something left to be desired. FURNIVALL acknowledges this; his remarks are given only as comments upon FLEAY'S paper,

⁹² 'Var.' of 1821.

⁹³ 'Shakespeare's Wks.,' Vol. iv.

⁹⁴ "Der Vers in Shakspeare's Dramen." *Quellen und Forschungen* lxi. p. 137.

⁹⁵ *Trans. New Shaks. Soc.* for 1874. Reprinted in his 'Shakespeare Manual.'

⁹⁶ *Trans. N. S. Soc.*, 1874.

and he calls for "more study." That additional study I have sought to give.

We need a clear view of the terms on which SHAKESPEARE and his presumed partner or partners divided their task between them. Unless there was some plan of procedure, some definite system in the assignment of the parts, which system we can find out by careful study, our results must necessarily be so largely personal as to lose much of their value. Metrical tests and specific peculiarities of style may so far corroborate our results as to make it very sure that we have divided the play into parts behind which there lurks a similar division in the authorship. But not unless we can find out the terms of the agreement between these writers, their treaty of coöperation, can we feel really satisfied with our results. Of course, there may have been no clear-cut division of labor; but this is not probable. It is quite likely, however, that some one of the associated authors would have the final revision of the whole piece. In this revision, he might remove, insert, or rewrite passages in the portion contributed by the subordinate partner or partners. So far as he made the different writers tions, the task of separating the work of such altera would become more and more difficult. It might become impossible to do this except in a very general way.

That TTS. was not written by one man at one time, that we have at least two styles here, will be evident to the careful reader. Let any one compare the opening speeches of Act I. (Sc. i. 1-40), with their strutting rhetoric, their solemn rehearsal of that preliminary business of the play which always clogs and embarrasses a weak writer,—with Petruchio's soliloquy (II. i. 169-182) where he discloses his plan as to the manner in which he is to woo Katharine. The first passage is swelling, vague. The servant seems to know already all that the master can ever hope to learn; he unfolds an elaborate system of education with all the tedious, superficial wisdom of a man who knows many words but few things. The advice ends, however, with that gem:

"In brief, sir, study what you most affect."

In these lines and the first speech of Baptista which follows, the metrical accent falls very frequently upon unemphatic monosyllables;⁹⁷ and the constant use of inversion gives an artificial effect.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ See ll. 1, 10, 38, 50.

⁹⁸ See Dr. ABBOTT, *Trans. New Shakes. Soc.*, 1874, p. 121.

I give the first twenty-four lines of the passage described.
These constitute the first speech of the main play :

“Lucentio. Tranio, since for the great desire I had
To see fair Padua, nursery of arts,
I am arrived for fruitful Lombardy,
The pleasant garden of great Italy ;
And by my father's love and leave, am arm'd
With his good will and thy good company,
My trusty servant, well approved in all,
Here let us breathe and haply institute
A course of learning and ingenious studies.
Pisa renown'd [renowned] for grave citizens
Gave me my being and my father first,
A merchant of great traffic through the world,
Vincentio, come of the Bentivolii.
Vincentio's son brought up in Florence
It shall become to serve all hopes conceived,
To deck his fortune with his virtuous deeds :
And therefore, Tranio, for the time I study,
Virtue and that part of philosophy
Will I apply that treats of happiness
By virtue specially to be achieved.
Tell me thy mind ; for I have Pisa left
And am to Padua come, as he that leaves
A shallow plash to plunge him in the deep
And with satiety seeks to quench his thirst.”

TTS. I., 1-24. i.99

The second passage to which I have referred, the soliloquy of Petruchio (II. i. 169-182), is clear, sharp, specific ; each noun, verb, adjective, adverb, each comparison seems, so to speak, to put its finger on some feature in Petruchio's plan. Antithesis and climax are used in that easy, unforced way that marks the master. Note the contrast between these lines and those just given :

“Petruchio I will attend her here,
And woo her with some spirit when she comes.
Say that she rail ; why then I'll tell her plain
She sings as sweetly as a nightingale :
Say that she frown ; I'll say she looks as clear
As morning roses newly wash'd with dew :
Say she be mute and will not speak a word ;
Then I'll commend her volubility
And say she uttereth piercing eloquence :
If she do bid me pack, I'll give her thanks,

As though she bid me stay by her a week :
 If she deny to wed, I'll crave the day
 When I shall ask the banns and when be married.
 But here she comes ; and now, Petruchio, speak."

TTS. II. i. 169-182.

I think that we shall feel certain that these two styles belong to different authors. The writer of the first passage never by any process of growth attained unto the second.—What is the evidence that SHAKESPEARE took part in the production of TTS.? The appearance of the play in the first and authoritative edition of his works, the Folio of 1623, furnishes a strong presumption in favor of his connection with the piece. The thoroughly Shakespearian quality of such parts as the Induction, and Scenes i and v of Act IV gives to this presumption the strongest confirmation.

In searching for some clue as to the exact portion of the work which comes from the hand of SHAKESPEARE, it is natural to consider what has often been recognized as a fortunate suggestion of Mr. COLLIER. He says :

"I am, however, satisfied, that more than one hand (perhaps at distant dates) was concerned in it [TTS.], and that Shakespeare had little to do with any of the scenes in which Katharine and Petruchio are not engaged."¹⁰⁰

We see this hint reappearing in WHITE's statement already quoted (see p. 253) that "all the scenes in which *Katharine* and *Petruchio* and *Grumio* are the prominent figures" belong to SHAKESPEARE. COLLIER, however, seems not to have followed up his suggestion, and not even to have remembered it. In his edition of SHAKESPEARE (1842, Vol. iii) he simply speaks of "portions which are admitted not to be in Shakespeare's manner." No criterion of any sort is given us. Later in the same Introduction he gives to SHAKESPEARE a part of the play which his own suggestion and the consenting opinion of all later investigators who admit the composite character of TTS. would take from him.

Following Mr. COLLIER's suggestion, let us look at those passages by themselves in which Katharine and Petruchio appear upon the stage together. These are the following :—II. i. 183-326 ; III. ii. 186-241 ; IV. i. 123-181 ; IV. iii. 36-end ; IV. v. ; V. i. 10-end ; V. ii. 1-48, 99-105, and 121-187. (I follow the numbering of the Globe edition.)

¹⁰⁰ 'Hist. Dramatic Poetry,' iii. 78, ed. 1831.—FURNIVALL'S reference.

One of these passages, V. i. 10-end, is strictly exceptional. Petruchio and Katharine are present during this scene, but they are of no consequence in the development of the action. Their part is simply, as Petruchio expresses it, to "stand aside and see the end of this controversy" (l. 63). At the close of the scene they are left upon the stage together for a moment. Petruchio demands that Kate kiss him in the street. She demurs; but he threatens to go home again, and she obeys. The *situation* here is admirable; but the few words of Petruchio and Katharine come to us largely in weak, un-Shakespearian doggerel rhyme. In all the other passages given above, Petruchio and Katharine are the central figures. This scene is entirely exceptional in this respect.

The whole ground-plan of this scene, too, is taken from *The Supposes*, and is not found in TAS. But the whole action between Petruchio and Katharine is common to TAS. and TTS. For every one of the other passages mentioned, there exists a scene more or less similar in TAS.

We shall therefore leave out of our consideration this exceptional passage.

Let us read carefully the other parts of the play which are mentioned above, and see if they have SHAKESPEARE'S style. II. i. 183-326 seems to be his. Some of the dialogue is coarse, but Petruchio's standards of propriety are not the better ones of to-day; moreover, he is taming a shrew, and is careful not to be above his business. Kate is badly worsted. This lover who *gives* before a good blow, but never *gives up*, is a new thing in her experience. The longer speeches all fall to the unabashed Petruchio, and are pure SHAKESPEARE. The device of getting Kate to walk, by pretending to have heard that she limps; her anger at being caught in this trap; his bare-faced declaration that she has been very loving to him, but that they have agreed that "she shall still be curst in company";—these points are admirable comedy.

The above passage should be considered as beginning with line 169. This is the first line of Petruchio's soliloquy, which Kate interrupts. Here he tells us the manner in which he means to woo her. He then goes on to act out the plan before us. This soliloquy is dramatically a part of the wooing scene and shows the same style.

The next passage, III. ii. 186-241, is not so plainly SHAKESPEARE'S, but there is nothing that is not entirely worthy of him.

Kate's spirited speeches are what we expect of her. Petruchio begs the bride with such earnest, lover-like pleading not to be angry, that Gremio misunderstands his courtesy, and says, "Ay, marry, sir, now it begins to work." Petruchio next commands every one present to obey his wife and "go forward" at her command; and *then*, after all possible respect has been shown to the woman of his choice, he declares his mediæval doctrine of absolute property in his wife, commands Grumio to draw his weapon ready for fight, and marches the astonished Katharine off with him. This certainly seems to come from the same writer as the scene we have been considering just before—from SHAKESPEARE.

The whole of IV. i. seems to be by SHAKESPEARE, and not merely the lines already indicated, 123-181. The scene is laid at Petruchio's house after the marriage; SHAKESPEARE's fellow-author would have no occasion to go there. The first part of this scene, during which Petruchio and Katharine are not upon the stage, is wholly occupied with preparations for their appearance. The style is Shakespearian, no part of the play more so. Nothing in the whole comedy is better than Grumio's elaborate paraleipsis,—beginning, "Tell thou the tale: but hadst thou not crossed me, thou shouldst have heard how her horse fell and she under her horse; etc." (IV. i. 74 f.) Grumio seems to be the one character outside of Petruchio and the shrew who has received SHAKESPEARE's especial attention. This bustle of preparation at Petruchio's country house has a short counterpart in TAS.

IV. i. ends with a soliloquy of Petruchio in which he outlines his policy. This part is equally clear, and is present in outline in TAS. The whole scene belongs to SHAKESPEARE.

The first 36 lines of IV. iii., where Katharine begs Grumio for meat, have a full counterpart in TAS. The whole Scene is acted at Petruchio's house, and it is all plainly from the hand of SHAKESPEARE. IV. v., seems also to be plainly his.

We feel at first like questioning SHAKESPEARE's authorship of V. ii. 1-48. Here the wit becomes somewhat weak. This bantering has the good result, however, that the following wager comes in very naturally, instead of being the utterly causeless thing that it is in TAS.

The other parts of Act V. Scene ii. that have been mentioned

above seem to be entirely worthy of SHAKESPEARE, except the few lines of weak, doggerel rhyme at the end of 121-187.

The parts of V. ii. in which Katharine is out of the room plainly belong with the rest of the scene. The first time, she is away but a few moments before being called back; the second time, Petruchio sends her to bring the disobedient ladies. She goes out in the same way in TAS.; and there are no breaks in the style at these points. Just before Petruchio and Katharine leave the stage for the last time, near the close of the play, we find the lines in rhymed doggerel already mentioned, with one exception four-accent lines. We have had none of these in the passages already accepted as SHAKESPEARE'S, but they occur frequently in the other parts of the play. If we attribute nothing to SHAKESPEARE after this weak doggerel begins, his part will close with V. ii. 181, instead of 187. FLEAY puts the end of SHAKESPEARE'S part after line 175, perhaps objecting to the rhyme which follows. FURNIVALL makes the division after line 180. The idea of 176-179 is present in TAS. also.

The parts of TTS. which we have now accepted as plainly Shakespearian are the following:

II. i. 169-326	158 lines.
III. ii. 186-241	56 "
IV. i.	214 " (Misprint in Globe ed.)
IV. iii.	198 "
IV. v.	79 "
V. ii. 1-181	181 "
<hr/>	
Total,	886 lines.

Except for the disagreement as to the exact point at which the last passage should close, FLEAY and FURNIVALL, working independently, have assigned to SHAKESPEARE every one of the parts given in this table. In accordance with FURNIVALL'S suggestion, it would be well to have these portions of the play printed in large type as the undoubted work of SHAKESPEARE.

Is there anything else in TTS. that should be assigned to SHAKESPEARE? After studying the play with great care, seeking to form conclusions independent of the work of my predecessors, I find occasion to add but very little to the list of parts already attributed to SHAKESPEARE. There are *only thirty-five lines more in the entire play* which FLEAY and FURNIVALL are agreed in assigning to SHAKESPEARE except as FURNIVALL

altered his first view after receiving FLEAY'S table. Let us examine these thirty-five lines; they are, III. ii. 151-185.

The first thing we notice in the passage is that not one of SHAKESPEARE'S three characters,—Petruchio, Katharine and Grumio,—is on the stage. The principal speaker is *Gremio*, a character suggested entirely by *The Supposes*, where his counterpart bears the name of *Cleander*.

We find, too, that there is no passage corresponding to this in TAS. In every part assigned to SHAKESPEARE, so far, there has been some counterpart in the companion play.

These facts are very striking. Some less important points may also be noticed. SHAKESPEARE'S plays nowhere else furnish an oath with "gogs"; oaths are often made with "'od's," however. This very oath, "gogs-wouns," (l. 162) has the form "'od's nouns" with Mrs. Quickly (*Merry Wives*, IV. i.).

The long speech by Gremio (169-185) is printed as prose in the Folio of 1623. It seems to be rightly given as verse in the in the Globe edition. The three-accent line in the middle of the speech is noticeable; there is nothing like it in the parts already assigned to SHAKESPEARE; but in the non-Shakespearean parts we have similar lines in II. i. 346 and 399. Cp. I. i. 91.

I have given the first place to these considerations because they are impersonal facts, which cannot be manipulated to suit the taste and purpose of the investigator. I speak next of the style and dramatic fitness of the passage; these considerations are more subjective, more open to personal bias on the part of the critic.

The vigor and effectiveness of the language in these lines have naturally led to the belief that we have here the handiwork of the great master. I am unable to get the genuine Shakespearian impression from the passage, but that may very well be because I am prepossessed against it.

The question may now be asked, "Have we here *Shakespeare's Petruchio at all?*" SHAKESPEARE'S Petruchio, in every scene where we have so far observed him, from the beginning of the play to the end, has had something of the gentleman in his bearing. Immediately after the wedding he is willing to entreat, "O Kate content thee; prithee, be not angry" (III. ii, 217). He is careful to see to it that the Tailor is at once appeased for the hard usage to which he has been subjected (IV. iii., 166). In all Petruchio's ill-treatment of Katharine after

the marriage, he is careful to keep up a pretence of kindness, and by a fine irony his pretence is only a deeper truth. Some genuine manliness has been present in him at every point. Of the simply farcical, we have had nothing. But here in this marriage scene (III. ii., 151-185), if we look at it seriously, we have a barbarian, making light of all holy things, treating God and man with contempt; and such barbarism cannot be altogether excused by the goodness of the ultimate purpose. I believe that this spirited bit is given us by the same writer who describes Petruchio's horse as a travelling collection of equine ailments (III. ii., 43f.)—that is, by SHAKESPEARE'S gifted co-laborer.

It is in favor of this passage that it comes immediately before a part which is plainly SHAKESPEARE'S. It is easy to think of him as writing a telling introduction to the few lines which fell to him here according to plan. I cannot regard the part as his, however, for the reasons that have been given.

After seeing FLEAV'S table, FURNIVALL was willing to assign to SHAKESPEARE III. ii., 1-125, but had not before done so. The passage has a full counterpart in TAS. Katharine is present at the beginning of the scene. Petruchio and Grumio appear together after line 88.

The opening lines do not make a very clear impression either way, when one reads them with reference to the question whether they possess the Shakespearian quality or not. There is one little fact that deserves attention. The form *appoint* occurs in SHAKESPEARE'S dramas thirteen times; *appointed*, twenty-nine times; but *'point* occurs only here; *'pointed*, only here and in the preceding Scene. The preceding Scene is confessedly non-Shakespearian. Moreover, the non-Shakespearian parts of this play show some peculiar abbreviations. Notice *'cerns* for *concerns* (V. i.; 77.) and *'leges* for *alleges* (I. ii., 28). Different forms of *to concern* occur in the Concordance forty-eight times; but there is no other abbreviation like this. Forms of *to allege* occur three times; such a contraction comes only here. *'Long-eth* for *belongeth* (IV. ii., 45 and IV. iv., 7) cannot be cited, as this verb is often contracted. I confess that it is easy to give too much weight to arguments of this kind. On the whole, I cannot think that these opening lines are SHAKESPEARE'S.

The next striking feature of this scene was doubted by Mr. FURNIVALL from the first. He says concerning Biondello's description of Petruchio's horse, "Was that cattle-disease book's

catalogue of the horse's ailments his [SHAKESPEARE's], fond as he is of a list of names or qualities? Was this one up to his level?" So far, we have not found that SHAKESPEARE has anything to do with Biondello.

The same character, Biondello, soon makes another speech that is questionable. It consists of five two-accent lines of rhymed doggerel (III. ii., 84-88). These may be quoted from a ballad, as COLLIER suggests, but such a piece of barren dialectics does not acquire any significance or fitness because of being quoted. This sort of verse does not come in the parts of the play that we have assigned to SHAKESPEARE. Biondello seems to talk in similar fashion again in "and so may you, sir; and so, adieu, sir." (IV. iv., 101). A third passage, printed as prose in the Globe edition, is Grumio's "Knock you here, sir! why, sir, what am I, sir, that I should knock you here, sir?" (I. ii., 9-10). I would give none of these parts to SHAKESPEARE. I do not reckon Grumio's words, "Now were I not a little pot and soon hot, etc." (IV. i., 6). This rhyming proverb is still current in the mouths of Englishmen, and it is thoroughly woven into the prose of Grumio's speech.

The lines which follow the entrance of Petruchio and Grumio (89-125) do make a decidedly Shakespearian impression upon one. It seems as if the master may have written these speeches for his favorite Petruchio. A passage of thirty-two lines in TAS. shows the same situation that is found here; in some respects the two plays are closely parallel in these portions. These lines in TTS. seem to me to be SHAKESPEARE'S.

Before noticing that FURNIVALL had proposed the same question, I found myself obliged to ask whether II. i., 115-168 should not be given to SHAKESPEARE. At the beginning of the passage, Petruchio asks Baptista, point-blank, upon what terms he can have Katharine for his wife. A somewhat similar conference between Ferando and Alfonso comes in TAS., but they refer to a previous agreement. Then comes Hortensio's frightened account of his treatment by the shrew while trying to give her a music lesson. This incident, which is here narrated, is directly presented in TAS. in a full scene. The style of these fifty-four lines seems Shakespearian. Observe:

"Signior Baptista, my business asketh haste,
And every day I cannot come to woo."

ll. 115-116.

"I did but tell her she mistook her frets,
And bowed her hand to teach her fingering ;
When, with a most impatient devilish spirit,
' Frets call you these ? ' quoth she ; ' I'll fume with them : '
And with that word, she struck me on the head,

While she did call me rascal fiddler
And twangling Jack ; with twenty such vile terms,
As had she studied to misuse me so." ll. 150-160.

Line 159 recalls Portia's "A thousand raw tricks of these bragging Jacks."¹⁰²

It is in favor of these lines that they immediately precede a passage which has already been confidently assigned to SHAKESPEARE. It is easy to think of him as writing this introduction to the part which fell to him at this point according to the plan of authorship. I would add this passage to those that we have attributed to SHAKESPEARE.

I cannot give any explanation for the striking agreement between a bit of doggerel which we have called non-Shakespearian and a similar couplet in the *Comedy of Errors*.

"Villain, I say, knock me at this gate
And rap me well, or I'll knock your knave's pate."
TTS., I. ii., 11, 12.

"*Antipholus of E.* Go fetch me something: I'll break ope the gate.

Dromio of S. [*Within*] Break any breaking here, and I'll break your knave's pate."

Comedy of Errors. III. i., 73, 74.

There are no passages still unconsidered which seem to me to have any claim to be considered as SHAKESPEARE'S.

The following table shows in a convenient form how all the parts of *The Taming of the Shrew* have been assigned :

Shakespeare.	Induction, I. and II.	
Non-Shakespearian.	I. i.; I. ii.; II. i. 1-114	
Shakespeare.	II. i. 115-326	III. ii. 89-125
Non-Shakes.	II. i. 327-413; III. i.; III. ii. 1-88	
Shakespeare.	III. ii. 186-241	
Non-Shakes.	III. ii. 126-185	III. ii. 242-254
Shakespeare.	IV. i.	IV. iii.
Non-Shakes.	IV. ii.	IV. iv.
Shakespeare.	V. ii. 1-181	V. i.
Non-Shakes.	V. ii. 182-189	

I give in a separate table those parts of TTS. which either FLEAY, FURNIVALL, or myself assigns to SHAKESPEARE, but in reference to which our views do not agree.

¹⁰² *Mer. of Ven.* III. iv., 77.

Fleay.	Furnivall. Before seeing Fleay's table.	Furnivall. After seeing Fleay's table.	Tolman.
	Induction. II.i.115-168 (?)	Induction. II.i.115-168 (?) (see Leopold Shaks.)	Induction. II.i.115-168
III.ii.1-129 III.ii.151-185	III.ii.151-185	III.ii.1-125 III.ii.151-185	III.ii.89-125

It now remains to go through the play and determine what lines, half lines, phrases and "slight touches" which may seem worthy of SHAKESPEARE, actually come from him. But the power to make such a division, possessed by some SHAKESPEARE critics, has been denied to me. This faculty deserves to rank, I think, not far below the power of prophecy or the gift of tongues. It has, however, one disadvantage. After its possessor has once determined intuitively all the Shakespearian "touches" in a play, there is no known method by which he can secure the acceptance of his views on the part of a doubting, and, it may be, a scoffing world.

Let us now consider the Induction of TTS.

FARMER, who thinks that the body of TTS. can have only "occasional improvements" from the hand of SHAKESPEARE, is careful to say that the "whole Induction" is by him, and that it is in his "*best manner*." Later critics have acquiesced in this view concerning the Induction, so far as I know, until we come to Mr. FLEAY. His rejection of the Induction, doubtful when first made, is very decided in his 'Shakespeare Manual' (1878).

In FURNIVALL's comments upon FLEAY's original paper we find the following effective, yes, effectual words:

"That Shakspeare's hand is clearly seen in the retouched Induction, even in its opening lines, seems to me impossible to deny. The bits about the hounds, the Warwickshire places, Sly's talk, the music, pictures, &c., are Shakspeare to the life. With Mr. Grant White, I claim the whole for him."

WHITE's exact words concerning the Induction have been already cited (See p. 253).

The Induction of TTS. is very similar in plan to that of TAS. In the other Shakespearian parts of TTS., however, we constantly meet phrases and lines which are found in TAS. in almost the same form. In the Induction, SHAKESPEARE seems to have performed his task with especial love; one mark of this is the great length, comparatively, of this part in TTS. He also gives us some improvements upon the plot of the Induction of TAS. With these improvements comes a more complete

difference of language than we find elsewhere in TTS. Something like three full lines, and enough phrases to make four lines more out of a total of 285 lines, agree very exactly with the language of TAS. The relation of the Induction of TTS. to that of TAS., with respect to the language, is very much like that of Scene i. in Act IV. of *King John* to its original in *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*. We do not know, however, that TAS. is the original of TTS.

DELIUS calls attention to the relation of *King John* as a whole to *The Troublesome Raigne* as furnishing an interesting parallel to the relation of TTS. to TAS. *King John* follows the plot and the action of its companion piece much more closely than is the case with our play. The agreement in language, however, between TTS. and TAS., is much greater than that between *King John* and its predecessor.

Since SHAKESPEARE'S authorship of the Induction has been doubted, though I cannot understand upon what grounds, it may be well to give a few passages, mostly from the undoubted plays, which bear some clear resemblance to parts of the Induction.

Ind. i. 42.—"Believe me, lord, I think he cannot choose."

Tem. I. ii. 186.—"And give it way: I know thou canst not choose."

Ind. i. 51.—"To make a dulcet and a heavenly sound."

M. N. Dream, II. i. 151.—"Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath."

i. 68.—"If it be husbanded with modesty."

Ham. III. ii. 21.—" . . . o'erstep not the modesty of nature."

See also *Ham. V. i. 225.*

i. 83.—Hamlet reminds the players in the same way of a play in which he once saw them act.

See *Ham. II. ii. 440 f.*

i. 101.—"Were he the veriest antic in the world."

I. Hy. IV. i. ii. 69.—" . . . the rusty curb of old father antic the law."

i. 106.—"And see him dressed in all suits like a lady."

A. Y. L. I. iii. 118.—"That I did suit me all points like a man."

i. 128.—"Shall in despite enforce a watery eye."

M. N. D. III. i. 203.—"The moon methinks looks with a watery eye."

ii. 33.—"Call home thy ancient thoughts from banishment."

R. II.—I. iii. 212.—"Return with welcome home from banishment."

R. II.—I. iv. 21.—"When time shall call him home from banishment."

ii. 36.—"Each in his office ready at thy beck."

Ham. III. i. 126.—" . . . with more offences at my beck than I have thoughts to put them in."

- ii. 38.—"And twenty caged nightingales do sing."
TTS. II. i. 172.—"She sings as sweetly as a nightingale."
 ii. 47.—"Thy hounds shall make the welkin answer them
 And fetch shrill echoes from the hollow earth."
M. N. D. IV. i. 115.—"And mark the musical confusion
 Of hounds and echo in conjunction
 The skies, the fountains, every region near
 Seem'd all one mutual cry."
 ii. 53.—"And Cytherea all in sedges hid."
W. Tale, IV. iv. 120.—" . . . violets dim,
 But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes
 Or Cytherea's breath."

The epithet in the following passage seems to me full of Shakespearian force:

- ii. 64.—"Thou hast a lady far more beautiful
 Than any woman in this *waning* age."
 "Waning age" in II. i. 403 is not SHAKESPEARE'S.

" . . . your father were a fool
 To give thee all, and in his waning age
 Set foot under thy table."

SHAKESPEARE'S task seems to have been, in a word, to write the Induction and the actual *Taming of the Shrew*. His associate took the task of furnishing a subordinate plot which should serve as a setting for the main action, the taming of Katharine by Petruchio. The suggestions for this subordinate plot were taken from *The Supposes*.

Let us now look for any peculiarities in the language of *TTS.* which may serve to confirm our results or to call them in question.

I have already mentioned the contractions, '*point*', '*pointed*', '*cerns*' and '*leges*', which occur only in this play. (See p. 261.)

The doubtful character of arguments drawn from words which occur only in a single play has been pointed out by Mr. R. SIMPSON.¹⁰³ It seems strange that the following words occur in the genuine parts of this play and nowhere else in SHAKESPEARE: *jugs* (Ind. ii. 90), *undress* (Ind. II. 119), *mother-wit* (II. i. 265), *incredible* (II. i. 308), *tripe* (IV. iii. 20), *frolic* (as verb, IV. iii. 184). We can only console ourselves with the thought: "It is a part of probability that a great many improbable things will happen." On the whole,

¹⁰³ *Trans. New Sh. Soc.*, 1874, p. 114.

the words occurring in the non-Shakespearian parts of this play and not in the other plays seem to me to be more striking still. Some of them are: *plash* (I. i. 23), *stoics* (I. i. 31), *metaphysics* (I. i. 37), *longly* (=longingly, I. i. 170), *trance* (I. i. 182), *trol* (=old hag, I. ii. 80), *seen* (=versed, educated, I. ii. 134), *clang* (I. ii. 207), *contrive* (=spend, wear out, I. ii. 276), *pithy* (III. i. 68), *gamut* (III. i. 67, etc.), *slit* (V. i. 134). Especially deserving of attention are the following words, inasmuch as they occur *more than once* in the un-Shakespearian portions of this play, and not at all in the other plays: *specially* (I. i. 20 and 121), *mathematics* (I. i. 37, II. i. 56 and 82), *dough* (I. i. 110 and V. i. 145), *wish* (=recommend, I. i. 113, I. ii. 60 and 64). SCHMIDT'S Lexicon gives *nineteen* cases of the form *especially*. The word constantly used by SHAKESPEARE in the meaning of *to recommend* is the simple verb *to commend*. SCHMIDT considers the above cases of *wish* to be elliptical expressions in which the word has the meaning *to invite*. *To invite* is a very common verb with SHAKESPEARE. I have made use of FLEAY'S table here.¹⁰⁴

This treacherous argument seems to have some force in favor of our general division of the play, but is of no use in attesting the details of that work.

The word *agreement* occurs four times in the plays; once in Henry IV (I.—I. iii. 103), and three times in the non-Shakespearian parts of TTS. (I. ii. 183 and IV. iv. 33 and 50). *Agreement* seems to be the accent in

"No worse than I upon some agreement."

IV. iv. 33.

I. ii. (not by S.) shows a striking jumble of prose, doggerel rhyme, and blank verse. One line deserves especial attention:

"*For to* supply the places at the table."

III. ii. 249.

RICHARD GRANT WHITE says, "Shakespeare and Marlowe never use this uncouth old idiom [*for to*], which, though found in some of the literature of their day, seems even then to have been thought inelegant."¹⁰⁵

SCHMIDT'S Lexicon enables us to correct Mr. WHITE at this point. The two instances of *for to* in *Titus Adronicus*, and one

¹⁰⁴ *Trans. N. S. Soc.*, 1874, p. 90. Not republished in *Shakespeare Manual*.

¹⁰⁵ SH'S 'Works,' VII, p. 431, "Essay on the Authorship of Hy. VI."

instance from a part of *Pericles* which HUDSON prints as un-Shakespearian, are less important; but *All's Well* and *Winter's Tale* furnish each, one undoubted case. The text of *Hamlet*, as usually printed, contains two instances of *for to*; by some mistake, one of these, in the grave-digger's song (V. i.), is not cited by SCHMIDT. The Folios give *Hamlet* I. ii. 175 in the form,—

“We'll teach you to drink deep ere you depart”—

but SCHMIDT gives the older text as showing here a third instance of *for to* in this play. Strange to say, SCHMIDT fails to cite under *for to* this very line in TTS. which we are now considering. I give all the references: *Titus An.*, IV. ii. 44 and IV. iii. 51; *Pericles*, IV. ii. 71; *All's W.*, V. iii. 181; *Winter's T.*, I. ii. 427; *Hamlet*, I. ii. 175 (see above),—III. i. 175,—and V. i. 104; *Taming of the S.*, III. ii., 249.

I think we can still look upon this line in TTS.,—“For to supply the places at the table,” as suspicious.

“The frequent stress laid upon unemphatic syllables” and the fondness for inversion, which Dr. ABBOTT notes in the opening lines of the play¹⁰⁶, reappear in the other non-Shakespearian parts of the play. Note the following passages:

“But to her love concerneth us to add
Her father's liking: which to bring to pass,
As I before imparted to your worship,
I am to get a man,—whate'er he be,
It skills not much, we'll fit him to our turn,—
And he shall be Vincentio of Pisa.”

III. ii. 130-135.

“And, for the good report I hear of you
And for the love he beareth to your daughter
And she to him, to stay him not too long,
I am content, in a good father's care,
To have him match'd; and if you please to like
No worse than I, upon some agreement
Me shall you find ready and willing
With one consent to have her so bestow'd;
For curious I cannot be with you,
Signior Baptista, of whom I hear so well.”

IV. iv. 28-37.

The frequency of Latin and Italian quotations in this play is noticeable. These all come in the non-Shakespearian parts.

¹⁰⁶ *Trans. N. S. S.* 1874, p. 121.

The length of the Italian quotations is striking. See especially Act. I Scene ii. Sly's blundering "*paucas pallabris*" happens to be from the Spanish (for "*pocas pallabras*"); and it has no smack of pedantry or false realism on the part of the author.

The great number of classical and learned allusions in the non-Shakespearian parts of TTS. has attracted attention. One part of the Induction, too, is filled with names taken from classical mythology; but the fitness of these "wanton pictures" to the purpose in hand is there very striking.

The metrical differences between the Shakespearian and non-Shakespearian parts of the play are very striking—much more convincing, of course, than they could be if we had made them the principal consideration in dividing up the play. I can best present the metrical peculiarities of the different portions in the form of a table. Where we have made any peculiarity a ground for rejecting a passage, as in III. ii. 84–88, it would be reasoning in a circle to look upon the table as giving any confirmation to our view, except as we omit from the table the passage in dispute. In preparing these figures, I have followed strictly the Globe edition of TTS., preferring to have the text determined for me by an unprejudiced party. I have treated speeches as verse or prose according to the view there followed, whenever that is clear. In some cases the decision is difficult.

SHAKESPEARE'S PART IN TTS.

Part.	Total Lines.	Prose Lines.	Verse Lines.	Heroic (5-beat) lines	Unstopt Lines. (En- jambement).	Heroic Lines with Fem- inine Endings	Rhyme.	Doggerel.	Short Verse Lines, not Whole Speeches.	Short V Lines, Whole Speeches.
Ind. i.	138	15	123	120	7	26	—	—	1	2
Ind. II.	147	35	112	104	5	11	—	—	1	7
II. i.	212	14	198	190	5	40	2	—	2	6
115–326										
III. ii.	37	—	37	35	2	2	—	—	2	—
89–125										
III. ii.	56	2	54	50	2	6	—	—	4	—
186–241										
IV. i.	214	127	87	79	1	25	4	—	7	1
IV. iii.	198	46	152	145	1	24	6	—	2	4
IV. v.	79	2	77	74	5	18	4	—	2	—
V. ii.	181	—	181	163	5	35	14	—	10	6
1–181										
Totals.	1262	241	1021	960	33	187	30	—	31	26

NON-SHAKESPEARIAN PART OF TTS.

Part.	Total Lines.	Prose Lines.	Verse Lines.	Heroic (5-beat) lines	Unstopt Lines (En- jambement).	Heroic Lines with Femi- nine Endings	Rhyme, all cases.	Doggerel.	Short Verse Lines, not Whole Speeches.	Short V. Lines Whole Speeches.
I. i.	259	62	197	176	15	21	20	9	10	2
I. ii.	282	46	236	202	18	37	36	16	7	4
II. i.	114	16	98	94	6	16	2	2	2	—
II. i. 1-114	87	—	87	82	10	17	12	—	3	—
327-413	92	16	76	71	2	5	12	—	1	3
III. i.	88	51	37	31	—	9	5	5	—	1
III. ii. 1-88	60	—	60	57	6	4	4	—	2	1
126-185	13	—	13	13	—	6	2	—	—	—
III. ii. 242-254	120	—	120	116	6	31	5	—	2	2
IV. ii.	109	31	78	67	4	18	4	2	7	2
IV. iv.	155	123	32	26	1	3	14	4	2	—
V. i.	8	—	8	—	—	—	8	8	—	—
V. ii. 182-189										
Totals.	1387	345	1042	935	68	167	124	46	36	15
Totals for Play.	2649	586	2063	1895	101	354	154	46	67	41
Totals in 'Leo- pold Shak- spere,' from FLEAY.	2671	516		1971		Double End'gs. 260	5 Meas. 169 Short Lines 15 184	1 Meas. 4 2 M. 18 3 M. 22 4 M. 23 67		

SUMMARY OF TABLE.

	Total Lines.	Prose Lines.	Verse Lines.	Heroic Lines (5-beat).	Unstopt Lines.	Heroic Lines Femi- nine Endings	Rhyme.	Doggerel.	Short Verse Lines, not Whole Speeches.	Short V. Lines Whole Speeches.	Alexan- drines.
Shake- spere.	1262	241	1021	960	33	187	30	0	31	26	4
Non- Shake- spere'n	1387	345	1042	935	68	167	124	46	36	15	10

The great difference between the number of "Feminine Endings" in my table (354) and the total number of "Double Endings" as given in the 'Leopold Shakspeare' (260) may be due

partly to the fact that many endings in SHAKESPEARE'S use have sometimes the value of two syllables and sometimes that of one syllable.

I reckon as Alexandrines the following: in the non-Shakespearian parts, I. ii. 23, 24, 151, 165, 228, 236, 237; II. i. 405, 413; and III. i. 54=10;—and, in the Shakespearian parts, IV. iii. 44; IV. v. 16; and V. ii. 43, 175=4. The 'Leopold Shakspeare' gives 5 as the total number of 6-measure lines.

The most striking fact about the table is that SHAKESPEARE'S associate has all of the doggerel and more than four-fifths of the rhyme.

I find 11 lines in the play whose first foot seems to be composed of but one syllable; and 29 lines which contain an extra syllable at the pause. These lines are used with equal freedom by both writers.

I will call especial attention, farther, only to the run-on lines. KÖNIG¹⁰⁷, in his admirable discussion of *Enjambement* in SHAKESPEARE, shows very clearly that many factors come into play here, and that it is impossible to make a sharp division of the heroic lines in a play into two distinct classes, "stopt" and "unstopt." I have reckoned lines as "stopt" whenever possible, i. e. whenever it seemed at all natural to read a line in such a way as to give a clear pause at the end. Hence my total falls below those of FURNIVALL and KÖNIG. FURNIVALL finds 121 "unstopt" lines in the play, out of 1930 5-beat verses (6.3%). I find 101 such lines out of 1895 (5.3%). KÖNIG finds 8.1%). As FURNIVALL has already pointed out, the associate uses these lines much more freely than SHAKESPEARE.

FLEAY'S elaborate discussion of the authorship of TTS.¹⁰⁸ is very unsatisfactory. After giving specimens of six classes of metrical peculiarities in this play, he says, "These peculiarities of metre are enough of themselves to show that the greater part of this play is not Shakspeare's." He then adds a seventh peculiarity, "the frequent contraction of the word 'Gentlemen' into 'Gentlemen'". He gives eight specimens under his first class, but *six of them come in the parts of the play which he afterwards assigns to SHAKESPEARE* (see FURNIVALL'S comment). Of a second peculiarity, he gives eleven specimens, afterwards assigning four of

¹⁰⁷ 'Der Vers in Shaksperes Dramen.' Qu. und Forschungen, lxi, p. 97.

¹⁰⁸ *Trans. New Sh. Soc.*, 1874, and *Shakes. Manual*.

them to SHAKESPEARE. Many of the lines given under his third class seem to belong elsewhere (see KÖNIG, p. 84). Of the seven that I can read as he does, he afterwards gives four to SHAKESPEARE. The five lines in his fourth class can easily be read in a different manner, and I think should be. One of them is afterwards given to SHAKESPEARE. The fifth class is composed of "the doggerel lines, chiefly of four measures in each line." FLEAY'S statement, "Lines like these of four measures occur nowhere else in Shakespeare," is simply amazing. The farcical features of TTS. make us think of the *Comedy of Errors*. In Act III. Scene i. of that play, FLEAY can find a hatful of such lines. They occur, also, in other plays. (See KÖNIG, p. 120). Of FLEAY'S sixth class of peculiarities, SHAKESPEARE finally gets more than the associate. KÖNIG finds the use of *gentleman* as equivalent to two syllables to be a *frequent thing throughout the dramas* (p. 35).

At the close of his paper, FLEAY gives typical passages illustrating the different styles to be found in this play. Here he questions SHAKESPEARE'S authorship of that peculiar and significant feature of TTS., the scolding speech of Petruchio, beginning "O monstrous arrogance!" (IV. iii.) He takes away from SHAKESPEARE another passage in IV. iii. These passages have already been unquestioningly attributed to the poet in FLEAY'S own table.

There are some differences between the various non-Shakespearian parts of TTS. which suggest the possibility that SHAKESPEARE had more than one helper in the production of this play. The strutting rhetoric of the opening speeches does not again appear. The situations of Act I. are also found in TAS. Otherwise the non-Shakespearian parts borrow especially from *The Supposes*. A large number of the peculiar words already noticed as occurring in TTS. and not in other plays of the First Folio (see p. 267) appear in this Act. But we have seen that "the frequent stress laid upon unemphatic syllables" and the fondness for inversion are common both to the non-Shakespearian parts which come earlier in the play and to the later ones (See p. 268). The differences between the various non-Shakespearian portions do not seem to me greater, on the whole, than those which may well mark different portions of the work of one author.

I have no clear light as to who SHAKESPEARE's associate was in composing this play ; but I would call attention to certain correspondences between his work and that of ROBERT GREENE. These correspondences concern especially GREENE's masterpiece, the play entitled *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*.

Many such abbreviated words as we have found in the work of the associate author of TTS. (See p. 66) occur in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*; e. g. 'tirèd (for *attirèd*, i. 145, iii. 45, vi. 118), 'gree (for *degree*, x. 47), 'tide (for *betide*, xiii. 14), and many others (See Ward, *Old Eng. Drama*, p. 213). The same play has the oath "Gog's wounds" (vi. 128), which occurs nowhere in the plays attributed to SHAKESPEARE outside of TTS. III. ii. 162, where we have assigned it to the associate. *Friar Bacon* has also a number of such word-twistings as the co-laborer puts into the mouth of Grumio: e. g. *reparrel* (V. 49), *niniversity* (VII. 85), for *apparel* and *university*.

We have found one infinitive with *for to* in TTS. (III. ii. 249). I have already commented upon WHITE's statement that SHAKESPEARE does not use this idiom (p. 267). He also declares that it is not used by MARLOWE. He continues: "Peele avails himself of it [*for to*] but half a dozen times throughout all his works; but Greene seems to have had a fondness for it; or rather to have been driven, by the poverty of his poetical resources, to eke out his verses with this phrase, which is not found in any of the humorous prose passages of his dramas."¹⁰⁹

The phrase in question occurs seven times in *Friar Bacon*; I cite two of the cases:

"Ride for to visit Oxford with our train."

Dyce's Greene, p. 159.

"Stays for to marry matchless Elinor."

Ibid. p. 177.

The associate author of TTS. seems fond of the word *for*, and often gives it the accent. See the opening speech of Act i. which has already been cited (p. 255). Compare the following:

"First, *for* thou cam'st from Lacy whom I lov'd,—
Ah, give me leave to sigh at very thought!—
Take thou, my friend, the hundred pounds he sent;
For Margaret's resolution craves no dower:
The world shall be to her as vanity;
Wealth, trash; love, hate; pleasure, despair:

¹⁰⁹ 'Shakes Wks.,' VII, p. 431.

For I will straight to stately Framlingham,
 And in the abbey there be shorn a nun,
 And yield my loves and liberty to God.
 Fellow, I give thee this not *for* the news,
 For those be hateful unto Margaret,
 But *for* thou'rt Lacy's man, once Margaret's love."

Friar Bacon, Sc. X. 153-164.

In the abundance of its classical quotations and in the manner of introducing them, *Friar Bacon* shows a great similarity to those parts of TTS. which are now being considered. "Age-nor," a name coming only in TTS. in the Concordance (I. i. 173), is also found in *Friar Bacon* (IV. ii). Paris, the Trojan, is named once in *I. Henry VI.*, once by the associate, in TTS. (I. ii. 247), in *Troilus and Cr.*, and nowhere else in SHAKESPEARE'S plays. His name comes twice in *Friar Bacon* (iii. 69, xii. 6).

"Gramercies" occurs three times in the plays,—twice in TTS. (not in SHAKESPEARE'S part) and once in *Timon of Athens*. It comes twice in *Friar Bacon*. I cite the four lines in question:

"Gramercies, Tranio, well dost thou advise."

TTS., I. i. 41.

"Gramercies, lad, go forward; this contents."

Ibid., I. i. 168.

"Gramercies, Bacon; I will quit thy pain."

Friar Bacon, Sc. v. 112.

"Gramercies, lordings; old Plantaganet."

Ibid., Sc. xvi. 6.

Friar Bacon has a good number of Latin quotations. The scene being laid in England, there is no occasion for introducing expressions from the Italian.

On the contrary, *frollic* as a verb is found only in the Shakespearian part of TTS., among all the plays. It occurs in *Friar Bacon* (xiii. i).

Friar Bacon contains more than fifty lines of 2-accent doggerel. We have found some of this in the non-Shakespearian part of TTS. (See p. 262.)

GREENE'S other plays do not show so much verbal agreement with TTS. as does *Friar Bacon*. LODGE assisted him in the writing of *A Looking Glass for London and England*, and the authorship of *George-a-Greene* is doubtful. There are but three other plays left to us for consideration: *Orlando Furioso*, *James IV.* and *Alphonsus King of Arragon*.

Abbreviated words like those in *Friar Bacon* do not occur so abundantly in the other plays. *Orlando Furioso* has 'miss for amiss, and 'gree for degree.'¹¹⁰ *Alphonsus* has 'dain for disdain in two places in Act i., and elsewhere in the play.

I have noted one case of *for to* in *James IV.* and nine cases in *Alphonsus*, but there are probably others. The phrase comes in the first stanza of GREENE's longest poem, "A Maiden's Dream." I have not noted any instance of it in *Orlando Furioso*. I have not access to a copy of GREENE's works at the present writing.

The great fondness of GREENE for the word *for* is noticeable in *Alphonsus*, in addition to the abundant use of *for to* in that play. I noted four instances of the combination *for because* in the first two Acts of *Alphonsus*, when not reading the play with especial reference to this point. SCHMIDT gives *for because* as occurring but three times in all the plays of SHAKESPEARE.

The word *Gramercies* does not occur in the undoubted plays of GREENE outside of *Friar Bacon*. It occurs once in the doubtful play *George-a-Greene*.

I have already called attention to the word *seen* in TTS., I. ii. 134.

". . . . a school master
Well seen in music."

This passage is non-Shakespearian, and this meaning of the word is found nowhere else in the plays; but we have the same use in GREENE's *James IV.*, Act v. Scene v:

"But I that am in speculation seen."

We have the best of reasons for connecting GREENE and SHAKESPEARE together, though not as fellow workers. We do this on the ground of GREENE's oft-cited reference to "Shake-scene" in the pamphlet written upon his death-bed, "A Groat's Worth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance." Here GREENE speaks as if MARLOWE, LODGE and PEELE stood in the same relation to SHAKESPEARE as himself. Their names are not given; but his messages to unnamed persons are commonly interpreted as addressed to them. He says at last: ". . . there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that, with his *Tygres heart wrapt in a player's hyde*, supposes hee is as well able to bombast out a blanke-verse as the best of you; and, being an absolute Johannes-fac-totum, is in his owne conceyt the only Shake-scene in a countrey."

¹¹⁰ DYCE's 'Greene,' pp. 109, 91 and 107.

The reference to SHAKESPEARE is made certain by the resemblance of one phrase here to the line in *III. Hy. VI.*,

"O tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide."

I. iv. 137.

Although GREENE speaks for his three fellows and himself, it is natural to suppose that he is thinking especially of his own case. His name has been often brought into connection with TTS. So far as I know, this has always been done by attributing to him either a part or a whole of the companion play, TAS. RICHARD GRANT WHITE says: "It is quite uncertain who was the author of *The Taming of a Shrew*. . . . In my opinion, it is the joint production of Greene, Marlowe, and, possibly, Shakespeare." (Vol. IV. p. 391.) MALONE, KNIGHT and HUDSON think that GREENE may very well have been the sole author of TAS. I have not been led to discern a second hand in the old play, or to see GREENE's hand there at all. I wish to ask the question whether GREENE may not have been the associate of SHAKESPEARE in writing TTS.?

Some genuine common power is shown in TTS., outside of the Shakespearian portions. It is in place, therefore, to remember that CHETTLÉ called GREENE "the only comedian of a vulgar writer in this country."¹¹¹ NASH says of him: "He made no account of winning credite by his workes."¹¹²

Let us notice also a passage in a tract called *Greene's Funerals*, 1594:

"Nay, more; the men that so eclipsed his fame
Purloined his plumes: can they deny the same?"¹¹³

The fact that GREENE died in 1592, much before the supposed date of TTS., is a difficulty. SHAKESPEARE may have revised in riper years his part of an earlier play which he and GREENE wrote together. It is more probable, however, that SHAKESPEARE's helper in writing TTS. was simply an ardent admirer of GREENE's work, and especially of the play *Friar Bacon*, and that the resemblances between his writing and GREENE's can be so explained.

Upon what terms did SHAKESPEARE, and his helper divide their work between them?

¹¹¹ Kind-Harts Dreame. See DYCE's ed. GREENE.

¹¹² Strange Newes, 'DYCE's Greene.'

¹¹³ See HUDSON's 'Sh.' Harvard Ed. Introd. to Part II. *Hy. VI.*

If SHAKESPEARE wrote, as we believe, the *core* of the play, the actual taming of the shrew, he gave practically his entire attention to but three characters—Petruchio, Katharine and Grumio. We should naturally conjecture, therefore, that he wrote his part first, and then handed it over to the associate for completion. The picture is not made to fit the frame, but the frame to fit the picture.

There are some things that corroborate this view. In Act II. Sc. i., SHAKESPEARE's part is enclosed within the work of his fellow-author. The two parts of Act III. Sc. ii. that I have assigned to SHAKESPEARE are enclosed within the three parts given to his assistant; and the Scene ends with a distinct tail-piece written by the associate. The whole of the last Act of the play has been assigned to SHAKESPEARE, except a meaningless tail-piece of a few doggerel lines. These lines would naturally be written by the one who put the last hand upon the play.

I hold, then, that SHAKESPEARE wrote the core of the play, the actual taming of Katharine, and that this was the first part of the play that was written. The artist then gave his picture to the artisan to be framed. The artisan-associate finished the play, and left it in its present condition.

ERRATA.

- P. 216. After 1, 2, 3, read: "nearly the same that have just been given for TAS." In the second line below, read: "the false father of the *false* Lucentio is Pedant-Vincentio."
- P. 217. The cross-reference is to pp. 20 and 21.
- P. 221. Eleven lines from the bottom, for "making" read "marking."
- P. 226. In the last line, read "tumbling."
- P. 228. 2 should read: "It is just the . . . parts of TTS. which borrow most freely from TAS."
- P. 232. Near the middle of the page, read: "than it is permissible to use here."
- P. 247. Near the bottom of the page, in the second column, read: "I doubt the mustard is too colerick for you."
- P. 254. In the middle of the page, for "the subordinate partner or partners," read "his partner or partners." Transpose the beginnings of the next two lines.

Table of Contents.

- A. a. should begin: "*The Taming of a Shrew* (TAS.) and *The Supposes*, etc."
- A. b. For TAS., read TTS.

*A Bibliography of Danish and Swedish Dictionaries, together
with a Brief Account of Danish Lexicography.**

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As a science develops, the necessity for some methodical record of its literature becomes more and more felt. The annual book-lists published by scientific journals and societies as well as the more extensive bibliographies in all departments of learning, give ample proof of this fact. In the Scandinavian group of languages, THEODORE MÖBIUS has performed an admirable task in cataloguing the works relating to the Icelandic language and literature, while CHR. BRUUN, the Librarian of the Royal Library, at Copenhagen, is at present engaged on a far more extensive treatment of the Danish side.¹ The latter work, however, by reason of its very completeness, including as it will the whole range of Danish investigation, will not supply exactly the need met by MÖBIUS' less pretentious but more accessible list. The subjects of the language and literature, too, have not yet been reached and several years will elapse before the completion of the book. The object of the present paper is to give such information respecting the development and the present state of Danish lexicography as may be of practical use, especially to the foreign student of the Danish language. Keeping the practical always in view, I shall give only a very slight description of the earlier dictionaries, confining myself chiefly to such works as are of general use. Before beginning the account, a few words of explanation respecting the bibliographical lists may not be considered inappropriate. In the classification I have striven after consistency, but in some few cases this was found to be impossible, as with the first class of Danish dictionaries, to which WANDAL'S 'Catalogus' does not properly belong. Tech-

*See pp. xxiii-xxvi, of the *Proceedings*, 1889, for the discussion on this paper.

¹ 'Bibliotheca Danica. Systematisk Fortegnelse over den danske Literatur fra 1482-1830, efter Samlingerne i det Store Kongelige Bibliothek i Kjøbenhavn. Med. Supplementer fra Universitetsbib. i Kjøbenhavn og Karen Brahes Bibl. i Odense. Udg. ved CHR. V. BRAUN. Vol. i. Copenhagen, 1877.

nical dictionaries, of which there are comparatively few in either Danish or Swedish, are, for sake of convenience, classified with the *Fremmedordböger* (Dictionaries of foreign words.) This classification is the more defensible in that the same work occasionally combines the characteristics of both. Of international dictionaries I have given only those in the principal languages, French, German and English, and the two former have been grouped together. In every doubtful case the preference has been given to Danish, so that Danish-Swedish and Swedish-Danish dictionaries will be found in the Danish list, as also Danish-Swedish-German, etc.

In the great majority of cases the titles have been copied at first hand and for this purpose all lexicons in the Royal and the University Libraries in Copenhagen have been consulted. Some of the Swedish dictionaries, of which copies are not found in Denmark, were consulted at the University Library of Lund. But as I was unable to visit either Stockholm or Upsala, it is possible that in the Swedish list some omissions may be discovered. Besides examining the collections above mentioned, I have made careful use of the bibliographies cited, some of which gave very valuable aid. VATER's list of grammars and lexicons, although necessarily incomplete, is accurate and useful as far as it goes. BOTTEN-HANSEN's 'La Norvège Littéraire' is of special value to any one to whom the Norwegian libraries are inaccessible. Occasional omissions have been supplied by the bibliographies published in *Germania* and the *Arkiv*. The English, German and French book catalogues have been consulted with special reference to international dictionaries, practically the only class published outside of Scandinavia. The Danish book-list, being intended only for practical use, has no bibliographical value, and in every case I have verified and completed the titles there cited by reference to the Royal or the University Library in Copenhagen.

1. LATIN-DANISH AND DANISH-LATIN DICTIONARIES.

By referring to the bibliography, it will be seen that modern dictionaries of this class are not included. In making this distinction between the old and the new, I have been guided by the following principle. Only such dictionaries are cited as serve to contribute to our knowledge of the Danish language. Under

this head fall the Latin lexicons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which are vast storehouses of obsolete Danish words and forms, whose meaning and use are determined beyond any doubt by the Latin renderings. As these works are consulted by Danish lexicographers and students of the language, they may properly be regarded as Danish rather than Latin dictionaries. Those of more recent times, on the other hand, are Latin, pure and simple, being used only by Danes in acquiring a knowledge of the classics. The latest work cited is PEDER SYV'S 'Prøve,' T. BADEN'S 'Roma-Danica,' which followed it by only a few years, being essentially Latin.

The author of the first Latin-Danish dictionary is KRISTIERN PEDERSEN, famous in Denmark as theologian, historian and linguist. This is not the place for an account of PEDERSEN'S great services to his fatherland. Suffice it to say, that he was one of the leaders of the Danish Reformation, besides devoting himself eagerly to the reading and rewriting of the old Danish legends. Although his name is not affixed to the 'Wocabularijm ad vsum dacorum,' there is no reason to deny him the credit of the work. The first edition appeared in Paris at the time that PEDERSEN was living in that city, and all evidence, internal and external, that we possess, points to him as its author. As this claim has never been seriously disputed, we may simply accept it as an established fact.

Of the first edition, which is fully described by CHR. BRUUN (*Aarsberetninger* I. 178-185), only two copies, both incomplete, are preserved, the one in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, the other in the University Library of Lund. The second and third editions are equally rare but in better condition. They are described in the same volume.

TURSON'S work, the second of this class, is not arranged in alphabetical order, but according to topics, a very popular method of instruction at that time. On the same plan are the compilations of HADRIANUS JUNIUS, STEPHANIUS and HANS RHODE, the latter of which is accompanied with numerous wood-cuts illustrating the topics discussed. WANDAL'S 'Catalogus' is a curious attempt to explain the derivation of certain Danish words from the Hebrew. One of the most interesting and valuable works of this period is PEDER SYV'S "Prøve paa en Dansk og Latinsk Ordbog." Although but a small portion of the dictionary was completed, the preface alone, which is in

a finished state, would insure its author the respect of modern philologists. In it SYV displays an acumen and common sense, especially in his treatment of etymology and orthography, that stamp him as the real founder of Danish language-study. After commenting upon the difficulty in tracing the derivation of many words, he passes to the consideration of foreign words in the Danish language, comparing their changes to the adaptation of plants to the soil in which they are placed. He also notes dialectic divergences.

II. NATIONAL DICTIONARIES.

Modern Danish lexicography owes its origin to MATTHIAS MOTH (1642-1719). MOTH, although for many years of his life actively engaged in affairs of state, found leisure to devote to the study of his own language. After his removal from office, attendant upon the death of his patron Christian V., the ex-chancellor directed his undivided attention to his favorite pursuit, the sixty folio volumes, of which the collection originally consisted, bearing witness to this statesman-scholar's industry. Although unfortunately the work has never received the printer's mark of immortality, its indirect results are perceived in the character of all succeeding Danish dictionaries. Without giving a detailed account of MOTH's life and work for which reference may be made to MOLBECH's elaborate treatise on the subject,² it may be stated that the Ms. of the dictionary is lodged in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The scope of the work is much more extensive than that of either of the two existing Danish dictionaries, including not only foreign words introduced into the language, but also many dialectic forms. The labors of ROSTGAARD and LANGEBEK also bear an important relation to modern Danish lexicography. LANGEBEK's work consists mainly of a revision and amplification of ROSTGAARD's collection.

For many years these MSS. remained untouched and perhaps forgotten, until in 1775 HJELMSTJERNE laid before *Videnskabsbernes Selskab* the necessity for a Danish dictionary. Two years later a detailed plan was proposed and the work was begun by a commission appointed by the Society. A proposition to introduce Latin renderings did not meet with general favor. The

² Historisk Udsigt over de danske Ordbogsarbejder i det 17de og 18de Aarhundrede af GEN. MATTHIAS MOTH, Confer. FR. ROSTGAARD og Etats. J. LANGEBEK ved CHR. MOLBECH. Aftrykt af *Nye Danske Magazin* v. B. 4 H. Copenhagen, 1847. pp. 48, 4to.

ground work of the book is LANGEBEK's Ms., the uncompleted letters being taken from ROSTGAARD's list. The references to MOTH are numerous. The first volume, including the letters A-F., appeared in 1793, and the last volume, issued in 1853, leaves the work still uncompleted. The bad results of such irregular and delayed publication are self-evident. The work lacks consistency. While the first volume represents the state of philology and orthography of a hundred years ago, each succeeding one shows some change, unavoidable, to be sure, but separating it from its fellows. Its very extent, too, puts the book out of the reach of the general public.

The first orthographical dictionary, if we except NIELS VON HAUEN's 'Lexicon,' was published in 1799 by JACOB BADEN, and as this class of dictionaries has since won great popularity in Denmark, a mention of its chief characteristics may not be out of place. While the main object of the 'Orthographiske Ordbog' is to denote the proper spelling and combination of words, it is not, like the 'Retskrivnings Ordbog' of later days, confined entirely to this, but admits of short definitions and illustrations. It is, in fact, a condensed national dictionary, corresponding to the abridged editions of WEBSTER and WORCESTER. The value of such a work at the beginning of this century was inestimable. Only the first volume of the great 'Ordbog' had appeared, the Ms. collections referred to before were, of course, practically inaccessible, and the only other lists of Danish words, besides VON HAUEN's work were contained in the early Danish-Latin dictionaries, representing an orthography quite at variance with the one then in use, and the various international dictionaries, truly a sorry enough choice. Under such circumstances, therefore, it is surprising that BADEN's dictionary did not meet with a greater demand and it was not until fourteen years later that this first attempt was succeeded by MOLBECH's 'Haandordbog,' in which the principles of orthography held by this author were for the first time plainly set forth. The nature of these principles will be briefly discussed in their proper place, here it is sufficient to say that the 'Haandordbog' quickly usurped the place held by its predecessor, of which it may almost be regarded as a second edition, and, reversing the usual order, it gave rise to the larger work, on which MOLBECH's reputation as a lexicographer is mainly based. The scope of this latter dictionary is fully explained in the preface to the first edition.

The book, however, was later greatly extended, the vocabulary being increased, and the definitions and illustrations enlarged and improved. It is evident from several references occurring in the preface, and from the character of many of the definitions, that in not a few respects MOLBECH took our own Dr. JOHNSON as his guide. In the subject of etymology MOLBECH is especially weak. It was at first determined to disregard this side of the work altogether, but after the printing had actually begun, some references to Teutonic derivatives were introduced, without, however, any serious attempt to trace the development of Danish words. MOLBECH was not a philologist and his dictionary may therefore, like Dr. JOHNSON'S, be regarded as a literary rather than a scientific production. The quotations from the standard Danish authors are numerous and well-chosen, and the definitions are, for the most part, accurate and well-expressed. As has been so frequently the case in Denmark, the appearance of MOLBECH'S 'Ordbog' was the signal for a contest of words, one of the bitterest that have ever taken place. In a series of pamphlets published in 1833-35,³ TORSEL BADEN, a relative of the author of the 'Orthographiske Ordbog,' and F. P. J. DAHL, attempted to show, not only the many deficiencies occurring in the subject of their attack, but the actual inability of the author to write a Danish dictionary at all. By reason of their extreme violence, these criticisms could never have won the serious attention of any but the most biased partisans, and they are now of value merely as literary curiosities. MÜLERTZ'S supplementary list⁴ is an attempt in quite a different spirit to point out some of the actual deficiencies in MOLBECH'S dictionary.

Returning to the orthographical dictionaries and omitting a detailed account of the different specimens cited in the bibliography, (see p. 295) it may be noted in passing that each publication marks as a rule some change in the system of orthography. It may not, therefore, be inappropriate to consider the subject of

³ BADEN, TORSEL.—"Supplement til Hr. Justitsraad Molbech's Danske Ordbog." Copenhagen, 1833. pp. 19.

BADEN, TORSEL.—"Andet Supplement, etc." Copenhagen, 1833, pp. 15.

DAHL, F. P. J.—"Supplement, etc. Anden Række" No. 1. Copenhagen, 1834. pp. 134.

BADEN, T. F.—"Bidrag til en dansk Ordbog." Copenhagen, 1834. vi, pp. 3.

DAHL, F. P. J.—"Supplement til Hr. Jus. Molbechs Dansk Ordbog." Copenhagen, 1835, iv, pp. 24.

⁴ MÜLERTZ, A. F.—"Samling af danske Ord som kunne tilføjes Prof. Molbechs danske Ordbog." 16 pp. Copenhagen, 1843.

Retskrivning in this connection. As it is my hope to present a detailed account of Danish orthography at some future meeting of the Association, the barest reference to some of the main points must suffice for the present. The subject of Danish orthography was discussed as early as the seventeenth century by PEDER SVV, ERIK PONTOPPIDON, the author of the first Danish grammar, and many others, but its modern consideration dates properly from the famous struggle between RASK and MOLBECH, the victory in which after events have awarded to the latter. RASK, although the greatest philologist that Denmark has ever produced, made the mistake of attempting to found a system of spelling upon the old forms and analogies of the language. Filled with a reverence for the ancient glories of the Northern tongues, he failed to realize the more pressing demands of the present. RASK would not or could not acknowledge that the main tendency of orthography is not æsthetic and scientific, but practical and economical. MOLBECH, on the other hand, perceived the folly of attempting to conform the modern spelling to etymology and past precedents. In the preface to his 'Haandlexikon' he says:

"The three fundamental principles of orthography are: i. Write as we speak. ii. Always follow the etymology. iii. Follow the recognized manner of writing. 'The first two are impossible. The sanctity of usage is the only basis on which correspondences in the written language can rest.'"

This last principle, by which MOLBECH is in every case governed, is the only one that admits of an approach to consistency. The parts played by the lexicographer and his public remind one of the old story of the darkey that was commanded by a guardian of the peace to make way for the representatives of the people. "De representatives of de people!" cried the newly-made citizen. "Why, I'se de people!" The lexicographer is a self-appointed legislator in the realm of words and unless he represent in his rules the wishes of the people, the common users of words, his authority will inevitably be disregarded. The dictionary should not lay down rules evolved from the author's inner consciousness of what is right and proper, but the rules must be adapted to the common usage. Dictionaries are not guides in orthography except in so far as they follow and represent the general opinion.

Orthography is at present in a very unsatisfactory state in Denmark. For a hundred years the subject has been eagerly discussed and it still remains unsettled. In 1871 a commission, consisting of STEENSTRUP, PLOUG, LYNGBY, GRUNDTVIG and others, was appointed by the Minister of Culture to prepare a new system of orthography, and in the following year a dictionary exemplifying the new rules appeared, written by Sv. GRUNDTVIG. Although the new departure met with many opponents, the dictionary continued to be the standard authority throughout Denmark, until in the spring of 1888 a new circular was published, showing several changes. This announcement was quickly followed by a number of pamphlets, *pro* and *con*, the most important in the opposition being "Den Literaire Ret-skrivning," in which are set forth the views of the so-called literary party, headed by the poet ERNST VON DER RECKE, whose pamphlet on the abolition of initial capitals (see MOD. LANG. NOTES, iv, p. 81) attracted some attention last year. This question of initial capitals, of the Gothic script, the retention of *j* after *k* and *g* before *æ*, *ø* and *e*, and the spelling *ej*, *øj*, etc., form the chief subjects of discussion. The party of the ministry are accused of favoring changes that have their origin in the minds of philologists, and the claim is made that the poets and writers shall in every case be the judges of what forms shall be accepted. The second circular of the Ministry, issued summer before last (1890) suggests only very unimportant changes. In the meanwhile, the supporters of the literary party refuse to make use of the standard system. Some compromise is absolutely necessary, but at present there are no signs of weakening on either side.

In addition to the collections already referred to, the following Danish dictionaries in Ms. may be mentioned: MOTH'S 'Udkast til en Dansk Glosebog, paa Dansk og Latin, og Latin og Dansk. Begynt i Jesu Nafn at samles paa den 16. Mart. 1680, og nu anden gang renskreven og forøget fra den 4 Jan. 1700 til d. 15 Dec. 1708.' This work forms really a part of MOTH'S 'Ordbog.' HANS NYSTED'S 'Athena Cimbrica vel Cimbria Græca nonnusquam ab Hebero (Gen-io-zi) adminiculata. Det Graske og Cimbriske Søstersprog Sammestads of Heber understyttet og hjulpet. Qvam omnibus patrū nostriam atoribus favendam potiendam perficiendam exhibet atq commendat Johannes Olaides Neopolitanus.' *Ny Kong. Saml.* No. 482 fol. and 'Collectanea etymologica de lingua danica.' *Ny Kong.*

Saml. No. 484 fol. The first of NYSTED's works is an attempt to show the common origin of Greek and Danish words in the Hebrew, a similar attempt to that of WANDAL. *Ny Kong. Saml.* No. 203 consists of three packages containing slips collected by N. M. PETERSON and labelled *Samlung af danske Ord og Talemaader*, (collection of Danish words and expressions). The first consists of about four hundred slips, each one, as a rule, containing one form with explanation and references. Norwegian and dialectic words are included, many of the quotations dating back to the sixteenth century. On examining the second package, which is slightly smaller than the first, I was surprised to find several forms that could not appear in any Danish dialect, and on closer examination I discovered that the slips contained a collection of Swedish dialectic forms, probably made by PETERSON in connection with his history of the Swedish language. As the library authorities were unaware of this difference, it is probable that only the first of the packages had been examined, the natural inference being that all the slips referred to the same subject. The third package is similar to the first, except that the words are arranged in alphabetical order.

III. FOREIGN AND TECHNICAL DICTIONARIES.

At first sight the great number of dictionaries of foreign words, or *Fremmedordbøger* in the Danish language, eighteen in all, seems surprising. Although this class of reference books exists in Germany, whence indeed the idea was introduced into Denmark, in our own country no separate lists and explanations of foreign words are found to be necessary. That this deficiency among us is not due to the character of our vocabulary must be patent to the least observant. The true explanation may be found in a paragraph occurring in the preface to the first edition of MÖLBECH's 'Ordbog,' a translation of which may take the place of a more extensive discussion of the point:

"Foreign words that by common use in cultivated conversation and by assuming Danish endings have acquired the necessary citizenship and have become as intelligible as Danish words [are included]. On the other hand, all words, old or new, badly formed, superfluous, especially those taken from the French or German, which neither are nor can be incorporated in our common vocabulary, are omitted."

That is, the necessity for foreign dictionaries is due entirely to the intentional incompleteness of the only Danish dictionary proper. However we may regard this plan, the present usefulness of this class of books cannot be denied. This usefulness is farther increased by another circumstance. The only two editions of the dictionary that have appeared have long been out of print and, in consequence, the majority of Danish writers and speakers are forced to content themselves for daily use with the small orthographical dictionaries previously discussed. As these works confine themselves almost entirely to giving the proper forms and spelling of native words, admitting of only such foreign derivatives as have conformed to the Danish orthography, without some outside aid, the meanings of these strange words would be veiled to all unacquainted with the languages from which they are derived.

As the number of foreign words occurring in all stages of the Danish language is very great and continually on the increase, a brief account of the development of this class of dictionaries may be of some interest as well as of practical value. The first work of this kind was published in 1806 by JACOB BADEN, author of the 'Orthographiske Ordbog,' and was directed chiefly to the explanation of words taken from the Greek, Latin and French languages, with many references to mythological characters. This book, which is very creditable, was followed shortly after by PRIMON'S 'Lexicon,' a far less pretentious but equally popular work. The other early *Fremmedordböger* are of slight importance until we reach LUDVIG MEYER'S 'Lexicon,' published in 1837, at present the leading dictionary of this class in Denmark. Both in extent and in manner of treatment this book is preëminent, and in its latest edition, the sixth, published in 1884, it has reached over a thousand large octavo pages. This lexicon, whose title was afterwards changed to that of 'Fremmedordbog,' is not to be confounded with M. MEYER'S similar work, which is inferior to it in extent and exactness. For ordinary use F. P. J. DAHL'S 'Fremmedordbog,' a condensation of the sixth edition of L. MEYER'S work, may be profitably consulted. In examining and using L. MEYER'S 'Ordbog' I have noted but few omissions, and these are chiefly among the Americanisms, some of which may have been introduced into Danish since the publication of the last edition. J. H. HOST'S 'Fremmedordbog' may be mentioned in connection with the

violent attack made by its author upon L. MEYER, the main cause of which seems to have been the German birth of the latter. The challenge was promptly accepted and an *Entgegnung* of characteristic bitterness ensued. The verdict of later critics has been emphatically in favor of MEYER.

KNUDSEN's 'Unorsk og Norsk' may properly be considered here and with it the question of the foreign element in Danish. About thirty years ago H. P. SELMER began a vigorous attack upon what he regarded as the pernicious use of foreign words by his compatriots, and in a treatise⁵ on KNUDSEN's book, which is far more extensive than the other, has the same object in view, but with special reference to Norwegian. That a preponderance of foreign words in a language is an evil, cannot be denied and many of the suggestions made by KNUDSEN and SELMER are of undoubted value. Like most reformers, however, they go too far, and while endeavoring to purify their native tongue they have proposed changes that would, if adopted, carry the Danish language back hundreds of years. While we may deplore the useless introduction of foreign words into any language, we should be able to distinguish between the affectation of the dilettante, airing his French or Italian, and the efforts of the serious student to select such words as will express his meaning in the clearest manner. The advantages to be derived from an approximately universal scientific nomenclature, for example, are enormous. In many cases, indeed, the Danes might profitably go still farther in this direction, substituting for the Danish grammatical and phonetic terms, to borrow an example from our own department, derivatives from the Latin; as *vocal* for *selvlyd*, *consonant* for *Medlyd*, etc. Not only would this change be of assistance to the foreigner studying Danish, but also to the Dane studying foreign languages, doing away as it would with the necessity of learning two classifications.

A few examples from SELMER's list may serve as the strongest proof of the author's mistaken zeal. For a general account of his views reference may be made to the preface of his work already cited. For *Afrika* and the names of the other continents, the Old Norse terms *Syder-*, *Norder-*, *Öster-*, and *Vester-Verden*, are suggested. The effect of this thoroughly foolish change would be to confine Danish students to Danish atlases or

⁵ SELMER, H. P. 'Om de i det danske sprog forek. fremmede ord, samt tyskagtigheder, andre ufuldkommenheder og sprog-og retskrivningsfejl.' Copenhagen, 1860.

to force them to learn two classifications. For the Spanish word *autodafé*, *tröshandlung*, *tröshøjtid* or *trösfest* is recommended. The names of animals, the great majority of which are of foreign origin, suffer the most at SELMER'S hands. *Giraffe* must give way to *Langhals* (long-neck), *Kamel* to *Pukkeldyr* or *trampeldyr* (the latter occurring in Old Danish). *Kangeru* to *Baghopper*, which, SELMER remarks "would be a very good and proper designation." Many of SELMER'S changes are but little less absurd than the parodied example of a similar German attempt to ostracize French words, in which for the objectionable word *allée* the following is proposed: *Baumschattenlustwandlungsgang*, and indeed our author takes serious exception to this very French word in Danish.

Of the purely technical dictionaries, FUNCH'S work is of special value. While the international dictionaries attempt to give the commonest expressions connected with the sea, completeness in this direction is quite impossible. For foreign students, HARBOE'S 'Lexicon' or FISKE'S 'Danish-French Dictionary,' both admirable compilations, may take the place of the Danish work.

IV. INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARIES.

The establishment of the Academy for Nobles at Sorö in 1623 marks a turning point in the study of the Romance languages in Denmark. At that time French was the court language, while a knowledge of Italian was regarded as a valuable acquisition in the aristocratic circles. It is not strange, therefore, that these two languages assumed from the first an important place in the curriculum of the new academy. The first professor of modern languages was DANIEL MATRAS, author of the first Danish international dictionary of which we have any knowledge, published in 1628, in Copenhagen. This work was followed thirteen years later by a polyglot dictionary by the same author, in which words from French, German and Italian, are compared with the Danish. These are the only international dictionaries that appeared in the seventeenth century. The following century, however, produced a number of French-Danish dictionaries, one of which, CHAMEREAU'S 'Lexicon,' is a work of some pretensions, its two parts containing over sixteen hundred pages. VON APHELEN'S 'Grand Dictionnaire Royal' is still more extensive. For the other French-Danish dictionaries of this

period, reference may be made to the bibliography. Of the more recent works the vast majority are utterly valueless, being incomplete, incorrect and badly arranged. The polyglot dictionaries are without exception useless, except for the simplest purposes.

A few words of comment, however, upon two recent works, which can be recommended for general use, may not be considered superfluous. The first of these, SUNDBY'S 'Dansk-Fransk Ordbog,' is a most admirable work. While the author, who is Professor of the Romance Languages at the University of Copenhagen, has been guided by thoroughly scientific principles, he has not lost sight of the real object of an international dictionary, which is to render practical aid to the foreign student. No etymologies are therefore given. The book is especially rich in technical and scientific terms and in compound words. SICK'S 'French-Danish Dictionary' is a fitting companion to SUNDBY'S work, both as to extent and arrangement. These two lexicons will frequently be found useful supplements to the English-Danish and Danish-English dictionaries, especially as regards botanical and scientific terms.

The first German-Danish dictionary was published in 1764 by H. VON APHELEN and it was followed shortly after by a similar work by NIELS PRAHL, a poet and dramatist. REISLER'S 'Lexicon' is the third of these early attempt at German-Danish lexicography. Passing over the numerous Danish-German dictionaries of the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, whose practical value is now very slight, I would dwell for a moment upon two works of this class that may be justly considered the best, J. KAPER'S published in Copenhagen, and HELM'S, published in Germany. For several years these books have been largely used by German and Danish students. Heretofore, HELM'S dictionary has had the advantage in size, but in the fourth edition of the Danish-German part, published summer before last, (1890) KAPER'S book is perhaps the more complete and accurate, especially with regard to Norwegian, in which point all compilations made by foreigners are weak. In some respects, too, the arrangement and system of signs adopted by KAPER are superior to those of the German author. Either work, however, may be recommended for use.

For obvious reasons, English-Danish dictionaries were a much later development than the French. But as communication,

literary and commercial, grew more common, the comparative study of the two languages became necessary, and in answer to this need an English and Danish dictionary was published in 1754 in London by ANDREAS BERTHELSON. The first dictionary of this class, however, that has any special significance for us is BAY's 'Vocabulary.' Although the book has long since been superseded, it gained in its time great popularity. The English idioms are in many cases unfortunate and, in consequence of this and other faults, the book was very severely and in many respects unjustly criticised by REPP. In the preface to FERRALL and REPP's 'Dictionary,' BAY is accused not only of ignorance and carelessness, but of actual dishonesty, in claiming for his work an originality to which it is not entitled. While the book is undoubtedly open to criticism, REPP goes altogether too far in his denunciations. It may be noted that in the third edition many mistakes occurring in the English of the preceding editions are corrected, otherwise no changes are noticeable. The second edition of the 'Dansk og Engelsk Haand Lexikon' is a mere reprint of the first. The successors to BAY were FERRALL and REPP, whose 'Dansk-Engelsk Ordbog' was for many years the standard in Denmark. In the fourth edition, published in 1873, under the editorship of A. LARSEN, the title was changed to 'Dansk-Norsk-Engelsk Ordbog.' In the earlier versions no special attention was paid to Norwegian forms, an omission that was of far less importance then than in this present age of literary activity in Norway. In 1881, LARSEN published his own dictionary, founded upon the preceding work. In its second edition, in reality a new book, both in arrangement and extent, LARSEN's work may be regarded as the fullest and most reliable Danish-English dictionary in existence. Ever since its appearance in 1853, ROSING's 'English-Danish Dictionary' has been largely used in Denmark and elsewhere. While it is arranged on the same general plan as LARSEN's dictionary, it is not so complete and the additions made to the successive editions are not so numerous as one might desire. I have, however, after using it a year and a half found it to be accurate both as regards Danish and English, although some of the English forms are susceptible of improvement. In the preface to HORNBECK's 'Haandordbog,' ROSING's dictionary is very severely handled, especially with regard to the author's treatment of English idioms, but as the majority of the omissions noted exist

only in the critic's imagination, the review does not deserve any serious consideration. The more so that the newer book is itself hopelessly inadequate. BRYNILDSEN'S 'English-Norwegian Dictionary,' a much more comprehensive work than ROSING'S, is of special value for students of Norwegian-Danish.

One deficiency is observable in all Danish-English and Danish-German dictionaries, and to the student of Danish literature this is often a cause of great inconvenience. As a rule, very little notice is taken of obsolete words and forms occurring in the modern classic authors. I have been especially struck with this in the reading of ÖHLENSCHLÄGER, whose tragedies abound in words of this kind. While an international dictionary cannot properly pay heed to all obsolete words, it should certainly include all such as might occur in a student's ordinary reading. There is room, too, for more foreign words, since the *Fremmedordböger* can be used only by one perfectly familiar with Danish. An account of English-Danish dictionaries would be incomplete without some mention of the 'Tauchnitz Dictionary,' a book that is very widely used in this country. This work is one of the worst specimens of carelessness, ignorance and incompleteness ever produced. The omissions of Danish and English words are too numerous to mention here, the renderings of Danish words and the explanations of both Danish and English idioms are often so bad as to verge on the ridiculous, and the plural endings of nouns, perhaps the most troublesome point in Danish writing, are entirely ignored. It is extraordinary that so poor a production should find any favor among students. This same criticism applies, to a greater or less extent, to the numerous "Tolks" and pocket-dictionaries published in Germany and Scandinavia. The most outrageous of these attempts is CHRITIEN'S 'English-Danish Dictionary for Emigrants to America,' which hardly deserves notice, so utterly bad is it. In one column I noted nineteen mistakes in English spellings and idioms.

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Fremmedordbog for alle Stænder. En tydelig og letfattelig Forklaring af over 13000 af fremmede Sprog laante Ord, som forekomme i dansk Tale og Skrift, tilligemed deres Udtale, samt en Udtale-Ordbog. Odense, 1855. 290 pp. (Ed. ii, 1859).

MEYER, M.—Fremmedordbog, indeh. en Samling af alle i Bøger, Blade, det daglige Omgangssprog og Forretningslivet almindeligt forekommende fremmede Ord og Udtryk med sammes Oversættelse og Forklaring, samt en nøiagtig Angivelse af den rigtige Udtale og Betoning. Efter de nyeste og bedste Fremmedordbøger. Copenhagen, 1858, 398 pp. (Ed. ii. 1875; iii, with slightly changed title, 1882).

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MEYER, M. M.—Fremmedordbog indeh. en Samling (circa 7000) af dei Bøger forekommende fremmede Ord Copenhagen, 1865. 235 pp. (Ed. ii, 1865; iii, 1875; iv, 1885. An abridged edition of the original work).

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DAHL, HANS.—Dansk hjælpeordbog til fredning af det hjemlige og uddrivelse af det unyttige fremmede i vort modersmål. Copenhagen, 1875. ix, 634 pp.

KNUDSEN, K.—Unorsk og Norsk eller Fremmedords Avlønning. Kristiania, 1881. xxxiv. 992 pp.

HJORTH, J.—Almindeligt Varelexikon, indeh. i alfabetisk Form en nøjagtig Beskrivelse af de i Handelen forek. Varer og Producter, en Fremstilling af deres Bestanddele o. s. v. Under Medvirkning af ansete Fagmænd udarb. med særligt Hensyn til nordiske Forhold. Copenhagen, 1883. 1022 pp.

DAHL, F. P. J.—Fremmedordbog, indeh. de i danske Skrift og Tale almindeligst forek. fremmede Ord og Talemaader med deres Forklaring og Udtale. Copenhagen, 1885. 642 pp. (Based upon the sixth edition of L. MEYER's *Fremmedordbog*).

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BERTHELSON, ANDREAS.—An English and Danish Dictionary: Containing the genuine words of both languages with their proper and figurative meanings; interspersed with a large variety of phrases, idioms, terms of art and proverbial sayings, collected from the most approved writers. London, 1754. Sheets K kkk. 4to.

BAY, CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.—A Compleat Vocabulary, English and Danish. Fuldstændigt Engelsk og Dansk Haand-Lexicon, hvorudi indeholdes alle, i det Engelske Sprog brugelige Ord med deres

saavel korte som lange Accent, samt tilføjede Udtale. Udg. paa Engelsk og Tydsk, nu paa Dansk oversat, forbedret og forøget med en Samling af Handels=og Søe=Termini og Talemaader. Copenhagen, 1784. ii, 582 pp. (Ed. ii, 1796; Ed. iii, 1806).

WOLFF, ERNST.—En Dansk og Engelsk Ord-Bog. London, 1789. 6R. sheets. 4to.

BAY, C. F.—Fuldstændigt Dansk og Engelsk Haand=Lexicon, udarbejdet efter de nyeste og bedste Ordbøger. Copenhagen, 1798. ii, 1031 pp. (Ed. ii, 1807; Ed. iii, 1824).

OLSEN, L. B.—Dansk og Engelsk Lexicon, udarbejdet efter de bedste Forfattere i begge Sprog. Copenhagen, 1802. 712 pp. (Supplement to above, 1806).

SAINT-SIMON, L. H. DE.—Dansk-Engelsk Søe-Lexicon, udarb. af Forfatteren til den ved det Kong. Søe-Cadet-Academie forordnede Fransk-Danske Søe-Ordbog. Copenhagen, 1808. 176 pp.

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HØST, JOH. NIK.—3400 (6800) i daglig Tale hyppigst forekommende danske og engelske Ord, især til Udenadslæren. Copenhagen, 1844. 116 pp. 12 mo.

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Dictionary, Danish and English. London, 1847. 18 mo.

ROSING, S.—Engelsk-Dansk Ordbog. Copenhagen, 1853. vii. 619 pp. (Ed. ii, 1863; iii, 1869; iv, 1874; v, 1883; vi, 1887: the last posthumous, very few additions).

KANN, CHARLES.—Haandbog til Brug for Hvermand i det danske-tydske-franske og engelske Sprog. Med oplysende grammatikalske Anmærkninger. Bearb. efter tredje Oplag af Wahlerts Handbuch der französischen etc. Copenhagen, 1854. 179 pp.

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Methode, Nouvelle très curieuse et très fondamentale pour apprendre Danois, François et Allemand sans maître. Neue Lehr-Art Sehr curiöß und gründlich Dänisch/Frantzösisch und Deutsch sonder Sprach-meister/vermitteltst sonderlicher Regeln und jedes Worts Aussprache zulernen/sampt einem A. B. C./Außuge der täglich vorkommenden Discourse. En ny Maade Meget curiös og grundig til at lære Dansk/Fransk og Tydsk/foruden nogen Sprach=Mesters Hielp/indehold. et A. B. C./etc. . . . og til Trycken befordret for dem og af dem/som disse Sprog elsker. Copenhagen, 1709. ix, 127 pp. (Ed. ii, with title: 'En Ny Dansk, Fransk og Tydsk Glose-

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EK, JOH. GUST.—Dansk-Swensk Ordbook, med synnerligt hænseende till olikhet i stam, utbildningssätt och bruk. Lund, 1861. x, 154 pp.

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BEISSEL, CHR.—Grammatisk Ordbook af det tydske Sprog. En med Forklaringer og Exempler oplyst Haandbog for Enhver, osv. Copenhagen, 1866. 108 pp.

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DALIN, A. F.—Dansk-norsk og svensk Ordbog. Stockholm, 1869. 675 pp.

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Taschenwörterbuch, Deutsch-Dänisch-Norwegisch-Schwedisches. Leipzig, 1887. iv, 382 and ix, 435 pp. 12mo.

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LÉNSTRÖM, C. J.—Ordbok öfver Helsingdialekten. Supplement till Ihre's Dialect Lexicon. Upsala, 1841. 42 pp. 4to.

MÖLLER, P.—Ordbok öfver Halländska landskapsmålet. Lund, 1858. xxiv. 231 pp.

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BRISMAN, S.—Engelskt och svenskt samt svenskt och engelskt handlexicon. Upsala, 1815.

DELEEN, C.—Swedish and English Pocket Dictionary. Örebro, 1829.

GRANBERG, P. A.—English and Swedish Pocket Dictionary. Örebro, 1832. 12 mo.

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RAMSTEN, C. H.—Svenskt o. engelskt samt engelskt o. svenskt nautiskt handlexikon. Stockholm, 1866. 174 pp.

ÖMAN, V. E.—Svensk-engelsk hand-ordbok. Stockholm, 1872. 470 pp.

Handlexikon i Engelskt-svenskt och Svenskt-engelskt. Stockholm, 1874. 667 and 592 pp. 12 mo.

JUNGBERG, C. G.—Handels-lexikon på fyra språk. Stockholm, 1874. 612 pp.

———.—Engelskt och svenskt handlexikon. Stockholm, 1875. 524 pp.

NILLSON, L. G., Widmark, P. F., och Collin, A. Z.—Engelsk-svensk ordbok. Med Walkers uttalsbeteckning. Stockholm, 1875. 1304 pp.

UGGLA, TH.—Engelskt-svenskt och svenskt-engelskt sjö-och handelslexikon. Stockholm, 1874 and 1875. 488 pp.

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KIND, OLOF.—Teutsch-Schwedisches und Schwedisch-Teutsches Lexicon oder Wörter-Buch. Orda-Bok. på Tyska och Swänska så ock på Swänska och Tyska. . . . Stockholm, 1749. ii, 960 and 508 pp. 4to.

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NORDFORS, ERIK.—Dictionnaire nouveau portatif suédois-françois. Nytt Swenskt och Fransyskt Hand-Lexikon i två Delar. Örebro, 1805. 4to. (Ed. ii, edited by Carl Delen, 1827. vi, 1560 pp).

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JONCHERE, C. DE LA.—Nouveau Dictionnaire Portatif François-Suédois. Nytt Franskt och Swenskt Hand-Lexicon. Örebro, —. 4to. (Ed. iv, 1824; v, 1838).

FAHLROTH, J. A.—Nytt fransyskt och svenskt Suppletar-Lexicon. Örebro, 1826.

HEINRICH, C.—Nytt och fullständigt svenskt och tyskt Lexicon. Stockholm, 1828. 4to. (Ed. iii, Swedish-German and German-Swedish. Stralsund, 1835-368.

DELEEN, C.—Tysk och Svensk Ordbok. Örebro, 1836. 4to.

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Dictionnaire Français-Suédois, Tauchnitz. Leipzig, 1869.

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DALIN, A. F.—Fransk-svensk ordbok. Stockholm, 1872. 1024 pp.

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THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA.

Proceedings at Cambridge, Dec. 26, 27, 28,
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Modern Language Association of America*

The Seventh Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held in Sever Hall, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.), on December 26, 27 and 28, 1889. On Thursday evening, December 26, the **First Session** was called to order at 8.25 o'clock by the President, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, who said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—It has been my good fortune to know all the Presidents of Harvard College and of the University from President KIRKLAND, ex-officio *decessit* in 1829, to the present day; and if President ELIOT were not present, I should say that, perhaps, all of them together had not done so much for the University as he has. I would refrain from saying it, however, in consideration of his presence; but I will say that I know no other man whom I can so confidently call upon to make a few remarks, and accordingly I hope that we shall hear from him.

Then followed the two addresses, which have appeared in the *Publications*, vol. v, pp. 1-22, of the Association: first, the remarks of welcome by CHAS. W. ELIOT, President of Harvard University; and, secondly, the regular address of the evening by JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, President of the Association.

The Society then adjourned to the house of President ELIOT who, in a communication issued by the Local Committee† of the Convention, had tendered a reception to the members of the Association. This courtesy was enjoyed by about sixty dele-

*The Secretary of the Association regrets that in editing these *Proceedings* he is unable to refer the reader directly to the pages of the *Publications* where the papers read before the Convention have appeared, or will appear, in full. The irregularity with which papers have come into his hands for publication makes page-reference impossible at present: it has been thought best, however, to issue the *Proceedings* at this time, although a few of the original papers have not yet appeared in the *Publications*.

†Cf. Appendix iv, at the end of these *Proceedings*.

gates, of whom many had never before been able to attend the annual meetings and become acquainted with their fellow-workers. A special feature of the occasion, besides the generous hospitality of the host and accomplished hostess, was the presence of Mr. LOWELL, whose personal acquaintance it was esteemed a privilege to make by numerous members who had not met the genial pioneer of modern culture in America.

The **Second Session**, on December 27, was called to order at 10 a. m. by Vice-President, Professor CALVIN THOMAS of the University of Michigan, who opened the meeting as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSOCIATION:—I have one or two announcements to make in behalf of the Local Committee: first, it will be well, perhaps, to repeat the announcement* which has probably fallen under the eyes of most of you, that the St. Botolph Club of Boston has extended to the members of the Association an invitation to avail themselves, whether they stay in Boston or Cambridge, of the hospitality of the club, excepting, however, the evening of Saturday, December 28th. Also that a similar invitation has been extended by the Hasty-Pudding Club of Cambridge. The rooms of the Hasty-Pudding Club are in close proximity to the building here, and will be found very convenient by members who wish to read the papers, or write letters, or while away an hour. I wish also to announce that Miss Longfellow has kindly consented to open her house to the members of the Association and show them Mr. LONGFELLOW's study, on Saturday between two and three o'clock.

We will now proceed to the regular order of business, and will listen first to the report of the Secretary.

The Secretary, Prof. A. M. ELLIOTT (Johns Hopkins University) then presented a brief statement of the proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention, held at the University of Cincinnati on December 26, 27 and 28, 1888, as follows:

The Sixth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, was held in the Law School Building, University of Cincinnati, on December 26, 27 and 28, 1888. In the absence of the President, Prof. J. M. HART, Univ. of Cincinnati, occupied the Chair. At the First Session (Dec. 26), Ex-Governor J. D. COX, President of the University of Cincinnati, gave an address of welcome, which was followed with an address by Prof. E. D. MORRIS, of the Lane Theological Seminary, on "The Language and Literature of Wales."

At the opening of the Second Session, on Dec. 27, a brief report of the Secretary was read and this was followed by a succinct statement of the accounts of the Association by the Treasurer, Dr. HENRY ALFRED TODD (Johns Hopkins Univ.). Committees were then appointed as follows:

*Cf. Appendix iii, at the end of these *Proceedings*.

1. To suggest names of officers for the ensuing year, Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER, of Tulane University, Chairman.
2. To suggest place for holding next meeting of the Association, Prof. CALVIN THOMAS, Univ. of Michigan, Chairman.
3. To present resolutions commemorative of Prof. OTIS' death, Dr. PHILIPPE B. MARCOU, Univ. of Michigan, Chairman.
4. To audit the Treasurer's report, Dr. HERBERT EVELETH GREENE, Cathedral School of St. Paul, Chairman.

The Association then proceeded to the reading of papers that were presented at this and the succeeding meetings :

SECOND SESSION. DECEMBER, 27 (THURSDAY).

1. The Allegory as employed by Spenser, Bunyan and Swift.
Dr. HERBERT EVELETH GREENE, *Cathedral School of St. Paul, L. I.*
2. On the Origin and Development of the Story of Reynard the Fox.
Professor ADOLPH GERBER, *Earlham College, Indiana.*
3. Italian Poetry and Patriotism at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.
Professor F. M. PAGE, *University of the South, Tenn.*

THIRD SESSION.

1. Notes on the Elizabethan Prose.
Professor JAMES M. GARNETT, *University of Virginia.*
2. The Origin of the Separable Compound Verbs in German.
Professor HANS C. G. VON JAGEMANN, *Indiana University.*
3. The Study of Modern Languages in some of our Secondary Schools.
Professor CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, *Vanderbilt Univ., Tenn.*

FOURTH SESSION. DECEMBER 28 (FRIDAY).

1. Dante's Paradiso: Cantos xxiv-xxvi.
Professor EDW. L. WALTER, *University of Michigan.*
2. The Huguenot Element in Charleston's Pronunciation.
Professor SYLVESTER PRIMER, *College of Charleston, S. C.*
3. On the Impersonal Verbs in German.
Dr. JULIUS GOEBEL, New York City.

FIFTH SESSION.

1. La Naissance du Chevalier au Cisne and the Cycle of the Crusades.
Dr. HENRY A. TODD, *Johns Hopkins University, Md.*
2. The Anglo-Saxon House at the Time of Cynewulf.
Professor HUGO SCHILLING, *Wittenberg College, Ohio.*
3. The Geste of Auberi le Bourgoing:
Dr. THOMAS MCCABE, *University of Michigan.*

At the opening of the Fifth Session, Reports were presented by the afore-said Committees and, in addition to these, the following :

1. By a Committee appointed at the Baltimore Convention (1886), Prof. HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins Univ., Chairman, to assist in raising funds for the proposed monument to the GRIMM Brothers at Hanau.
2. By a Committee appointed at the Philadelphia Convention (1887), Prof. J. M. HART, Univ. of Cincinnati, Chairman, to memorialize Congress on the subject of Import-duty on Foreign books.
3. By a Committee, Prof. EDW. S. SHELDON, Harvard Univ., Chairman, likewise appointed at the Philadelphia Convention, to consider the advisability of holding the Annual Convention of

this Association at a time of year other than the Christmas holidays.

4. On the progress and development of the Phonetic Section of this Association, by Prof. GUSTAF KARSTEN, Secretary, Indiana University.*

The Convention then adjourned to meet according to the recommendation of the above-mentioned committee on place of meeting, at such time and place as might later seem best to the Executive Council.

This Report was accepted and followed immediately by the Treasurer's statement which is given below :

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Cash on hand January 1, 1889.....	\$178.75
Receipts for 1889.....	460.00
	<hr/>
Total.....	638.75
Expenditures	569.83
	<hr/>
Balance on hand Jan. 1, 1890.....	\$ 68.92

Professor THOMAS then remarked :—There are now certain committees to be appointed ; first, a committee on nomination of officers for the ensuing year. I will announce as that committee, Professor EDW. S. JOYNES of the University of South Carolina, Chairman ; a committee on place of meeting in 1890, Professor H. C. G. BRANDT of Hamilton Coll., Chairman ; as a committee to audit the Treasurer's report that you have just heard read, I will appoint Professor EDW. S. SHELDON of this University and Professor HENRY WOOD of the Johns Hopkins University.

During the year that has just passed, the Association has lost an active and efficient member in the person of Professor CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ of Vanderbilt University. It seems proper that the Association should pay some tribute to his memory. I should like, therefore, to call upon Professor SYLVESTER PRIMER of Providence, and Professor CHARLES W. KENT of the Univ. of Tenn., to prepare resolutions upon the death of Professor ZDANOWICZ.—Before we pass to the reading of papers, the Secretary has some announcements to make to the Association.

Professor A. M. ELLIOTT :—I have been accustomed, after my brief report, to refer to what the Association has been doing each year in the line of publications, and I want particularly to emphasize this matter before going on. In Cincinnati (or rather I might say, before we came to the meeting in Cincinnati) our publications had grown so large and unwieldy that they could not conveniently be published in one volume. This fact was brought before the meeting of the Executive Council in Cincinnati, with a proposition to have the *Transac-*

*Cf. Appendix iv, at the end of these *Proceedings*.

tions of the Association published in instalments. The plan was approved by them; namely, that the *Transactions* should be published in regular instalments (if possible, in quarterly numbers) and that the reports of the discussions (the regular proceedings in other words) should be issued in a small volume by itself, and distributed, of course, to the members. As soon as I returned from Cincinnati, I set to work on the *Transactions*, and the first number was brought out; the members of the Association have all received, I trust, the different instalments as they have appeared, making four numbers altogether, or three including the last number—a work issued by Dr. H. A. TODD, covering two issues of the *Publications*. The number of pages in these four issues is larger, by about one hundred, than had ever before been published by the Association in one year, so far as the *Transactions* are concerned. The *Publications*, then, have gone on with some success. I have received a great many complimentary notices regarding them, not only in this country but from our friends in Europe, and public mention has been made in the pleasantest way with reference to the work done by us.

There is one point I am sorry to have to bring before the Association, and for which, of course, I am held responsible to a certain extent. It is this; at our conventions we have had the custom of employing a reporter to take down an exact report of the doings of the convention in order that members might have verbatim reports of the discussions throughout the sessions. Last year in Cincinnati, this was done as usual. As was thought at the time, a responsible man was employed, one who was highly recommended, I think, by Professor HART of the University of Cincinnati, and also by some of the leading men of Cincinnati who had been connected with Associations for which this gentleman had reported before. The man himself belonged to one of the good law firms of Cincinnati and was, besides, a professional reporter. He was present at every session and, apparently, took notes conscientiously. There was no trouble in that line. When I left Cincinnati, he promised to have his notes ready and in my hands within a month. I, therefore, announced to our members that the proceedings and discussions of papers should be issued at an early date, counting entirely on this gentleman to furnish me the notes. At the end of a month or six weeks I received no notes and communicated with him, and he promised me that they should be in my hands within a very short time, and the thing went on in that way by a series of promises, and has thus gone on during the whole year. I appealed to Professor HART in the matter, who visited the man twice and endeavored to get something out of him; like promises were repeated by him to Prof. HART. But up to this time I have received only a few pages of notes, and these pages were published in the *Transactions* as the address of welcome by ex-Governor J. D. Cox at the opening of the session in Cincinnati. This is a matter about which I feel responsible to the Association and I am sorry indeed that any members should have been disappointed in regard to it. I

have received a number of letters concerning it, but it has been out of my power to get any notes out of the man; after an agreement thoroughly in accord in every respect with business principles, the man has totally failed and I was informed that there was nothing short of a law-suit that would bring him to terms; he simply seems to lack all moral sense in reference to his obligation toward us, although he took his notes, apparently, during the sessions.

Our membership at present amounts to 281 as I have just noticed by the copy of names that has been handed to me. This is about what our number has been for the last two or three years. The interest in the Association in different parts of the country has been considerably awakened during the past year, and we have had a great deal of help from quarters where we did not expect it at all. Interest has developed in furthering the objects of the Association, in encouraging the principles of a high standard of scholarship for modern language work as held by the Association; publication of papers, etc., has gone on as noted above, and our contributions to literature and language have been very cordially received wherever we have had notice of them.

I would add one remark more before sitting down with reference to Professor ZDANOWICZ. I was glad to see a committee appointed to draw up resolutions regarding his death. He was with us last year and was one of our most earnest workers, in truth, has been one from the very beginning of this Society; before the Association was formed, in fact, he was one of the most zealous supporters of advanced work; sympathetic in every sense of the word with the reform of instruction in the modern languages. He presented a paper at the Convention of last year, an exhaustive treatment of certain details of instruction in the Secondary Schools in modern languages, and he was to have sent me the paper before the beginning of the vacation last summer (1889). I have a letter of his in which he said that he would wait till the end of the vacation in order that he might examine the last report of the National Bureau of Education to see if there were any material changes within the past year in the modern language work. As most of you know, perhaps, he returned to college (Vanderbilt), began his work in September, fell ill and died very suddenly. His paper, I have no doubt, will be presented for publication in the future. It needs little revision, I have heard, and it is a most thorough treatment of a certain line of work in connection with the Secondary Schools and their relation to modern languages.

Professor COHN (Harvard University) then moved that the limit rule adopted by previous Conventions of the Association should be enforced on the present occasion: thirty minutes for reading of papers, ten minutes for opening the discussion and five minutes for each succeeding speaker. Adopted.

The Association then proceeded to the reading of papers and the first one presented was on

I. "The relation of Shakespeare to 'The Taming of the Shrew,'" by Professor A. H. TOLMAN, Ripon College, Wisconsin.

This paper was read by Dr. HERBERT EVELETH GREENE, of Long Island, who opened the discussion as follows :

It is fortunate, perhaps, that I am permitted to open this discussion as I fear that I may not have done the paper complete justice in my reading. I was obliged to make so many condensations and omissions that the style may have seemed more broken and less consecutive than is really the case; I have also omitted many references which show extensive reading and careful study on the part of Professor TOLMAN.

A great help in studying the relation of these two plays, and SHAKSPERE'S relation to both, is the recently published "Bankside Edition" which prints the two plays in parallel columns. To this edition, Professor TOLMAN had no access in preparing his paper. Indeed it was a part of his original plan to publish as a part of the paper the two plays in parallel columns; the full MS. of his paper contains the story of the two plays in parallel columns for convenience of reference.

I wish to emphasize what seems to me an important point in Professor TOLMAN'S paper, the careful manner in which he separates the personal element from the impersonal. This is a greater excellence than might appear at first thought to those who are not familiar with the various discussions by editors and commentators upon the authorship of the play.

There is hardly any play that presents more difficult questions, I think, than this "Taming of the Shrew." There is the widest range of opinion about the authorship, some going so far as to say that SHAKSPERE wrote the whole of "The Taming of a Shrew," others going so far as to say that he did not write any of "The Taming of the Shrew." Both views certainly seem to be extravagant; and there has been a gradual consensus of opinion toward substantially the views set forth by Professor TOLMAN in his paper. The only variance would be in the parts assigned to the several writers.

The matter of verse-tests is one that has called out more imtemperate language than, perhaps, any other subject connected with Shaksperian study. Perhaps this has been provoked in part by the extravagant claims that have been made for verse-tests. It is easy to ridicule them, as SWINBURNE has shown us: on the other hand, it certainly seems that one with eyes and ears must recognize the fact that there is a wide difference between the verse of SHAKSPERE'S early plays and that of his later plays. Whatever may be Professor TOLMAN'S views on this subject, it is to be noticed that he makes no

use of verse-tests for the purpose of establishing the date of the play, but merely for the purpose of establishing the authorship; and that these tests are not applied to determine authorship, but merely to confirm results that have already been arrived at.

It is not necessary for me to dwell upon the many points on which I am in perfect accord with Professor TOLMAN: I will, therefore, pass at once to one or two that I cannot accept altogether. Professor TOLMAN makes no attempt to determine the date of the play, certainly a most difficult thing to do satisfactorily. Opinions differ so widely that the play has been assigned to dates as far apart as 1588 and 1607; thus placing it on the one hand at the beginning of SHAKSPERE's dramatic career, and on the other toward its end. Yet it is necessary to make some attempt toward fixing the date of the play, in order to decide whether GREENE had any share in it. In "*The Taming of the Shrew*" we have the line

"This is the way to kill a wife with kindness."

This evidently refers to HEYWOODS' play, "*A Woman Killed with Kindness*," which was acted as early as 1602. Unless this line referring to HEYWOODS' play was interpolated in a revision of "*The Taming of the Shrew*," we must refer it to some date after 1602. Several critics have noted the fact that in the first quarto of "*Hamlet*," published in 1603, SHAKSPERE uses Baptista as the name of a woman: in "*The Taming of the Shrew*" it is correctly used as the name of a man. This would seem to indicate that the play is of later date than "*Hamlet*"; yet this argument loses much of its force for the reason that the very parts of the play in which Baptista appears, are the parts that seem to be least Shaksperian.

GREENE died in 1592. This play, if he had any hand in it must, of course, have been written at a very early date. Now, as Professor TOLMAN has said in his paper, the first edition of "*The Taming of a Shrew*" was published in 1594, the next edition in 1596, and it was again published in 1607. Is it at all probable that, if "*The Taming of the Shrew*" had been written, "*The Taming of a Shrew*," so greatly inferior, would have been reprinted again and again? To me it seems altogether improbable. Far more probable it seems to me that GREENE had a hand in writing "*The Taming of a Shrew*," the style of which is in many respects like that of GREENE's plays. It resembles, not his attempt to imitate "*Marlowe's mighty line*," which was more or less of a failure, but his quieter, gentler verse.

I cannot accept also the view that this play is not a farce. I suppose one's judgment is influenced very largely by the manner in which the play is given on the stage; it is certainly a farce as presented by Mr. Booth, and in the recent revival in New York. I do not discover the noble purpose that Professor TOLMAN discovers in the play. It seems to me that Petruchio had committed himself; he was now bound to win a victory once and for all, and if there is any reason why the play is not a farce, it is that he is thoroughly in earnest because he knows that he must win such a victory.

Prof. THOMAS:—I suppose there are Shakesperian scholars with us who would be able to discuss this paper but for the fact that we have only the skeleton of the argument before us. The argument can only appeal to us in full force when the paper is printed in our proceedings. If there is to be no further discussion of this paper, our next communication will be entitled:

2. "A Forerunner of Bunyan in the 12th Century"* by KUNO FRANCKE, Harvard University.

Discussion was opened on this paper by Professor FRANCIS H. STODDARD, Univ. of the City of New York, who said:

It gives me pleasure to express at once my very great interest in the able paper to which we have just listened. The subject is an attractive one and the paper presents many lines of thought suggestive for discussion. But I appear now to open the debate upon five minutes notice, as substitute for Professor COOK, of Yale University, who is unfortunately detained, and I hesitate to take up any of these matters in a technical and detailed manner lest I do less than justice to the position taken in the paper if I debate them in the light of the impressions gained in a single hearing.

There are two or three considerations of a general character, however, which have been suggested by the paper, upon which you will permit me to dwell for a moment. In the first place, it appears to me that the description of the writer in question, as a "forerunner" of BUNYAN, is most happy. I have sometimes thought that we are all of us apt to take extreme positions when confronted—as of course we constantly are—with problems of literary relationship involving apparent dependence or indebtedness. For example, when we read DANTE, we are reminded of the "Vision of St. Paul," of the "Vision of Furseus," of the "Vision of Tundale," of the similarity in clothing and in essence to something of an older date. So when we read MILTON we think of ANDREINO and of CÆDMON. I think we are apt, in such case, to affirm, or to deny, a relationship of perhaps too obvious a character. Indeed, one may say that a relationship can be historically false and yet spiritually true. The same literary spirit may be the vitalizing force upon creative minds in different eyes. Now, in this sense at least, it appears to me that we have had presented to us the work of a forerunner of BUNYAN and I think the designation a most fit one. There was also, as you all know, another forerunner—GUILLAUME DE DEGUILLEVILLE—to whose work entitled '*Le Pèlerinage De L'Ame*,' Dr. FRANCKE has made allusion. Nearer to BUNYAN in time he is also more like to BUNYAN in general plan and detail. But DE DEGUILLEVILLE derives, as he himself says, from the Vision of the Romance of the Rose, so the relationship problem becomes intricate, instead of more simple, as one examines it.

* Published in Supplement to vol. v, no. 2 of *Publications*, pp. 175-184, under the title: "Modern Ideas in the Middle Ages."

Such studies as these can, I think, be fairly criticized here from either the technical or the literary standpoint. Considered as literary work, then, I think such study as this of Dr. FRANCKE of great value. It is of value, in the first place, because it brings forcibly to our minds the short distance in respect of form and the immeasurable divergence in less tangible characteristics that separate such a writer as BUNYAN from each and all of his forerunners. It is of value, in the second place, because it makes clear to our minds the unity that underlies all mind work of a high order.

These considerations of a general nature, then, have been suggested to me by the first hearing of this able paper. I hope that we may all have opportunity later to study it with the care which its importance demands.

Prof. THOMAS:—Professor STODDARD has spoken in his ordinary manner; we have no reason to regret that our active and efficient Secretary called upon him to open the discussion.

Dr. EDWARD E. HALE, JR. (Cornell Univ.):—I would like to ask a question of Dr. FRANCKE. Do I understand that this is the first complete Latin poem in this particular form?

Dr. FRANCKE:—In this particular form of pilgrimage.

Dr. HALE:—I should like to inquire also why the name of BUNYAN should have been coupled with that of ARCHITRENIUS? I received great pleasure from the reading of the paper, which introduced me to a literature with which I was not acquainted, and which I shall be glad to learn more of; yet it appeared to me that what Dr. FRANCKE spoke of was wholly unconnected with BUNYAN's work except in one particular; namely, in certain portions of the literature spoken of; certain portions were allegorical, and BUNYAN's work is allegorical. It seems to me, as far as I know BUNYAN, and as far as I have gathered an idea of the literature here treated, that in other respects, excepting the power of the allegory, the two are wholly and entirely dissimilar; and the fact that both are allegory, is the only connection with the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' It would seem that the name of BUNYAN ought not to have been introduced, because there are many other allegories of great reputation, and there are numbers of writers whose allegories seem to me more nearly connected with the matter in hand than the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' I speak with much diffidence on the question, for I am wholly unacquainted with these allegories of the middle ages except through such reading as one is able to do in a general way. I therefore ask for information.

Dr. FRANCKE:—I am glad to say that to my mind the two works are both under the allegory form of pilgrimage. That one point of comparison can be made; I do not know of any other.

Dr. HALE:—Mr. Chairman, if I might speak again on the subject, I would say that the discussion between Professor FRANCKE and myself on the matter has already been attended with good results. It is a matter of fact, undoubtedly, that two works under discussion were pilgrimages, but except for that I think the work of ARCHI-

TRENIUS bears no resemblance to the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' I don't suppose in the amount of time which is allowed to speeches, I could make that clear, even if it were within my ability to do so. I should like to state a certain fact, that both are allegories and that both concern some pilgrimage of a certain sort; in this one point is there a resemblance between the 'Architrenius,' and the 'Pilgrims Progress.' The two works, in spirit, in intent, in manner of carrying out, in literary form, in fact in almost every other respect in which we can look upon works of genius, are unlike. They are both allegorical (different sorts of allegory, however), and both of them are concerned with a pilgrimage; except that, in 'Architrenius,' the Pilgrim is in a manner constantly forgotten, for long digressions of a satirical and not allegorical nature.

Dr. F. M. WARREN (Johns Hopkins Univ.):—I understand from Dr. FRANCKE, that this is the first idea so far as he knows, in Latin, of an allegorical voyage or journey, which I also understand to be the plan of the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' I would call Dr. HALE's attention to the fact that a contemporary of DE ANVILLE, practically contemporary at least, a man who was dead before 1235, RAOUL DE HOUDAN, wrote two poems of allegory, the origin of which I have never known and haven't been able to find out; but evidently he takes his plan from this poem, so far as I am able to find out. RAOUL DE HOUDAN is the first French writer of allegory of any note, at least the first writer whose poems have been preserved, and he was followed, as you know, by a crowd of others. The machinery thus set in motion is carried on in Latin and French, and I suppose in the other languages, of which I know nothing personally, until the 'Pèlerinage de l'Âme' of GUILLAUME DE DEGUILLEVILLE to which Dr. FRANCKE alluded, and which is supposed to be at least somewhat connected with BUNYAN's 'Pilgrim's Progress.'

Dr. HALE:—I should say that Dr. FRANCKE proved that, so far as I can judge from reading; it does seem to me that a very strong resemblance indeed exists between the two writers.

A member:—There is danger in discussions of this sort of underestimating the evidence of such comparisons, or of overestimating the same. I think that the right point of view is somewhat between these. In reference to literature as moving in circles of wide compass, I think that may not always be the case. I notice in the latest works of writers like SHAKESPEARE a curious indication of this. In many of these authors; for example, under BACON, I think he does not refer at all to these sources which have been known, or for some time hinted at; and in a similar case he traces this relation to the supposed source. Much, I find, will always come from a study of this kind if the conditions are always kept well in mind. The difference between BUNYAN and one of the allegorists of BUNYAN's time is, I think, the lack of the imaginative qualities. BUNYAN has no imagination. He has vision, and in that characteristic he would be associated with the author of the 'Architrenius.' He never indulges,

in the course of his study, in theological disquisitions. Perhaps he does not forget himself, as MILTON sometimes did, to devote hundreds of lines to predestination. He is not abstract in that way, after the manner of the French poet. He is always crude, and has vision, everything in contrast to imagination.

Dr. GREENE:—I must take exception to one or two statements of the last speaker. It seems to me that BUNYAN has very long disquisitions of a theological kind. I don't know what else to term the catechising of Christiana's children, or the rather long treatise on predestination, which seems to be based upon the Calvinistic theology.

Dr. HALE:—That is in concrete form. One question I would like to ask before I sit down. Do I understand that this work of Mr. HILL, at which I have merely glanced, states definitely that BUNYAN had used the work; or merely by tradition as it were? I have not understood that he made a direct use of it.

Dr. WARREN:—There is absolutely no evidence of the case. It is an instance of one of the things that come to me very frequently in regard to such matters; it seems false, but is strictly true. Now, for instance, there was no use made of this RAOUL DE HOUDAN poem as far as we know:—there exists at least no historical evidence on that line. Spiritually there is a distinct connection between them; between the 'Pèlerinage de l'Ame' of DE DEGUILLEVILLE and the work of BUNYAN there is a marked resemblance.

Dr. FRANKE:—I thank you, Mr. President, for giving me an opportunity to say that I entirely agree with the opinion that has just been expressed of the spirit of the middle ages. If I said in my paper that the prevailing sentiment of the didactic writers was a democratic one, I did not mean to imply that these writers had any such conception of a democracy as we have nowadays. It would be preposterous to think that a writer of the twelfth or even the fourteenth century should have conceived of a state of society not regulated by the great institutions of empire and papacy. All I wanted to say was that in the didactic poetry we have not a few symptoms of a greater sympathy with the citizen class than with the feudal lords and vassals. And I suppose we will not deny that in the city life of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries are to be found the first beginnings of modern democracy.

Prof. ADOLPH GERBER (Earlham College):—I have been very much interested in what Dr. FRANCKE said concerning the wish of the donkey for a longer tail and his desire to study. This furnishes another instance of how easily things originally attributed to one animal were transferred to another. In the animal epics of the Middle Ages, it is the wolf who loses his tail by fishing in the ice and (in conformity with the sentiment expressed in St. Matthew viii, 15), it was also the wolf who became a monk and tried to study. To be sure, there are also other animals losing their tails, or wishing for a longer one, and not unfrequently the fox engages in studies, but only the wolf both

attempts to study and gets into trouble with his tail, and, though I am not aware of his asking for another tail in any of the epics, a Transylvanian story, where he does this is, probably, based upon old popular tradition.—Since there is no reason why a donkey should wish for a longer tail or engage in studies, it is clear that he has taken the place of the wolf.

Prof. H. S. WHITE (Cornell University):—With regard to the democratic tendency to which reference has been made, one may say that some of these Mediæval writers occasionally exercised, perhaps unconsciously, what might be called a democratic influence, if we consider that tendency to be illustrated by any revolt against hereditary authority. VOGELWEIDE, of course, could not be styled democratic in any modern sense of the word. He was himself a knight and a hanger-on at various courts; but, at the same time, in his attack on the Pope he struck at established authority as represented by the Papal chair, and to this extent was a disintegrating influence in separating church and state, and in so far one of the forerunners of LUTHER. Certainly we have sufficient contemporary evidence as to the power of WALTHER'S words. (See THOMASIN VON ZERCLARIA.) But the vision was to be a vision for many days.

Dr. LEARNED (Johns Hopkins):—It seems to me there are two different conceptions of democracy in this discussion. What is meant by "democratic"? If the term is to be understood in the nineteenth century sense, the opposition referred to was not democratic. If it is to be applied to the more cultivated and influential worldly class of the twelfth century, then it was democratic. In a word, the whole discussion turns upon the definition of terms. No reference has been made to the Cluny movement which, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, had occasioned the opposition under discussion. In the present case the conflict was between the rigid rule of a strong church party on the one hand, and the worldly-minded, aristocratic and clerical classes on the other. Hence the opposition was not "democratic," but rather "aristocratic" from the nineteenth century point of view.

Prof. A. M. ELLIOTT (Johns Hopkins):—I want to make just one remark. An interesting feature to me of Dr. FRANCKE'S paper was this idea of opposition to clerical authority that he mentioned. We are forcibly reminded of a celebrated Provençal poem by GUILLEM FIGUEIRA, entitled "Roma," which was one of the most scathing criticisms that we have, perhaps, in any old European literature on the then existing order of things, from the church point of view; and the thought occurred to me, how valuable such a study might be if we could have all this early, literary tendency, toward liberal democratic notions put together and characterized according to the rubrics and countries in which they appear.

The next contribution presented was on

3. "William Thornton, a Phonetic Pioneer," by Professor C. B. WRIGHT, Middlebury College.

The discussion on this paper was opened by Professor H. C. G. BRANDT (Hamilton College) who spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, I cannot help feeling that there are other members among us who are better able to open the discussion of this paper, but I feel keenly the irony which has prompted you to call upon me, for I remind you and the Secretary of my last effort at spelling in MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, when I spelled "sleight-of-hand" without an *e*. Now I hope I shall not open a discussion of spelling reform. I do not mean to do so. I think the paper before us is a tribute to one of our old predecessors who has attempted to improve the spelling of his mother tongue. I draw from this the inference that our spelling reform is not new, and also another inference that radical spelling reform is impossible, except for scientific purposes. I was interested also in this fact, that THORNTON uses symbols (I mean artificial symbols), and that leads us to the question whether new symbols are not better than the symbols such as ELLIS and SWEET used, combining and cutting off, trimming letters and reversing, and so on. It seems to me, if I may express a present preference (though I have expressed a different one during the year, when I was called upon by the Secretary of the Phonetic Section), that the artificial symbols are better. We may call Mr. BELL's 'Visible Speech' such a system, because it really does represent the character of the sounds. I cannot agree with the writer when he limited the pronunciation of *onst* to Baltimore. It seems to me that the *t* after this *s* sound is the excrescent *t* that is the rule in the speech of the people. It is not classical now; it may become so; we have similar examples in Germany which have become classical; for instance, *einst*, *eines*. Another point I was interested in, which I think is questionable. THORNTON represents what we now pronounce *ntsh*, as *nsh*. I suppose A. J. ELLIS has settled that very point, and my impression is that in the eighteenth century after *n* and *l*, we have another letter, I believe, which we generally called *tsh*; and after *n* and *l* we still have *sh*. And another point, I do not think that THORNTON shows remarkable acumen with reference to *ch* and what we generally spell *dge*, because we see the *g* cropping out in the spelling as early as the eighteenth century. *Dg* is quite common, must have been so, among the low and middle English; certainly modern English *bridge*, *hedge* and so on; so that he really had a hint; a hint was given to him by the spelling that prevailed, that there was a *t* and *d* sound in what is generally spelled *ch* and *dge*.

Professor A. MELVILLE BELL:—Mr. President, I do not know that there is anything in the paper that calls for remark from me. I was very glad indeed to listen to it, and I derived some information in reference to my predecessor that was very pleasing to me; but in reference to the theory of representing sounds in our language with symbols for scientific purposes, I do not think I need to take up your time by making any remarks at all. If there are points that might be suggested by the writer of that paper, or by another member, I

should be very glad to speak in reference to such points; but I do not want here to make a lecture on the subject which I have elsewhere so fully treated, and where you can all study it for yourselves. I will not take up your time, therefore, in any general remarks; but I shall be very happy to make any reference to points that may be suggested by others.

A member:—Mr. President, Professor BRANDT says that radical reform is only possible for scientific purposes, and I should like to add that for scientific purposes radical reform is also impossible; that is to say, it doesn't seem to me that phoneticians have yet told us, in a scientific and trustworthy way, where and how we shall begin to symbolize the sounds of speech; and, therefore, I am very happy in the opportunity of asking, in response to Professor BELL's generous wish, if he will put in a word of comment on the significant paper published by Mr. EVANS in London some years ago, a paper which seemed to me to be seriously and candidly written, the import of which was a stricture on the base lines of the English system of vowel study.

Prof. BELL:—I read that paper with great interest, of course, and I can only say with reference to the criticism of Mr. EVANS, that he doesn't understand visible speech. He would find, I think, that nearly all the examples he has taken involve the same kind of measurement he refers to; although he speaks of the matter as if he introduced that for the first time. I think I shall call upon my friend Mr. SPANHOOFD to speak in reference to Mr. EVANS' strictures on my system.

Mr. SPANHOOFD:—When I read Prof. BELL's new 'Manual of Visible Speech and Vocal Physiology,' I found in it what seemed to me a new statement of the change from the *i* to the *é* position. My first thought was that Prof. BELL after seeing Mr. EVANS' strictures on his vowel system had changed his former statement; but, on referring to his earlier books on the subject, I saw that the same statements had been made there.* He has always distinctly said, that in the transition from *i* to *é* there takes place a backward movement of the tongue along the palate with a slightly larger aperture between the two. I am very glad to have the opportunity of saying this with reference to Prof. BELL's system, because a great many people, like myself, misled by his nomenclature (high-front, mid-front, low-front) have supposed that the lowering of the tongue was considered by him the essential part of the change. If we study more carefully Prof. BELL's excellent descriptions of the different vowel-positions, we find that his views coincide almost exactly with those expressed by Mr. EVANS in the article of the *Phonetische Studien*, to which Dr. BRIGHT has referred.

Dr. MATZKE (Bowdoin College). As regards the *tsh* sound, the

*Cf. 'Visible Speech,' p. 46, with diagrams on pp. 73 and 74. 'Sounds and their Relations,' p. 36. 'Manual of Visible Speech and Vocal Physiology,' §67, p. 45. Also OTTO JENSEN, 'The Articulations of Speech Sounds,' §28, p. 19.

tongue in passing from the position of *n* and *l* to that of *sh* naturally passes through a deep *t* or *d* position, and it is impossible, except with special effort, to say *pinch* without any *t* sound. It strikes me that this is the explanation of the way THORNTON heard the sound; about the same as in *suspicion* and *ocean*. I should be very glad to be corrected if my statement is wrong; but I am under the impression that the discovery of the fact of the *t* existing in words like *church*, is due to the phonograph, and that not till this instrument was invented was it generally accepted that the *t* sound existed in such words. I should be glad to be corrected if I am wrong in this statement.

Prof. BRANDT:—It depends entirely upon the history and development of the sound *tsh*, whether Dr. THORNTON knew there was a *t* in *pinch*. Of course it may be that it was pronounced so in his day and in his home, but I doubt it.

Prof. WRIGHT:—It would have given me great pleasure to see the discussion of this paper brought down to the range of modern times, because it is only there that the interest lies. As I said at the outset, this abstract is purely of an antiquarian nature; I doubt very much whether I would have ventured on its presentation at all if I had known that it was to be in the presence of one who occupies the somewhat anomalous position of being at once the father of modern phonetics, and a representative of one of its most advanced and progressive schools.

Dr. PRIMER (Providence, R. I.):—In accordance with Prof. BELL's wish, I should like to ask a question—I presume it has but little to do with the paper, but it is of interest to all of us,—a question on a subject of which I have never yet seen an explanation that is entirely satisfactory. We all know that there is a difference between the pronunciation of the northern and the southern people. We see this in the pronunciation of persons present here from the north, and in the pronunciation of those from the south; the tone of the voice is altogether different. Those who have taken part in the Civil War will know what I mean; the southern yell and the northern yell express just what I wish to bring forward here for discussion. I see a difference between the tone of voice of the Germans and that of France. What that is, and what makes the difference between the voice timbre of the north and of the south, is something that I have been unable to explain in all my study. Perhaps Professor BELL can give us some information on this subject.

Prof. BELL:—I am afraid I cannot, for I haven't had opportunity for studying the characteristics of the north and the south in that way. I know them in the old country; and the question that has been debated in reference to the *t* after *n* in *pinch* is illustrated well in the north and south, in England and Scotland. In Scotland there is no *t*, and in the north of England, as well as Scotland there is no *t*; in the south of England there is a *t*. You know at once a Scotsman from an Englishman, by his pronunciation of a word with *nch*; and as to the observation made, that there would be an organic difficulty

in transition,—that I think is a mistake, because *n* and *t* are absolutely the same in the mouth, therefore it would be a matter of equal ease to the organs to interpolate the *t* or leave it out. There might be some grounds for that observation with reference to the *l* and *t*, because the articulations there are not precisely the same: but *n* and *t* are absolutely the same. I am sorry that I don't know enough of the marked peculiarities here to answer your question directly, but I hope to gain a little more in reference to that. Was it the intonation that you referred to?

Dr. PRIMER:—Well, I used that word because I knew of no other better.

Dr. LYMAN (Baltimore):—I understood the gentleman who preceded me a moment ago to ask the question whether there was anything known as to why there was a difference in the pronunciation of the north and south. I do not know whether he referred to the north and south of this country, or whether he intended to include the northern and southern countries throughout the world. I do not think I am original in making the following statement: I was told years ago, when in Europe, that the difference between the northern and southern pronunciation was mainly due to climate; that in the southern countries of Europe, more especially Spain and Italy, and in the southern parts of France, as compared with localities where the ground was higher and where the cold was greater, the difference came about by the manner in which the people opened the mouth in speaking or kept it more or less closed. Now in northern countries, in very cold climates, I think it is recognized that there is a tendency rather to keep the mouth shut on account of the cold air; in the southern countries the people live more out of doors and they open their mouths wider. I think it will be observed that in the south of Europe there are more open sounds than in the north of Europe; that the teeth are kept more closely together for the reason that I have stated. This difference is very noticeable between the North and South of France and Italy.

Dr. HALE:—Some time ago I used to follow the discussion of the climatic influence on the languages, and so on; and since then I have been interested in the success of such discussions in a series of books. I think that possibly something may come out of it when anthropologists have thoroughly analyzed all the material on hand. I think that what we call quality of tone, color, is due to whatever particular manner people have in speaking, in using their vocal organs, and that it is transmitted according to the same laws and in the same essential manner as the pronunciation of words taken separately. That is to say, a community, or a nation if you please, will speak generally in one quality of tone or pitch of voice. The pitch of English people, as any one will see, is different from that of American speakers as a whole. I think, therefore, that quality is learned as one of these elements of speech, just as all elements are learned.

Prof. ELLIOTT:—There are a few remarks I should like to make

here. We shall be glad to have this matter discussed in the Phonetic Section tomorrow morning; but any one who has read HELMHOLTZ'S investigations on vowel qualities will be likely to see something of the accoustic effects which enter into their production, and which distinguish southern from northern people. I do not think that up to this time any of our phoneticians have paid sufficient attention to the accoustic side of their work, and it seems to me that Prof. HELMHOLTZ'S very thorough and extended, and I would say brilliant investigations, ought to be known to every student of phonetics. His theory we shall have broached on another occasion, in connection with subjects to come before this convention, and I think that opportunity will be offered to explain some points that Dr. PRIMER has brought up. There are two or three matters bearing on what has already been said on this paper, that I want to note in connection with it, for the French. The question of *sh* for instance, is one of them. All of us who have worked in Old French, are aware that our present digraph *ch* had originally the same sound as *ch* in *church* in modern English; but at a certain point in the history of the development of these sounds, *ch* became an *sh* sound, which we have to-day. With reference to symbols, it seems to me that Professor SWEET has struck the golden mean in his last work on English pronunciation. I do not believe that it is best for us to adopt at once a wholly new system for the public. While I rejoice every time I see Visible Speech before me, and I rejoice in having symbols of that kind to tell me just exactly how a word is pronounced, I think that if we could have something to which the people are already accustomed, something with which teachers are familiar, say the Roman script, modified in some way and then alongside of this put the Visible Speech which Professor BELL has so ingeniously invented for us, to explain nice shadings of sound in doubtful cases, . . . could we have some such composit system, I say, it seems to me that this would be the best possible way for us to bridge over the transition period which exists at present in the minds of scholars with reference to the subject of sound-notation.

The Association then adjourned to Memorial Hall for luncheon which was given to members of the Association by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

The **Third Session** was called to order at 3 o'clock p. m., by Vice-President THOMAS who said:

Members of the Association have not all come in yet but, in view of the fact that our time is limited and precious, we had better, perhaps, proceed to the order of business. The first paper of this afternoon will be by Professor CHARLES W. KENT, of the University of Tennessee, on

4. "The use of the Negation by Chaucer; with particular reference to *ne* (non)."

Professor KENT made the following general remarks before reading his communication :

The very nature of the subject that I am to discuss has rendered it necessary to present simply an outline, or abstract, so to speak, of the paper. The paper itself is based, of course, upon as thorough an examination as possible of examples ; these are unquestionable and will be published with the treatise, so that scholars who are interested in the subject may be able to see upon what I base my conclusions.

The author then proceeded to read his paper, after which the Chairman remarked :

We have this interesting and valuable paper before us now for discussion, and I will call upon Dr. BRIGHT, of Johns Hopkins University, to open the discussion.

Dr. BRIGHT :—It is very difficult to speak on a paper that is presented merely in abstract. The value of such statistics as have been offered is apparent enough, but cannot be exactly estimated from a necessarily scrappy presentation. Those who have listened to the paper would, I am sure, like to have heard the principles upon which *ne* and *ne* are distinguished by Dr. KENT in the investigation, and further, whether the prose usage differs materially from the poetic usage. The principle of drawing liberally from the 'Boethius' is sound, for that text may be taken as fairly representing CHAUCER'S prose usage. But yet it is a translation ; close scrutiny is, therefore, required to discover whether the negatives are not in some measure influenced by the original Latin. The paper gives evidence of a trustworthy piece of work, and I shall be very glad to study it in its printed form. I do not perceive that quite all the uses of *ne* have been noticed. There is a use of *ne* which occurs in other writers, of which I do not recall an example in CHAUCER, though he must have it ; I am thinking of the case in which the principal subject is without a negative, or in a compound sentence, the negative is only expressed in the second part ; for example,—to improvise a sentence—one might say " He has corn, and not wine," which would mean, " he has neither corn nor wine." This usage is found in writers who wrote enough to give us a just representation of the syntactical characteristics of that time. I should like to have this regarded as a question, and to have Mr. KENT give us his remarks on it.

Dr. KENT :—Perhaps a word of justification is necessary, too. Dr. BRIGHT has called attention to the fact that the paper as read must necessarily be scrappy, especially as it is based upon examples collected elsewhere. I will say, furthermore, for the benefit of those who expect to read the paper, that I have not neglected CHAUCER'S prose ; I have read every line of it, and compared every line with the original. The first page of my essay is taken up with a bibliography, so that all who are interested in the sources from which I gained my information, will have them at hand, both as to text and as to detail. Nor was I satisfied with using only one edition of CHAUCER.

With reference to the sentence which was just mentioned, I do not recall a single example of that usage in CHAUCER; but it wouldn't be a very hard thing for any one of us who have thought of that, to suggest how CHAUCER would have written it; it would have been a simple negation before the verb-*ne*, then the negation *ne* before the word one; in other words, the verb would have been negatived, and then the word meaning neither, or nor, would have been put in after the word *corn*, for that would have been the usual and normal construction.

I would say that my method of working was somewhat after this fashion: I read, of course, very carefully, before making divisions at all; and I called special attention to the fact that these divisions were necessarily arbitrary and might seem artificial. I do not like, of course, to affirm that I have not missed any examples at all; but I did go through the text very carefully, looking for every possible example of interest, writing it down, and I think the examples will be found complete. I have not omitted intentionally any example at all of any general interest, and wherever there is an exceptional use, I have attempted to point out the nature of this exception. Of course, my attention was confined to one writer rather than to one period because of restriction in time. I did not have time to investigate the Middle Age period. I could investigate one author for the Middle English period, and thus contribute something to a fuller investigation on the part of men more competent than myself.

Prof. H. S. WHITE (Cornell University):—There is one phase of this paper which specially interests me, and that is the question of the source and extent of the phenomenon of the "double negative." I speak of it because my attention has been recently drawn anew to the subject by an article of Prof. RUDOLF HILDEBRAND'S (*Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, 1889, p. 149: "Gehäufte Verneinung"), in which he deals with the subject of the accumulation of negatives in German. Of course, we are all familiar with the frequency of double negatives in the German dialects. Prof. HILDEBRAND has made an interesting study of the recurrence of such forms in those dialects during a thousand years, from the time of OTFRID down to the present century. He sees in this construction in the first place a natural and native idiom, akin also to the Greek, but gradually discredited through the overwhelming influence of Latin syntax; although, as he intimates, not alien to Latin popular speech.

My object, then, in alluding to this phase of the paper is merely to suggest one method of investigating the double negative; namely, the careful comparison of the literature of the period, particularly translations, with classic literature with a view of ascertaining whatever influence of analogy may have been at work.

DR. KENT:—I did not have that article on hand when I prepared this paper. I have, however, attempted to keep up throughout the paper, a running comparison between English and German or between English and French.

To this end I have used WACKERNAGEL's excellent treatise on the 'Negation in Middle High German'; PERLE's valuable article on the 'Negation in Old French,' CHASSANG's 'French Grammar,' and well-known Modern English authorities.

Dr. J. B. HENNEMAN (Hampden-Sidney College):—Mr. President, I would like to ask a question. Do you not think that the double negative adds force to the language? Take this example: "you don't need nothing at all." Isn't that, after all, more forcible than "you don't need anything"?

Prof. THOMAS:—That is more natural, of course, and it is a question whether we should not be natural in speaking. The influence of the tradition of the schools upon language is very great, and whether we should be purists according to the schools, or purists according to the untrammelled traditions of form, will always be a question. A very familiar rule of Greek was that the second negative strengthened the first. There is one point which I think was raised by Dr. BRIGHT which I should like to touch on. At the end of the paper, Dr. KENT told us that he had been unable to say whether the *ne* had ever received the ictus. The question might arise here, How is the strong negation to be distinguished from the weak, in making this investigation? Perhaps the Professor touched upon that point when I was not paying attention.

Dr. KENT:—The question whether *ne* can have the ictus was brought up by TEN BRINK, who states very positively that *nē* (= neither) can bear the ictus, but that *ne* (non) cannot. In my investigation I found a number of examples to substantiate the first; I can find only one or two examples that seem to throw any light on the second.

In these examples in every case *ne* (=non) had a temporal coloring, almost that of our word *ne'er*. I reached this conclusion, that, whereas *nē* can have the ictus, there are only one or two examples (to which attention has been called), in which *ne* may feasiably have the ictus and these examples are questionable. Both *ne* and *nē* have found their normal use in unaccented places, in order to throw the emphasis on certain stronger words.

The next communication was presented by Dr. DANIEL KILHAM DODGE of Columbia College, on

5. "Scandinavian Lexicography,"

and the discussion was opened by Dr. P. GROTH of New York, who said:

I do not attach altogether so much value to an etymological dictionary as Dr. DODGE seems to do. Etymological dictionaries are too often dictionaries of errors and of guesses, and as such a dictionary is almost exclusively confined in its usefulness to students, and, accordingly, could count upon a very limited number of purchasers among the Scandinavian public; it seems to me doubtful whether any Scandi-

navian publisher would undertake the risk connected with publishing such a work, even if a suitable scholar be found to write an etymological dictionary only for love of the subject. Besides, if we ever get a standard dictionary this would very naturally give the etymologies of the words, thus to a great extent rendering a separate etymological dictionary unnecessary. The student has a great help in making out the etymologies of the Danish words in the German etymological dictionaries; for example, in that of KLUGE and when to this is added his knowledge of the old language he has a means of ascertaining the etymologies of most of the Danish words. I do not, certainly, deny the temporary value of an etymological dictionary, but it is not the chief desideratum.

The best English-Danish or Norwegian dictionary to be had at present is, I think, J. BRYNILDSEN's 'Engelsk-Norsk Ordbog' (English-Norwegian Dictionary) Christiania, 1886. It is very complete for a schoolbook, and it gives, I think, as much linguistic matter as any dictionary can do in 1128 pages. Mr. BRYNILDSEN's object is to give the English language as it is written and spoken to-day; Shakespearean students would have to look somewhere else for assistance anyway, so he does not attempt to satisfy them at all. Mr. BRYNILDSEN also tries to give Americanisms, as far as he has been able to get hold of them, but completeness in this respect could not be expected. He has not such words as "chestnut" in its most recent meaning, or "cocktail" in its specific American signification. But he has the American "pitcher" and "dirt," etc.

The chief product of Norwegian lexicography is IVOR AASEN's 'Norsk Ordbog med dansk Forklaring' (Norwegian dictionary with Danish explanation), Christiania, 1873. With an industry and care which I should think unsurpassed, if not unparalleled, in the history of linguistic study, partly from previously existing glossaries and other written sources, but chiefly from the lips of the people, Mr. AASEN has gathered here about twenty thousand words, giving their different forms in the different dialects of this country, their etymons and their meaning. Mr. AASEN is an *autodidact* in linguistic matters, but his work bears evidence of a taste and judgment of which any scholar with a university education might well be envious. I might add that when AASEN and BRYNILDSEN speak of the "Norwegian" language, they mean two different languages, Mr. BRYNILDSEN giving this name to the language spoken in Norwegian cities and written in Norwegian books, and this is largely the Danish language with Norwegian pronunciation and some syntactic and idiomatic peculiarities. Mr. AASEN, however, understands by the Norwegian language the idiom spoken in the country, which idiom has preserved much better its old Norwegian character and, therefore, still deserves this name. Thus there is no doubt that AASEN's terminology is the correct one.

I would like to speak a few words in favor of Mr. KUNDSEN and his puristic work. Foreign words, those of French, Latin or Greek origin, are felt in the Scandinavian languages as something much

more incongruous to the general character of the language than is, for example, the case in English for like words. And it is astonishing to see how largely these foreign words are misunderstood by the general public. Some instances of this kind may be gathered from a book entitled, 'Sprokets vilde Skud' ('The wild shoots of Speech') by KRISTOFFER NYROP, Copenhagen, 1882. Now it is Mr. KUNDSEN's chief endeavor in his dictionary, entitled 'Unorsk og Norsk' (non-Norwegian and Norwegian) to give writers of popular works an opportunity of substituting for these foreign words native ones borrowed chiefly from the national language as spoken by the people and only to a very limited extent made or formed by the author. And I think that, so far, Mr. KUNDSEN's intentions are very laudable. But when, in his sweeping purism, he wants to do away with such foreign words as are generally understood by the people and which give a certain and well-defined idea, while their substitutes would, for a time at least, convey only vague and indefinite notions, I must decline, if nothing more, to accord to him my approval.

The orthographic problem in Norway is in a still worse condition than in Denmark. In Norway, almost everybody who writes has an orthography of his own, and thinks he has a right to have it; and even in the schools it very often happens that if a teacher undertakes to correct some of the misspellings of his pupils, he will be met with the statement that it is his (the pupil's) orthography, and he proposes to have it. Lately, the Department of Public Instruction has issued some rules on orthography which have to be followed in all the schools. This will, of course, do away to a great extent with the state of things that is now prevailing; but the trouble with these rules is that they are not of such a kind as to satisfy anybody, either the conservatives or the reformers. Thus, for instance, these rules have done away with the old custom of spelling all nouns or adjectives used as nouns with capitals, yet they have four pages on the use of capital letters, so the improvement doesn't seem to be very great. I would mention, in this connection, that BJÖRNSON, in his latest book has adopted pretty nearly a phonetic spelling of Norwegian; I think this is the right course to pursue: I hope that he will get many followers, and that this initiative may perhaps lead to a rational and lasting spelling reform in Norway as well as in Denmark.

Prof. STODDARD:—Mr. President, I think we all will agree that this discussion is very valuable for every one of us; but there is one question I want to ask—I have no doubt Dr. DODGE answered it—and that is, Have they an etymological dictionary of any kind now?

Dr. DODGE:—MOLBECH's 'Dictionary' is the only complete Danish dictionary that is of practical value. It contains some few references to Germanic forms, but without any attempt to trace the derivation of Danish words. There is no etymological dictionary of the language; but I have heard that there is a probability that, in the course of a few years, such a work will be prepared. I do not, however, agree with the gentleman who opened the discussion of my paper,

that there is no need of an etymological dictionary, because the history of Danish words is not supplied by any of the etymological dictionaries in other languages. We cannot depend, in our consideration of the Scandinavian influence upon English, upon the old Norse cognates. KALKAR's 'Ordbog,' to which I referred in the syllabus, and which I omitted in reading the paper, treats of the older forms of the language from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, giving a history of the words in the different periods, but without any comparisons; and, in many respects, the treatment is exceedingly unfortunate. I would also say that the list of Norwegian dialect words was intentionally omitted, as it does not fall properly under the head of Danish dictionaries. I examined the book in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, and excluded it, together with THORNTON's 'Dictionary,' which is included in the *Catalogus*. They are not Danish, but properly Norwegian dictionaries.

An account of the Norwegian dialects and of the attempt to form from them a national language, seems hardly appropriate to this paper. Its omission, therefore, is not at all to be regarded as a slight.

Prof. THOMAS:—I would say, in this connection, that I have here a letter from Professor STORM, of Christiania. In this letter, he defines the Norwegian language as Danish, with Swedish pronunciation and a few provincialisms added.

At this point in the proceedings, the following telegram was received and read by the chairman, from President FRANKLIN CARTER of Williams College, former President of the Association:

Williamstown, Mass., Dec. 27th, 1889.

Prof. A. M. ELLIOTT:

MODERN LANGUAGE CONVENTION.

to Cambridge this week.

Sorry, but impossible to come

FRANKLIN CARTER.

The next communication presented, was by Dr. SYLVESTER PRIMER of Providence, R. I., on

6. "The Pronunciation of Fredericksburg, Virginia."¹

Prof. PRIMER prefaced the reading of his paper with the following remarks:

Before reading my paper, I should like to make the following statement. The substance of this article is based on personal observation of the pronunciation of Fredericksburg and vicinity. I have living there an uncle and a number of cousins, who have been of great assistance to me in procuring the necessary information of the kind that I am about to present to you, and in settling upon the different pro-

¹ See Supplement to vol. v, no. 2, of the *Publications*, pp. 185-199.

nunciations. In consultation with them, I have arrived at the results which I give to you in this paper. It is not complete, as I am well aware, because, as you all know, it would take a long time to settle the pronunciation of any one place. And then, I should like to call attention to another fact; in every investigation of this kind it is absolutely necessary to include at least three things:—1. The similarities which the pronunciation of one place has with that of other places. You all know that we came from the same original stock, therefore you will discover throughout the United States great similarities; but in speaking of the pronunciation of any one place, it is necessary to notice these also;—2. It is also necessary to notice the dissimilarities, because these are the very points which attract our attention when we study speech;—3. We must, moreover, notice the differences in the growth of language in different places: whether it has been developed from some internal cause connected with the place itself, or from some outward influence; we shall, I say, have to consider all these circumstances. Now, I may mention many facts which are common to other places in the United States as well as to Fredericksburg, Virginia. I thought it necessary, however, to make this statement before proceeding. The first part of my paper is merely historical, and I have based it somewhat on Bishop MEADE's 'History of the Families of Virginia,' and have added some of my own information gathered in the place itself on which my investigations bear more directly.

After making these general observations, Professor PRIMER proceeded to read his paper, and the discussion on the same was opened by Professor EDW. S. JOYNES, of the University of South Carolina, who spoke as follows:

I owe to Professor PRIMER, I feel, something more than professional thanks just now. He has taken me back home, which, during the present and threatened prevalence of the cold wave here, is a very pleasant thing for me to experience, even in imagination. The district described, the family names and traits of history recounted, are exceedingly familiar to me. I was brought up in eastern Virginia, further east than Fredericksburg. I spent one of the best years of my school-life within a few miles of Fredericksburg, in the most famous school we have ever had in Virginia.² One of my earliest, and prettiest, and most dearly and sweetly remembered sweethearts, too, was from that same town, and from that day to this the pretty girls have flourished there in undiminished numbers. (Laughter). I did not know, until I heard this paper, that my friend, Professor PRIMER, had made any residence in Fredericksburg. I wish very much, for the sake of phonetics, and for these interesting investigations and discussions, that we could commission him and

²Prof. JOYNES referred to the celebrated Concord Academy, of FREDERICK W. COLEMAN. See "Virginia Schools before and after the Revolution"—an address before the Society of Alumni of the University of Virginia, 1888, by W. GORDON MCCABE.

send him around to various parts of the country, in order that he might give us these exceedingly intelligent and interesting reports of the dialect peculiarities prevailing; and I am delighted now, though I am sorry to lose him from the "Sunny South,"—I am delighted that he should come up here to Providence; and I hope that he will investigate the dialects of "Little Rhody," and tell us in future something of their peculiarities. Now that it is open for discussion, I may run rapidly over a few memoranda that I have made of one or two corrections, which I venture without hesitation, being "to the manner born."

Prof. JOYNES took up in detail several of the local and personal names, of which Professor PRIMER had not given the true *Virginia* pronunciation—among these *Strachan* (Strawn), *Waller* (Wawler), *Powhatan* (Powhatan', not Powhat'an), *Alexander* (Elexander), etc.; and—in an earlier generation rather than now, *Jeems* (not James) River, as the shibboleth of the true "old" Virginia. He added:

The most serious remark that I would make in passing, but merely a remark, is that I don't think Professor PRIMER's paper has done by any means full justice to the immense influence of William and Mary College in the colonial days, and indeed in the days following the revolution, in developing the very best intellect, not only of Virginia but of the whole American country. Alongside with the very brightest chapter of the intellectual history of the American people on this continent, are to be counted the rolls of the graduates of William and Mary College, through several generations before and after the revolution of 1776.

With regard to other peculiarities noted by Prof. PRIMER as Virginian, Prof. JOYNES remarked that such were confined mostly to the uneducated (such as "whar," etc.), while, on the other hand, many of the peculiarities in the language of Charleston, S. C. (as "wheer," etc.), noted by Prof. PRIMER in his papers of 1887-8, had penetrated even the upper crust of cultured society, and were thus genuine "provincialisms"—though now, perhaps, disappearing.

Touching upon the more general diversities of speech prevailing North and South, Prof. JOYNES thought the difference lay more in the tone, or inflection of voice, than in the vocalisation or accentuation of individual words. He said:

My own recollection of the chief difference between the speech of England and the speech of America, is the greater variety of this inflection in the old country. English is spoken there, according to my recollection, with more inflection, that is, more intonation. Now in the South the tone is flatter, there is less intonation; and the language

of our New England friends of the North generally seems to me to stand in that respect about intermediate between the one extreme of intonation in England and the minimum intonation of the South. It seems to me if the tones could be represented by lines, that the undulations that occur would be much larger in the North than in the South; that is, in the South they would approach more nearly to the straight line.

I have already, on another occasion before this Association, expressed my view of the extreme interest of investigations of this kind, especially in this day when so many influences are tending to drive us all into one grand nationality on the one hand, and into uniformity of morals, customs and speech on the other,—how important it is that these traces of our origin, these genealogies of our communities, should thus be investigated and preserved by accomplished scholars of the present generation, lest, if this generation be careless or negligent or indifferent to such considerations, the tones that are to-day dying out shall a generation hence have passed away, and what it is possible for us to investigate now and preserve, may for our descendants, become mere tradition, difficult even to recover. Hence I rejoice to see that Professor PRIMER is leading the way and setting the example in investigations of this kind, interesting not only locally, but largely and widely interesting and offering such valuable contributions to our linguistic and phonetic science. And I hope the time may come, just as the physical geographers now show upon their maps the climatic lines, and the movements of the air and the waters, so I hope the phoneticians of the future may be able to show us maps of the country, in which the kinships, affinities and diversities of speech may be graphically and clearly shown.

Now having done so much by way of introduction of this discussion, I cannot deny myself at least one little bit of personal gratification, in telling you a story (all my stories are true; they are not always good, but they are always true)—in telling you the true story of an incident that happened to me on my journey to this city a few days ago. I met in the smoking-room of the sleeping-car an exceedingly agreeable and intelligent gentleman. After an hour's talk, he said to me "Where might you be going?" I said, "I am on my way to Boston." "Yes," he said, "I can well imagine that you may belong to that region." I said, "Ah." (I cannot tell you my friends, how flattered I felt, you know).—(Laughter). "Why do you say so?" "Ah," said he, "you have a Yankee tongue; you speak Bostonian." (Laughter). I said, "Sir, I have never been in New England a month in all my life, and perhaps not more than a week in Boston." He looked astonished. "Well," said he, "where in the world did you come from?" I didn't answer that question, but I said, "I learned my English in Virginia"; and I believe it is true, so far as I know, and so far as I have had opportunity for observation, that the English which has become native to me in my native state, is not far removed from the English which you claim to be, and which I am gladly will-

ing to acknowledge, is the "standard English" of Boston. But as an old Confederate, I ought to be ashamed to confess to you, as I do confess, how profoundly I was gratified and flattered by being taken for a Bostonian. (Loud laughter and applause).

Dr. HENNEMAN :—There is a proper name in Virginia spelled "Enroughty," and pronounced *Darby*. That doesn't belong to the phonetic department. There is a history about it, which I do not now recall, don't distinctly remember; but Darbytown, that which is pronounced Darbytown, is so spelled; of course, it is not a pronunciation of the same word, however.

Dr. F. B. STEPHENSON :—In regard to the word Powhatan, I notice they call it Pow-hát-an almost universally in the American Navy.

Now, I do not mean to say that Powhatan may not be very widely pronounced Pow-hat-an', but it is pronounced universally in Virginia as Pow-ha't-an. I don't think I ever heard it pronounced otherwise in Virginia, among Virginians, especially so among the negroes of that locality.

Prof. JOYNES :—Powhat'an?

Dr. STEPHENSON :—Yes, sir.

Prof. JOYNES :—Well, sir, it is entirely new to my dialect.

Dr. J. E. MATZKE (Bowdoin College) :—I just want to ask one question of Professor PRIMER in regard to the pronunciation of words like *dog* and others of that category. As far as I believe to have noticed, there is hardly one individual that gives the same pronunciation to all such words; as regards the word *God*, the pulpit pronunciation as one can hear it at times is anything but reverential; but I believe to have noticed that the *o* sound is more open when the word is used in profane language, and I would ask, if Professor PRIMER has noticed this same difference in the dialect which he has studied.

Professor PRIMER :—For my own part, I can say that I never use profane language, but the pronunciation I have noted is that of the neighborhood in which I spent my early days (I was not born there, however), in western New York. I have never overcome the tendency to pronounce the word, Gód (Gŏŏd); I always pronounced it so; I never pronounced it Gôd (GAd). I think it is Gôd (GAd), isn't it? Now, there is a difference in the pronunciation of the word Boston; some call it Bóston, and some Bô(A)ston. I think the people of Boston called it Bôston; I am not sure.

Prof. A. N. VAN DAELL (Mass. Inst. of Technology) :—I would like to state that a good many of the peculiarities that have come up in Professor PRIMER's paper, and that Prof. JOYNES has described as peculiar to Fredericksburg, are noticeable over a wide extent of this country. I happened to spend a summer in Danville, Kentucky, and I heard there the sound of "bar" and "e-ars," and many other vowel sounds that have been described in this paper. It would be very interesting to have a list of the names of states or districts over which these peculiar sounds of vowels extend.

The Chairman, Prof. THOMAS :—I might add that there is no pro-

nunciation in Professor PRIMER's paper that is strange to me, if I recollect, except that of going up the "stars," to see the "stars". I never heard that, or any parallel to it, but I think that all the other pronunciations I have heard at some time, although it is a little difficult to discriminate in such cases between that which one is really familiar with, and that which one has read in books or come across in the course of his phonetic studies. This, again, is a question which, in the language used by the Secretary this morning, there may possibly be an opportunity to find out further about in the work of the phonetic section. I do not wish to deprive any one who may wish to speak further on the paper, of the opportunity of doing so. Is there any one who wishes to add a remark?

At this point in the proceedings, 5.20 P. M., the Association adjourned till the following morning.

The **Fourth Session** was called to order at 10 a. m. on Saturday, Dec. 28, by Prof. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, President of the Association.

Immediately after the Session was declared open, Dr. JAMES W. BRIGHT (Johns Hopkins University), made the following remarks:

Dr. BRIGHT:—Mr. President, may I be permitted at the opening of this meeting to make a motion? According to the printed programme it was in the mind of the organization to meet in separate bodies this morning, as the Phonetic Section, and as the meeting in the ordinary capacity. My suggestion is that in view of the presence of yourself, our President, and of Mr. BELL, our distinguished head of the Phonetic department,—the programme be reconsidered in respect of this division. I, therefore, offer the motion that both sections meet together this morning; and that the programme of proceedings be a compromise between the two printed lists.

Mr. LOWELL:—And have you any motion to make as to how that compromise should be effected?

Dr. BRIGHT:—My motion may embrace the following order of exercises: first, the address of the President of the Phonetic Section, then number 2. of the regular programme; after that, an alternation of the numbers of the two Sections.

President LOWELL:—The motion is carried, and accordingly the first business, or, I should say, pleasure in order, is the address of Professor BELL. (Applause.)

Before delivering his address, Professor BELL made the following general remarks:

I congratulate the Modern Language Association on the establishment of a Section which is as essential to language as the character

of the Prince of Denmark is to the play of Hamlet. Language lives in sound, and the study of modern languages is the study of spoken tongues.

He then proceeded to read his address on "Phonetics," which has appeared in the *Publications* of the Association, vol. v, pp. 23-32.

The next communication was presented by Dr. MARION D. LEARNED (Johns Hopkins University) on

7. "The Saga of Walter of Aquitaine,"

and the discussion on this paper was opened by Dr. KUNO FRANCKE (Harvard University), who said:

Mr. President, if in calling upon me to open this discussion, you meant to give me an opportunity to express my gratitude to Dr. LEARNED for the information given in the paper, I am very glad to testify for my part, that I derived a great deal of instruction from it. I am sorry, however, that my acquaintance with the subject is too slight to allow me to dwell at any length on that point which Dr. LEARNED seemed to lay most stress upon—the ethnological import and purport of the Saga. I hope that Dr. WOOD will make some remarks upon this point; and I should only like to ask a few questions which were suggested to me by reading WILHELM MEYER'S Notes on the "Waltharius." There are two points on which I hope Dr. LEARNED will give us some more information, both of them connected especially with the "Waltharius" by EKKEHARD. First, I would like to ask Dr. LEARNED whether he thinks that the "Waltharius" was translated from the German or was an original Latin production? This is a point of a great deal of importance, because, if this work is nothing but a translation, then its value for German mythology would be enhanced. If it was an original production in Latin, then of course the classical examples would be likely to have interfered with the pureness of the German tradition. WILHELM MEYER, I think, holds it as an original Latin production, on account of the unity of the conception; but I must confess that I was not fully convinced of this by his argument. The second point is the relation of the "Waltharius" to PRUDENTIUS, also suggested by W. MEYER. This scholar has shown that PRUDENTIUS has had a great influence upon the language of the "Waltharius," for a good many phrases are borrowed from PRUDENTIUS; and on the ground of this dependence in style, MEYER also conjectures that one of the most important incidents of the plot, namely, the series of single combats between Waltharius and Gunther's vassals, was suggested by PRUDENTIUS' 'Battle between the Virtues and the Vices.' I would like to ask Dr. LEARNED's opinion about this. It is quite an important point, because, if that series of combats was really suggested by the combat of the vices and virtues, then there would be no German tradition in it:

Dr. LEARNED:—I am glad that Dr. FRANCKE has referred to the points which could not be presented in the short time allotted to me; altogether, they fall within the scope of my treatment. As regards the original of the "Waltharius," the case seems to be this: There was given to EKKEHARD I., as a pupil, an original "Waltharius" story, which was a German legend. I think this is proved beyond all question. It is clear to my mind, at least, that there was current among the people a German legend of Walther of Aquitaine.

Now, in regard to the second part. It has been suggested that the style of the "Waltharius" has similarities not only to PRUDENTIUS but to VIRGIL. This fact is easily explained as a conscious or unconscious imitation, either of the pupil EKKEHARD I. who wrote the original poem or of the reviser EKKEHARD IV., or possibly both. These traces of Virgilian and Prudentian style are to be regarded as natural imitations of the pupil or pedagogue.

Dr. HENRY WOOD (Johns Hopkins University):—I believe that the plan of the paper, vindicating as it does a historical basis for the "Waltharius Saga," is sound. The tendency in that direction is at present felt throughout the study of Germanic Mythology. Of course, there are extremes in this direction, an example of one such being the attempt of SCHIERENBERG, in Frankfort, to persuade scholars that the Norse Sagas are nothing more than covert and mystical reminiscences of the great Germanic contest with Rome. I do not think that VIGFUSSON, in his 'Sigfred-Arminius' and other papers, published shortly before his death, succeeded in making out the identity of the two heroic figures, but that hardly belongs to this question, because the parallelism of the two characters is so remarkable that they could have been united, and are undoubtedly united in the popular imagination as ideally rated, and consequently as ideally the same. HEINZEL's plea as to the identity of Hagen and Aëtius (*Sitzungsberichte der Wienerakad.* cix, 671 ff.) is hardly convincing, though supported by a greater mass of historical material. A further argument, to which Dr. LEARNED had no occasion to refer, but with which I have no doubt he is familiar—the argument concerning the identity of the West Gothic queen Brunhild with the Brunhilde of the Nibelungen Cycle—is a most promising one, and has a future, whether any complete identity be established or not.

Dr. HENNEMAN:—I wish to say only a word or two. The writer gives us a translation in old English that was discovered in Copenhagen two years ago by Mr. STEVENS, who had the fragments put together arbitrarily. Several learned scholars have doubted in reference to the Sequence. I see the gentleman has retained the Sequence. I would like to ask whether his researches confirmed this position or not. It is a point in which I formerly had occasion to be interested.

Dr. LEARNED:—I took this Sequence because the fragment is usually published in that order. The order of the fragments will be discussed in detail in the paper.

The next communication was presented by Prof. CHARLES H. GRANDGENT (Boston), on

8. "Vowel measurements,"*

and Professor BELL being called on to give his views of the subject treated by Prof. GRANDGENT, made the following remarks:

Mr. President, I wish to make a few observations on this paper. I commence by saying that the idea of absolute measurements for the mouth cavities is altogether new. I am not aware that this has ever been carried out before. I do not know how far it may prove of utility, because there is a grand maxim that—"that which is best administered is best."—Now, it may prove in teaching pupils, that this plan of measurement may be capable of accurate application; in the meantime, I do not know, sir; I have been during all my experience guided entirely by the ear. From long association, when I hear a sound, I know by the quality of the sound, the organ that mainly is affected in its production. Whether another student would arrive at different, or more reliable results by accurate measurements, I am not prepared to say. At all events the matter is full of interest. So far as developments go, I see a perfect coincidence between the results from auricular observation and the results of this real measurement. I don't know that I need take up your time with further remarks. I am much interested in seeing this experiment and shall follow its developments with increasing interest, I have no doubt; but in practice I shall remain satisfied with the results obtained by the ear. I do not see that measurements of the mouth could be of service to pupils, unless, it may be, in self-investigation. I do not in the meantime, at least, see how a teacher can apply such measurements in the mouth of a pupil, so as to direct his pronunciation.

Mr. SPANHOOFD:—Mr. President, I am glad to have been able to listen to Professor GRANDGENT's very instructive paper. I had seen a short extract of it and knew in a measure what to expect; but I would like to say that my expectations have been not only fulfilled but far surpassed. His careful exposition of the vowels of his own dialect, of course, I cannot discuss; he would have to call upon other gentlemen from Boston. I also think his method is beyond my discussion. I would like to apply it myself before discussing it. I think it is exceedingly ingenious and can only be helpful in every respect to the further investigation of the subject of vowel-sounds in general. Prof. GRANDGENT is perfectly right in insisting upon the necessity of correct and scientific methods in investigating and examining the

*In the absence of Professor TH. W. HUNT (Princeton College), the heading of the paper presented by him, entitled "Independent Literary Judgment," and put down as No. 1, of the Fourth General Session, was omitted. For a syllabus of this paper, see Appendix II, at the end of these *Proceedings*.

positions of the organs of speech. In my phonetic reading I have been struck all along by the great difference of methods employed by physiologists on the one hand, and philologists or linguists on the other. Linguists approach the subject from the language side, of course, and their method is to get hold of the sounds, train the ear to catch the different shades of sounds and to reproduce them accurately; while the physiologists adopt such a method as has been presented to us so admirably in Professor GRANDGENT's paper. Similar experiments have been made by German physiologists. CZERMAK inserts a flexible wire through his nose to ascertain the position of the soft palate; and GRÜTZNER covers his tongue with red carmine ink, then pronounces the vowel sound and thus gets an exact imprint of the contact of the tongue against the soft as well as the hard palate. But linguists and philologists seem to shrink from this kind of self-sacrificing devotion to science. They like simply to adopt the methods of these physiological investigators, and arrange their vowel systems accordingly. As Professor GRANDGENT has pointed out, they do a great deal of theorizing and generalizing, by applying things that they observe on themselves to the whole human race, while all physiologists have insisted upon their observations being simply their own, and not applicable to anybody else. It seems to me that Professor GRANDGENT has done a great service to the science of phonetics by devising this very simple and ingenious method of determining the vowel positions, and I would not like to sit down without thanking him personally for the information that I have derived from his paper.

Professor GRANDGENT:—I am very glad to hear so pleasant words from Professor SPANHOOFD. I would like to say in regard to the method of tongue measuring which I pursued under Dr. TECHMER at Leipsic, that while it gives excellent results for consonants, the information that it conveys with regard to the vowels is very unimportant.

Prof. COHN:—I would like to ask a question, which I am ready to ask only through a misfortune of my own which may make a curious subject in this question of vowel measurements. How far does Mr. GRANDGENT think that it is possible to find an average general measurement for the vowels? I would like to ask the question for this reason: About two years ago I met with an accident the result of which was to change entirely the inside shape of my mouth, the relative position of my jaws, and I was compelled after this, when my doctor allowed me to begin to speak again, to look for tongue positions that would enable me to enunciate as clearly as before, not only for consonants, especially for the consonant *s*, but also for the vowels.

Prof. GRANDGENT:—If I understand correctly Professor COHN's question, it would be whether a change in movements of the tongue could compensate for a different configuration of the interior of the mouth. It could to a certain extent; but not entirely.

Prof. COHN :—Well, I think that very few people notice any difference in my speech since my accident. It is true that I have had to make great efforts in order to accommodate myself to the new conditions in which I was placed ; but it seems to me that I have managed to be understood.

Prof. GRANDGENT :—I think the main change in Professor COHN's speech is in the consonants, and especially in his *s*, as he said. I notice that he makes a peculiar movement of the lips in pronouncing the sound of *s*.

President LOWELL :—As a person interested in dialect, to a certain extent, and especially the dialect of my native district, I would like to ask Professor GRANDGENT whether, when he speaks of the Boston dialect, he means the ordinary dialect of the people, or that of cultivated persons?

Professor GRANDGENT :—I referred especially to my own dialect, Mr. President. (Laughter).

President LOWELL :—You meant the way in which you speak yourself?

Prof. GRANDGENT :—Yes, sir.

President LOWELL :—In that case it seems to me that you have a personal peculiarity. I should like to inquire whether you yourself would not consider it so. It seemed to me that the short *o* which you get in "whole" is the rustic pronunciation, and that "whôle" is the urban pronunciation, according to my speech. I think that this is the case, and I was particularly interested for that reason in what you said about the position of the organs in the pronunciation of "whole" and "hull," because all my life I have been puzzled by the older representations and by the way in which a Yankee countryman pronounced "whole." It used to be spelled "hull," but I never heard it so pronounced ; but you tell me the position of the organs in pronouncing "whole" and "hull" is exactly the same, except the lips and a very slight difference in the jaw.

Professor GRANDGENT :—This variety of "whole" certainly is more general in rural districts ; but it is a part of my natural dialect (however it may have come there), and so it was my duty to note it. I should like once more to say that my speech is merely *a* Boston dialect, and is not presented by any means as *the* Boston dialect. There are very marked variations inside the city of Boston.

President LOWELL then expressed surprise that Prof. GRANDGENT's Boston dialect admitted the "short" pronunciation of "whole," which he had thought characteristic rather of country than of city speech.

Dr. BRIGHT :—Mr. President, for example, if a musician were making a study of different musical instruments he would first require those instruments to be put into normal condition. I fancy it to be equally fit, before examination be made in the speech of any individual, to observe whether that individual may have normal, health-

ful physical activities in the utterance of speech. A pupil would not, I suppose, be considered an efficient student of music, nor a performer on the piano, if he had not been taught to discriminate between an instrument of that variety when in tune and when out of tune, or if he could not distinguish between sweet, harmonious tones, and the metallic rattle of an instrument which needed the attention of the maker. This is my preamble, which I wish might be made effective as a note sounding a crusade against the American nasal twang. I almost fear that foreigners are right in saying that we have such a twang which must be designated by the national epithet; but we are always willing to take to ourselves all that may be rightly imputed to us, and to correct our habits when they are wrong. I have wondered whether, under the patronage of this Organization and with the authoritative influence of the distinguished headship of its Phonetic section, some hint might not be thrown out to the teachers in the elementary schools of the country which would make them aware of certain vicious habits so very prevalent throughout the country. Just as a child might and should be taught at the beginning of its career, to breathe correctly to secure the proper functions of its body with reference to circulation and nutrition, so it should be made to appear an equally important and serious moral duty on the part of the teacher to lead the child at the beginning, when it is susceptible and imitative and trustful in its teacher, to acquire right habits in the activity of the organs of speech. I hope that the President may utter the timely word that may find wings to every quarter of the country.

Professor BELL:—I felt when I sat down that I had some point to refer to which escaped me at the moment. I wish to say in relation to the measurements brought forward by Professor GRANDGENT, that we have two absolutely different and opposite scales in the cavities of the mouth in pronouncing what are called front vowels; and I wish to give you a very simple hint by which you can test for yourselves the reality of these scales. If you close the throat-passage, that is, hold the breath, and silently put your tongue in the position for *e* and *a*, you will find that while you have your throat closed, if you strike the neck with the finger, you are making an ascending scale from *e* to *a*. Then if you close the mouth-passage by putting the tongue on the back palate in the position for *k* or *ng*, and then silently adjust the front of the tongue for *e*, *a*, etc., you will find by tapping on the teeth, that you are making a descending scale from *e* to *a*. The anterior cavities yield a descending scale, while at the same time the posterior cavities yield for the same series of vowels an ascending scale. *E* is the narrowest vowel in front, and Professor GRANDGENT's measurements should show it to be the broadest at its posterior cavity. With reference to the subject that has just been called up by the last speaker, it would give me very great pleasure if I could say anything which would be effective in curing that wretched, disagreeable habit that is undoubtedly most prominent in America; but I should say the most direct way of curing it would be to

send you around from school to school,—for you have not a trace of it.

Professor CALVIN THOMAS (Univ. of Michigan):—I should like to ask Professor BELL if, in his observation of America generally, he thinks that a nasal twang is characteristic of American speech. Professor STORM of the University of Christiania designates it as an American characteristic. Of course, he does so upon the strength of his reading and his hearing of Americans here and there, now and then. I do not pretend to have a very good ear in matters of phonetics. I am a learner in the subject; but I will say that while I have frequently heard a nasal twang from Americans, I cannot say that it seemed to me to be anything like a national characteristic. I should like to know what an Englishman would have to say upon that point.

Professor BELL:—I am afraid that I must back up the statement that nasality is a national characteristic. It is, however, almost always associated only with legitimately nasal sounds; these are only three in English, *m*, *n*, and *ng*. The vowel in connection with these, either before or after, should not be affected by nasality and is not, as a rule, in the utterance of English; whereas, here the vowel before or after *m*, *n*, or *ng* is nasalized. There is where to look for the pure oral vowel. You have a very strong nasality yourself, Mr. THOMAS. I think that with a little attention to that characteristic, you will be conscious of it. There is no doubt that as far as these northern states are concerned, nasality is very prominent; it is the most prominent characteristic. At the same time, there is almost as much nasality in the Cockney dialect of London as there is here. It is associated with a different intonation, but as far as the nasal passage is concerned, the habit is almost as prevalent as nasality is here.

Dr. BRIGHT:—My intention was serious, however imperfect my manner in suggesting this subject for discussion, and I am glad to see that the matter has been so earnestly taken up. The fact that thousands in America have this defect and do not know of it, is a startling statement of the seriousness of the subject; and the fact that with a very little wisely directed training any child may be made to master and correct that habit for life, is sufficient justification for an appeal to elementary teachers. For this initial guidance technical training in phonetics is not required, any more than it requires technical knowledge to teach a child to use his nostrils in breathing or to favor an erect posture of the body.

Prof. THOMAS:—I am delighted to receive precisely the item of information that the President of the Phonetic Section has given me. I may remark, however, that my home is in the West. I suppose my pronunciation may be taken as fairly representative of people born in that portion of the United States which was once the Territory of the Northwest—people who sprang from New England or New York stock and whose pronunciation has been continually schooled from boyhood by reference to the books. I may say in this connection, in regard to the pronunciation of “whole” of which our President spoke a moment ago, that my natural pronunciation of that word is

certainly not 'hôle,' although I hear it so pronounced very frequently; and on the other hand, it is not 'hull.' I think if I had occasion to say "The rabbit occupied the whole hole," I should distinguish sharply between the two words. In other words, my *o* in that word is a German short *o*, as near as I am able to utter it.

President LOWELL:—I think that I should escape the whole difficulty by saying that the rabbit occupied the whole burrough. (Laughter).

Prof. THOMAS:—Very possibly I should, in print. I desire to ask one more question, whether this American nasality of utterance which appears to be, then, a universal American characteristic, is comparable to the French nasal vowels as they were when the nasalizing process began? If so, and it is universal, how dare one speak of it as incorrect? It is bound to prevail ultimately, and we shall have nasal twang vowels in English, at least in America, just as there are nasal vowels in French. I fear that I am not a competent observer in regard to this subject, evidently I am not; but if this practice is really universal, then it is simply a *fact* of our speech and has the historical justification which a fact of speech always has. In that case I fear that the schoolmasters and the schoolmistresses will find themselves encountering hopeless difficulties in the attempt to change the tendency which has set in.

Prof. BELL:—Advice has always been considered universal; and we, therefore, do not consider that some attempt toward eradication may not be made.

Prof. JOYNES:—I speak, sir, with some reluctance and diffidence, and I would say, I hear with surprise that this nasality is presumed to be a universal American characteristic. With my experience and to my judgment, it is very largely local and provincial, pertaining to certain localities of our country. If it prevails to any extent among the cultivated classes in the South, I am sure we are at least in the condition described by Dr. BRIGHT, that we do not know it.

Prof. BELL:—I would like to say that this is precisely the source of the difficulty in correcting the habit; it is a habit that is not known; the speaker himself is not conscious of it. That it is not merely a local characteristic of certain states, but really is national, is found by the fact that our friend Professor THOMAS comes from the far West, and he has this tendency just as much developed as we can well have it here in New England.

Prof. THOMAS:—Has Prof. JOYNES the same?

Prof. BELL:—No. So I don't know how far it would be characteristic of the South and the North distinctively. Then, with reference to the French semi-nasals; these are recognized as nasal vowels, and there is a sharp line of distinction between them and the oral vowels. The difficulty here is simply that in America we have the habit of nasalizing a vowel without a recognition of the nasal element. We really do produce the same organic quality which, in a French sentence, would be represented by *en, in, on,* etc., but there the differ-

ence between oral and nasal is kept up because only vowels of a certain orthography have this nasal quality; here we have it in all cases where a vowel is allied to some nasal consonant. It is almost impossible to get one separated from the other, yet there is no natural connection; I think, therefore, that the French nasals retain their quality and the other vowels their purity, just because the one is sharply distinguished from the other, when in habit, here, there is no such distinction. I should like to add one word with reference to the correction of this habit of nasality. It seems to me that the first thing to do is to understand clearly what it is. This nasality is due to the lack of energy in the soft palate. We use the term "nasal" in a very loose way to characterize a sound which is either transmitted or obstructed by the nose. When the nasal passage is stopped we say that a man talks nasally, whereas, in reality, he is not then talking through his nose. If the term nasal were confined to its proper sense, I think we should find it easier to correct the prevalent habit.

Dr. A. B. LYMAN (Baltimore):—I observed that the President of the Phonetic section spoke of his being able to distinguish all sounds. But there exist in every community certain persons who do not hear at all. I refer to deaf mutes. We have all heard about "*the words which we have heard with our outward ears*," but there are some persons who do not hear anything with their outward ears, or even with their middle ears, those whom it is impossible to make hear anything, even through the mouth, or by any means whatever; and I think the method brought forward in the able paper by Mr. GRAND-GEANT, might be of great service to those who are engaged in teaching deaf-mutes to speak. A short time ago I was present at an institution for teaching the deaf to speak without finger signs, but in audible tones, and I was struck with the remarkable success of the efforts of the teacher; several of those boys spoke better than some persons I have heard speak who could hear perfectly well. They had been trained, and it had been done entirely by practice, and from the results of long experience. I should conceive, however, that this method might be made of immense use in developing and carrying on that system of teaching. But there is another thing that I wish to ask the gentleman who read that paper, as to whether the photograph, the instantaneous photograph, with the assistance of the electric-light, might not be used to carry this idea to a still greater degree of perfection? I suppose many here present know of the experiments made some years ago by Professor MUYBRIDGE, of the University of Pennsylvania, in ascertaining the positions of horses' feet in trotting. That was done in California, when Dexter trotted. It had been maintained that a horse, in trotting, always had one foot on the ground. It was found, I think he said so, that the horse in trotting, went seventeen feet without touching the ground, and thus the old theory was entirely disproved. There are also positions of the horses' feet on the friezes of the Parthenon, and persons were under the impression that the positions of those horses' feet were something utter-

ly impossible; but how the Greeks found it out, we do not know; but the result of the instantaneous photograph shows that the horse in trotting got his feet exactly into the position as represented on the friezes of the Parthenon. Now, on that same principle, by means of the electric-light, and the flashing photograph, we might possibly bring these matters to a very much more accurate result than by attempts made in the way that the gentleman who preceded me explained to us. It rather seemed that his method is just the first step in that direction, and that in a very short time we shall have some other means of finding out exactly what these positions of the vocal organs are, and, while I have no doubt that the ear, provided the ear be correct, is one of the best guides, still, for those persons whose ears are not correct, or for the absolutely deaf, this plan might be made of no inconsiderable service; and I should like to ask the gentleman whether he has in contemplation any experiments of the kind here noted, or whether he has made any, or whether he knows of any being made by others.

Prof. GRANDGENT:—I know of no successful experiments of this kind. I have tried in vain to devise some way of making such pictures. Of course, the lips can easily be photographed, but the interior of the mouth cannot: the mouth aperture is not large enough to admit of it. The back part of the mouth could never be directly photographed at all; because there are obstacles in the way; and even the visible front part, which, for most vowels, is very small, could not, I think, be taken, through the normal mouth aperture.

Dr. LYMAN:—The question, I think, would be whether a powerful electric light could not be thrown into the mouth through the most minute aperture and in some way a photograph be obtained of it. I am rather inclined to think that this could be done.

Prof. GRANDGENT:—But that would show only a small spot in the mouth.

Professor ADOLPH GERBER of Earlham College, presented the next communication on

9. "Russian Animal Folk-Lore compared with the Mediæval Animal Epics of the West,"

after which, on motion of Professor CALVIN THOMAS (University of Michigan), the Association adjourned for luncheon in Memorial Hall, as on the previous day. After luncheon many of the delegates availed themselves of the opportunity to visit LONGFELLOW'S Study, according to the courteous invitation of Miss Longfellow, as announced at the first Session. (cf. p. iv).

The **Fifth Session** of the Convention was called to order at 3 o'clock p. m., by President LOWELL, who remarked: The first

President, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Harvard Univ.,
Secretary, A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Johns Hopkins University,
Treasurer, H. A. TODD, Johns Hopkins University.

G. A. BARTLETT, *Harvard Univ.*, H. S. WHITE, *Cornell Univ.*,
ROSALIE SÉE, *Wellesley College*,
EDW. S. JOYNES, *Univ. of S. C.*, ALCÉE FORTIER, *Tulane Univ.*,
C. W. KENT, *Univ. of Tennessee*,
J. M. HART, *Univ. of Cin.*, MELVILLE B. ANDERSON, *Univ. of Ia.*,
A. GERBER, *Earlham College*.

President, A. MELVILLE BELL, Washington, D. C.,
Secretary, C. H. GRANDGENT, Boston.

President, CHARLES E. FAY, Tufts College,
Secretary, A. N. VAN DAELL, Mass. Inst. of Technology.

CALVIN THOMAS, *Univ. of Mich.*, P. B. MARCOU, *Univ. of Mich.*

The report was accepted without modification.

President LOWELL:—The next business is to listen to the report of the committee on place of meeting next year, from Professor BRANDT, the Chairman.

Prof. BRANDT :—Mr. President, the committee would recommend two places from which the Association is requested to choose: the first Chicago, and the second Nashville, Tennessee.

President LOWELL:—You have heard the report of your committee through its Chairman. Is it your pleasure that the report be accepted? If so, you will please manifest it by saying aye. Contrary minded. It is a vote. Then it would be proper, I suppose, to go on, as Professor BRANDT reported an alternative between the two places, and now decide which of the two shall be the place for next year's meeting.

Prof. COHN:—I move that the choice between the two localities be left to the Executive Committee.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President LOWELL:—The next business is to hear the committee on auditing of the Treasurer's report.

On behalf of the Committee Prof. E. S. SHELDON, Chairman, then reported as follows :

"The Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts report that the accounts have been examined and appear to be correct."

The Treasurer, Dr. H. A. TOND (Johns Hopkins Univ.):—It perhaps would seem necessary to add a word of explanation about the itemized account of the Treasurer, which I am very sorry to say in putting up my books to bring to the Association, escaped my attention; and it was not until I was on the train that it occurred to me that the book which contains the itemized account of expenditures, had been left behind.

President LOWELL:—You have heard the report, and also the explanation; and is it your pleasure that the report should be accepted, as well as the explanation which should accompany it? If so, you will please manifest it by saying aye.

The report was accepted.

Next came the report of the committee on resolutions, on Prof. ZDANOWICZ's death, Prof. PRIMER, Chairman.

Since our last meeting death has taken from us Professor CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ and we desire to place on record our heartfelt sorrow at the loss of our esteemed colleague. His qualities, both social and intellectual, were such as to win love and admiration. With keen intellectual powers, a zealous fondness for his literary and philological worth he had the remarkable gift of inspiring students with true fondness for study and a love of high and thorough scholarship. Therefore, be it Resolved :

1. That by his death we have lost a colleague whom we respected for his ability and integrity, and whom we loved for his never-failing courtesy and geniality.

2. That the members of this Association extend to the family of the deceased the sincere expression of sympathy in the severe affliction which they and we have been called to suffer;

3. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the widow of the deceased.

Prof. JOYNES:—I move that these resolutions be adopted by a rising vote.

The resolutions were so adopted.

Prof. JOYNES:—Mr. President, there is a matter, sir, that is not on the programme, I believe, for which I beg leave to interrupt only a moment the regular course of proceedings. It would be quite impossible to reduce to the cold letter of a resolution the sentiments that are felt by this Association with reference to our obligations to those who have so cordially and delightfully entertained us, to the pleasure we have felt in our visit, and to the reluctance with which we look forward to the necessity of our departure. Yet it would be equally impossible to undertake to express those sentiments by an address, however elaborate. I shall, therefore, take the liberty of

undertaking only to indicate and suggest in a few words, what may imperfectly represent the feeling of this Association—

Resolved, that the thanks of this Association are due, and are hereby tendered to the officers of Harvard University, and to the local committee, for courtesies and accommodations extended; to the President and Fellows for the hospitality of the table; to such hotels and railroad companies as have granted us special privileges; to all who, in any way, have done us good or wished us well: and further, that it is with sincere regret that those of us who have come from abroad to this favored centre of learning and culture take leave of fair Harvard and of glorious old Boston, with all its dialects (Laughter), until we shall have the pleasure and privilege to come again. I move sir, the adoption of those resolutions.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

President LOWELL:—The next business is to listen to a paper on

9. "The Influence of the Weakness of Accent-Stress on Phonetic Change in French," by Dr. PHILIPPE B. MARCOU, of the University of Michigan.

Dr. MARCOU read his paper and immediately after this Dr. JAMES W. BRIGHT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), put the following motion:

Mr. President, because of the lateness of the hour and the somewhat close relationship between the paper that has just been read and that which is to follow, I beg to be permitted to offer the motion that the discussion of this paper be combined with the discussion of the paper which follows.

The motion was carried

Prof. JOHN E. MATZKE, of Bowdoin College, next read a paper on

10. "Dialect Peculiarities in the development of *l mouillé* in Old French."

Professor E. S. SHELDON:—Mr. President, the paper which was read by Dr. MARCOU is one which calls, in general phonetic principles, for the explanation of linguistic changes. A difficulty exists with such explanations that we sometimes hardly know which one of several possibilities to choose. The hypothesis (I believe it was presented only as such), seems to me a sufficiently good one to explain the phenomena that we actually find, if it be granted that in the modern pronunciation the accent-stress is weaker in the French than it is in the Spanish, and weaker in the Spanish than it is in the Italian. But it seems to me there are other possibilities which might explain as well the phenomena that we find. The mere fact of coincidences will not enable us to say that of two phenomena which we observe, the one is the cause of the other. It is by no means certain that the older relations in stress-accent among these three languages were the same

that they are now; and even for Old French, I think it is open to considerable doubt whether the condition of things was the same as in the modern language. I think it is, at least, possible that in the Old French there was a stronger stress-accent than that which exists in the modern French. Of course, this is merely opposing one possibility to another, but that is all I wish to do. In the absence of more evidence, it seems to me that we must take into consideration other possibilities as well as that which has been presented to us, satisfactory as that alone might be if no other were to be found. I think there are still others, however, besides the doubt as to stress-accent in Old French. We are told, and of course it is true, that the greater amount of breath pressure on the accented syllable may leave, after that has been pronounced, a sufficient amount of breath to pronounce another syllable, another vowel, or even more than one vowel, in addition. That is a perfectly correct statement; but that additional force need not be spent in pronouncing the vowel, as we ordinarily understand it. Instead of that, the breath may simply be allowed to escape unvoiced. Suppose we have a Vulgar Latin word VALLE, pronounced about like the English word *valley*; we know, of course, that the resulting French word would be spelled *val*, but we should not be obliged to assume that it had lost the final syllable because the stress-accent was weak, for we can also assume that a pronunciation of VALLE with a very strong accent on the penult might have gone through a different stage to reach that final result. It might be that the stages would have been, for example, first, VALLE; second, VALL(E), with the second syllable only whispered or only breathed, and thus hardly audible and fully half-way toward loss. I submit that this intermediate stage is equally possible; and the next result might be *val* or *vall*, with the total loss of that almost inaudible second syllable. But I will not take up your time with further consideration of possibilities. It seems a rather barren subject, and its only use, I think, is to show that there are many possibilities for the explanation of linguistic changes which we do not at first suspect.

Prof. VAN DAELL:—Mr. President, may I say a few words, only a very few? For my part I have listened with a great deal of interest to the paper by Dr. MATZKE, but I confess I should have felt much more confidence if some of the examples of a little book by PAUL PASSY had not been adopted as a basis for a part of the observations. That book seems to me so strikingly inaccurate in observations on modern French pronunciation that it ought not to be considered as a safe basis for scientific investigation. For instance, PAUL PASSY, in contradiction to every one of the books of any authority in France, indicates the vowel in *les*, *ces*, as *lé*, *cé* (with an acute accent). Now this is opposed not only to every other authority, to every observer of French birth not only up to a certain time ago, but even to the present day. For instance, a grammar recently published under commission by the city of Paris by Mr. DA COSTA, flatly contradicts PAUL PASSY on the point just cited, and I think that many other points are just as

incorrect. PAUL PASSY being so strikingly and evidently mistaken in this matter, I confess my confidence in his observations on more delicate points of pronunciation is diminished, and I would like to see really scientific observation based on some other and better book.

Dr. MATZKE:—The book from which I especially quoted was BEYER's whose account had the same results as those given by PAUL PASSY; after he had written and printed his conclusions, he ran across PASSY's statement and then reprinted that; and as I thought a Frenchman's conclusions would be better than a German's on that matter, I cited PASSY; but I might equally well have cited the German.

Prof. VAN DAELL:—I didn't touch, I think, upon the main point of Dr. MATZKE's theory but simply to call attention to mistakes in PAUL PASSY's book which seems to be quite popular; and I wanted to call attention to that point more than to Dr. MATZKE's discussion. This is a subject which I have not especially studied. I should be glad to do so.

Prof. GRANDGENT:—I would simply call Dr. VAN DAELL's attention to the fact that PAUL PASSY himself has changed his statement with regard to the vowel mentioned, and in his article in *Phonetische Studien*, i, 1, he places it as intermediate between the close and open sounds. In corroboration of Professor SHELDON's remarks on Dr. MARCOU's paper, it may be worth while to mention the fact that I have heard GASTON PARIS explain the loss of unaccented syllables in French through the force of tonic stress in the older language, ascribing their fall to what he called the "tyranny of the Old French accent," and thus explaining the phenomenon on a basis exactly opposed to that taken by Dr. MARCOU.

Prof. COHN:—I was glad to hear Prof. SHELDON make the statement, in referring to Dr. MARCOU's paper, touching the great importance of the stress-accent in Old French; and I think that if we examine carefully even Modern French from the standpoint of groups of words in the sentence (these sharply defined word-groups being one of the striking peculiarities of utterance in the French language), we may find the same thing in the present French speech. I call attention to the singularly strong treatment given by Old French to monosyllables, used by themselves or in the sentence; and also to the value of assonance in Old French poetry as showing the importance of the great stress of accent. I want also to say one word in reference to Dr. MATZKE's paper. I see that Dr. MARCOU has made great use of the "mielz," and this is merely the question that I wanted to ask. Did it not occur to him that in this special word,—because we must always remember that there are individual instances which do not fall under the rule,—perhaps the *z* represented *ts* or *ds* in such a word, and might have developed in *mielz* by the influence of *mieldre* which was so frequent and natural a form, the *d* in *mieldre* coming from the juxtaposition of *l* and *r*?

Dr. MATZKE:—If I take the correct point of view in this problem, the *d* in *mielldre* is to be explained in exactly the same way as the *z* in *mielz*; that is, one does not derive from the other, but the *d* in *mielldre* is just as much an epenthetical consonant developed between *l* and *r* as the *l* in *mielz* is between *l* and *s*, because *z*, according to CHABANEAU, till the end of the twelfth century in French, denotes *z* and nothing else. I wish to add one word, Mr. President, in regard to Dr. MARCOU's paper. Some years ago I was especially interested in looking up the question of accent in Modern French, and I then found a great deal of uncertainty existing in regard to it. I found as many as four different theories regarding the accent. There was one that the accent rested on the last, and another that the accent rested upon the first fully pronounced syllable of the word. According to a third theory, there is no tonic accent at all; all the syllables of the word bear the same degree of stress, and a fourth theory is, that the last two syllables are equally accented, with a pause before the last syllable.

President LOWELL:—I think that as there are two papers to follow, it would be well, perhaps, for the discussion to end here, and you will now listen to a paper on

II. "Reading in Modern Language Study," by Professor EDWARD S. JOYNES, of the University of South Carolina.

After this communication was presented, the following motion was made by

Prof. CALVIN THOMAS:—I dare say nearly every member of the Association has got something to say in regard to this subject; but on account of the lateness of the hour, I make the same motion that Dr. BRIGHT made concerning the previous discussion. I move that the discussion of this paper which has just been read be postponed until after the reading of the next paper, which is germane to it in subject matter.

Discussion on Prof. JOYNES' paper having been postponed, Prof. CHARLES E. FAY, of Tufts College, addressed the Association on

12. "Requirements in German and French for Admission to College."

The presence of the proposed scheme* of modern language requirements in printed form in the hands of the members of the Association which is invited to discuss it, renders my task in opening the discussion a very simple one. It will be merely to say something concerning the movement from which the scheme is an outgrowth, with a few added words in explanation of certain of its detail.

*Cf. Appendix, iii, at the end of these *Proceedings*.

For the information of those who may not be familiar with our local educational matters, I will premise that there exists in New England a Commission, composed of one representative each from the faculties of fifteen Colleges, whose sole care it is to secure information in the requirements for admission to college in those subjects which are universally required. It owes its existence to a successful movement, started some five years ago under the initiative of the Massachusetts High and Classical School Teachers Association, to secure some common arena for the discussion of topics of mutual interest to the colleges and the preparatory schools. Their request was cordially met by the colleges, and an Association was formed whose usefulness is the prophecy of similar organizations in all parts of our land.

One of the first subjects discussed in the newly-formed New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, was the pitiable condition in which schools that were fitting pupils for several different colleges found themselves by reason of diversity of requirements for entrance to these colleges. After due discussion, it was voted to memorialize the Association of Colleges in Southern New England—an organization of long standing, composed of the presidents of ten colleges and one delegate member from the faculty of each college, holding annual meetings for the discussion of subjects of common interest—and to urge the appointment of a Commission on uniform requisitions for admission to college. This memorial was received and acted upon, and the Commission thus created at once proceeded to fulfil its desirable functions. It first took up the question of uniform requisitions in English and has satisfactorily settled it. The suggestions offered to the Commission and by them formulated and arranged, have been adopted also universally by the colleges in New England, and there is no doubt that they are destined to have a still wider recognition.

As a second subject, the Commission was requested to consider the importance of uniformity with regard to the modern languages. Here, of course, a very much more difficult subject awaited them. In pursuance of a possible reform, they first called a conference of the professors of modern languages in the various colleges of New England, and invited to meet with them several of the teachers of leading preparatory schools. The subject was here discussed during a long evening session. On the following morning, the professors met by themselves, and after conference, appointed a committee to draft a scheme of uniform requisitions,—to consist of the representatives of four colleges which had more or less advanced requisitions,—Harvard, Wellesley, Smith and Tufts Colleges,—together with Dr. VAN DAELL, at that time the director of modern languages of the schools of Boston, as a representative of the interests of the schools. This committee was accepted by the Commission and empowered to act as its agent. It has held protracted sessions, and has endeavored to give the subject as full attention and discussion as it could. It has felt, however, that its responsibility was somewhat diminished by the

fact that what it should present was destined to receive a very careful criticism from the professors of the several New England colleges, as well as from the teachers of the preparatory schools.

And now a word with regard to details of the scheme that has been formulated. The committee was requested to prepare an elementary and an advanced requisition for both French and German. To perform the first of these tasks was a comparatively simple matter. Inasmuch as the elementary German or French leads to nothing in particular, there was a comparatively free field. Two considerations were uppermost, namely, What ought to be emphasized in this elementary requisition? and, secondly, What can the schools furnish? In considering the latter point, it was natural that the committee should not take into account merely what schools are today furnishing, but what they might reasonably be asked to furnish—not forgetting, in our desire to raise the standard of modern language study, a proper consideration of the very large amount that is already required of them in the preparation of students for college.

As regards the points upon which special stress should be laid, it will be obvious to anyone who glances at the requisitions in the printed scheme, that the importance of the point dwelt upon by the last speaker,—the attainment of the power to enjoy a foreign literature—was felt by the committee. It will be seen that the second section of the elementary requisitions looks to the reading of a considerable amount. Whether that amount is too large or not, is a matter upon which opinions may differ. I would call attention to the difference of statement between the German and the French in this section of the elementary requisitions. In the French, it will be observed that ability to translate simple prose at sight is called for, but not in the German. There it is merely stated that the candidate must have read not less than a certain amount. The greater difficulty of the language, the obvious fact that no person, after having read merely two hundred pages, could be expected to translate at sight any German that a college examiner might see fit to regard as easy,—led to a more definite, if not less severe, requirement in this language. (§1 of the elementary requisitions).

With regard to the topics of grammar, I feel that possibly the committee has not put in the form to be most easily understood, just what it had in view. I am led to this conclusion from certain letters that I have been receiving in the past few days from teachers and college instructors in various parts of New England, protesting against the limitation of grammar study to these topics. That was not the intent. It is manifestly impossible, too, for a student to read properly four hundred pages of French or two hundred pages of German, without having his attention called to many other points and without acquiring a wider knowledge of grammar than would be represented in the topics here specified. What the committee desired to do, was to emphasize certain essential things which seem not to have received hitherto a sufficient amount of attention. It is most certain that if

these details of accidence are not thoroughly mastered in the early stages of language study, they never will be mastered; therefore, it seemed wiser to omit the statement of certain desirable things that must be taught to some extent, in order to set in bolder relief the absolutely essential things, as it seemed to the committee. As to how far these are essential, of course, there will be a difference of opinion on the part of the different teachers. It will be observed also, that in the elementary requisition in German grammar, fewer topics are suggested. In the committee's view, there are here two words which ought to be printed, not in italic, merely, but in some extraordinary type that would urge them still more strongly upon the teacher's and the pupil's attention—the words "proficiency" and "thoroughness." There is where the chief emphasis should rest.

The third point of the elementary requisition suggests that attention be paid from the very first to the utterance and hearing of the languages, to the training of the tongue and of the ear, to securing ability to pronounce the language and to "recognize" French or German words and simple phrases—not necessarily to know their meaning, but so to hear them as to be able to reproduce their sound. That seems a very slight requisition, but we all know that it is very far in advance of what we are apt to find it possible to secure from many students who present themselves for college today.

In discussing the advanced requisitions, a serious difficulty was encountered. Three of the institutions represented upon this committee of five, already had advanced requisitions in their catalogue, leading to certain collateral or advanced courses. To those members, it naturally seemed undesirable or unnecessary seriously to modify the existing situation in their own courses. A fourth member desired to see a course laid out which should be a proper equivalent for Greek, in a college course yet to be established, that should lead to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. After considerable discussion and very much concession by various members of the committee, there were formulated the two advanced requisitions that appear in the printed scheme. Here again, in the first section, it will be observed that very little stress is laid upon technical grammar. It merely emphasizes certain points of syntax to which special attention ought to be given, matters in which familiarity in the fullest sense of the term, ought to be required. In German, the insistence upon elementary word-formation, and in French, the stress laid upon to the importance of acquiring the more frequently occurring idiomatic phrases, will be regarded as at least a distinct advance upon the ordinary grammar requisitions for admission to college.

In section two of both advanced requisitions, there will at once be observed a decided variation, not wholly unlike in character that found in section two of the elementary requisitions; and the ground for this difference is the same. In the French, ability to translate at sight standard French of the classical and contemporary periods is the desideratum. In German, nothing is said with regard to transla-

tion at sight; but it is suggested that certain definite reading should have been done; therefore, a full list of works to be read is prescribed in German, and not in French. The decision to present a list of works was arrived at quite late in the final session of the committee, and the list itself drawn up somewhat hastily. It is possible that some may take exception to works that are found here, and even probable that before its final adoption, minor changes will be made; perhaps, even quite radical changes.

With regard to the third requisition, I shall say nothing. Indeed I have occupied already much more time than I had intended when I began.

In closing I would say that this scheme is brought before this Convention at the request of the Secretary of the Commission, which desires that it shall receive the frankest, the fullest, and the widest possible criticism. There is nothing here that is regarded by any one as in any sense sacred. What the Commission desires—(I think I may speak in its behalf, although the Secretary is here who can speak for it more properly)—is the wisest possible requisition that will at once unify the requisitions for admission to our New England colleges and prove the truest stimulus to modern language study in America. (Applause).

Prof. COHN:—Mr. President, I gladly assented to the proposition to open the discussion on Prof. JOYNES' paper; I knew that I should learn something from Professor JOYNES. I remember once hearing him, at one of our former meetings, make a statement which I must say has been of the greatest use to me in teaching ever since. It was that the main object of teaching modern languages in American colleges should be to teach the student English. Although I might find more than one observation to present on Professor JOYNES' paper, namely, on the possibility of carrying on the exercise of conversation in the work of colleges for the teaching of modern languages, or on the important part that translation has and that reading should play (as I think that the two exercises should not be confounded)—although, as I have said, I might have some remarks to present on this subject, I think that it would be better, perhaps, to yield to the desire of a majority of the audience by omitting such remarks as have presented themselves to my mind during the reading of the suggestive paper, and to allow the discussion to proceed on the scheme which has just been presented for the requirements in French and German, and on which it would not become me to offer at present any remarks, as I happened to be a member of the committee that drafted them and our purposes in formulating them have been well explained by our Chairman.

President CHAS. W. ELIOT (Harvard University):—May I be allowed to ask Prof. FAY three questions, in order to clear my own mind, and perhaps the mind of the meeting, on these requirements? Am I right in supposing that in the advanced French requirement, the amount of reading—fifteen hundred pages—comprehends the four hundred pages of the elementary requirements?

Prof. FAY:—It is; it is intended to be foreshadowed and set forth by the words "in all."

President ELIOT:—I suppose so; but the point is of some importance, and I wanted to be sure that this fifteen hundred pages comprehended the four hundred of the elementary requirement. Then, in section two of the advanced requirement in German and in French,—Is it supposed that this amount of reading in German or in French is to be done in class-room recitations, or will reading done by the student apart from his teacher be accepted?

Prof. FAY:—That point was not raised; but I can see no reason why it should not be. Merely having read that amount would be all-sufficient to cover the ground, but there are no instructions directly upon it.

President ELIOT:—It seems to me that this point needs to be clearly understood, for the amount specified in German seems to be very large in proportion to the time allowed to German or French in our secondary schools. Of course, the Association is aware that the time allowed to the modern languages in the secondary schools, even the best of them, is small in proportion to the time allowed to Latin and Mathematics. I should seriously doubt whether it would be practicable to read the amount specified in advanced French or in advanced German in the school-room, under the direction of the teacher, in any one of our leading preparatory schools in the time allowed now to either of these subjects. The third question which I wanted to ask Prof. FAY was, What is meant by conversation in the third of these paragraphs under advanced German?

Prof. FAY:—That is a question, Mr. President, that I took great care to avoid answering. (Laughter). It seems almost like a conspiracy to urge an answer. It will be remembered that I said that in the preparation of this scheme very great concessions were made. I hold in my hand the catalogue of Tufts College about to be issued. After 1891, a new course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts will be open to the candidates who offer an increased amount of German and French. The requirement in grammar is about as stated here; translation of eight hundred pages of German, or fifteen hundred of French; ability to write in the language a paragraph on a subject connected with some one of the works read in preparation. That is what we regard as feasible in composition. Our requirement ends there. That is as far as I personally expect conversation. (Laughter and applause).

Prof. CALVIN THOMAS:—May one who is not a New Englander venture to ask the committee how much time they supposed and intended would be allowed by the secondary schools to the elementary German, and also the advanced German? A problem of great interest to me, although I am not a New Englander.

Prof. FAY:—Five hours for the first year, and if wholesale composition and conversation are expected, I should say ten hours for second and third; but, leaving composition and conversation out of the ques-

tion, perhaps it would take four hours a week for at least two additional years. As I say, I do not understand fully how much my colleagues on the committee intend by that term "conversation," but probably the minimum time necessary to prepare for the advanced French or German requisition would be five hours for the first year, and four for the second and third years. It is a very important point, and one that should have been mentioned, and yet I don't recall that our committee discussed it at any length. Personally, I should suppose that not less than five hours a week for one year would be required in the preparation of the elementary requisition. Prof. GRANDGENT, who is here, can express an enlightened opinion upon this subject. With regard to the advanced requirement, I think it was felt in the committee (if I am not right, members present will correct me), that three years, at least, would be necessary to prepare for it in either language. It will be observed that there is not a French *and* German requisition in our colleges; but a French *or* German requisition.

Prof. GRANDGENT:—Since Prof. FAY has called upon me, I will say that in the two Boston public schools that fit for college, the Boys' and Girls' Latin schools, it would take about two years, at three lessons a week, to prepare for the elementary French, or, if we attempted it, for the elementary German; and now that I am on my feet, I should like to express the hope that Prof. FAY's suggestion with regard to changing the works on these lists will be carried out. Some of the texts seem to me eminently unfit to figure in a list of books to be studied in preparatory schools. Conspicuous in the German programme, I see 'Deutsche Liebe,' a sentimental, morbid book which would surely be most unhealthy reading for children. In the French list, I should prefer the absence of LA FONTAINE'S 'Fables,' which I never knew an American school-boy or college student to regard with any other feeling than one of abhorrence.

Prof. JOYNES:—It not being my privilege to live in New England, I should like to enquire, Mr. President, of Prof. FAY as Chairman, I suppose, of this committee, whether it is really practicable to secure in the fitting schools of New England anything like the amount of time and attention and teaching that he declares to be necessary for the presentation of these advanced courses in French or German? That is to say, is it practicable for your fitting schools, even the best, to give three years of thorough work in modern languages in advance of admission to college?

Prof. FAY:—Mr. President, may I ask Prof. COHN to answer that question in my behalf? Whether it is practicable to secure in the schools of New England such a preparation as is here outlined for the advanced French or German? I do not mean as regards the ability of the teachers, but whether sufficient time is now given to fit students properly for advanced work in Harvard College.

Prof. COHN:—I don't exactly see why our Chairman wished me to answer that question, as I certainly am not better informed than he is

as to the time the schools of New England can give to preparation. What I want to say is this, that if the school cannot give the time that is needed in preparation, let them not prepare for advanced French—that is all.

Prof. FAY:—My reason for asking Prof. COHN to speak for me was that Harvard has at present an advanced requisition requiring about as much as this. Now the question would arise, Does Harvard receive candidates properly fitted in the New England schools, for its advanced course? If so, the question would seem to be answered.

Prof. COHN:—We had last year eighty-four candidates, I think, that presented advanced French at the entrance examination, and a number of them passed the examination. I doubt whether many of these had been prepared for that examination in the New England fitting-schools.

Prof. G. A. BARTLETT (Harvard University):—I hesitate to speak on this subject, in the first place, because the paper was placed in my hands too late for me to give to it the necessary thought; and, in the second place, because what I have to say would be better said before a body more closely interested in New England schools and colleges, a body which might have some power in determining the final points at issue. But my objection is very strong to the German portion of the requisition in one particular. It is fifteen or more years since a course in German was established in Harvard University without instruction in grammar, a second year course. A course in the study of German historians and the reading of a large quantity of prose; the endeavor being by that means to give the student an insight into the spirit and idiom of the language without spending his time in the study of particular points of grammar. A classical professor of the college has said to me, that the success of that means of instruction induced the classical teachers in this college to begin instruction in reading at sight, and now those methods are introduced into the preparation for admission to this college in the classical subjects; and requisitions for reading at sight have been substituted for requisitions in grammar, or requisitions in certain other studies, and I think with satisfactory results. The President of this Association said, in his address on Thursday evening, that in education what was of the greatest importance was not *what* we learn, but the way in which we learn it; and if that applies to education in general, how much more would it apply to a special subject which is to lay the foundation for further study in college. I maintain that translation at sight is the best means for fitting the student for further work in college; and that, for the sake of the fitting schools themselves, it is the best method. However friendly our relations with the fitting schools may be, we stand always, in a certain sense, slightly antagonistic to them. The best of the principals and teachers of the fitting schools will always be tempted to hold rather too much in view the examination for admission, the possibility of getting the student into this or that particular college, and not

the amount of knowledge which he can communicate to the pupil. It seems to me, therefore, that we ought to help the fitting schools and the principals in their struggles against this tendency, and for that purpose we should offer a test which will be removed as far as possible from any mechanical requirement. The test of reading at sight we have found valuable to the accomplishment of this end, and the reading at sight may begin, not, as has been said, in the second or third year of instruction, but almost with the first lesson in the language. We usually begin it at Harvard, in the second or third week, and certainly in the second or third month; that is as soon as the student has got any vocabulary, however small. And this applies especially to German; more to German than to French. We make him use his wits as well as knowledge in determining the meanings of words new to him, with the help of the few words he already knows, and also in determining by the context, the meaning of phrases which he has not yet learned, and this process of half reasoning, half "guessing," we regard as most valuable. I hope, therefore, that we shall not abandon that principle of translation at sight. In regard to the advanced requisitions, it seems to me that in the preparation for admission to college, we have, perhaps, three things to aim at; the first, that the preparation of modern languages should be an introduction to the further study of philology and literature; the second, that it should be also preparation in the use of a valuable tool. If you look at the requisitions for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Harvard College, you will find that knowledge of Latin and Greek is no longer required, but that knowledge of both French and German is required. I cannot believe that the classical instructors would have consented to that change; in fact, I know they would not have consented if it had not been felt that the absence of a part of the literary training in Latin and Greek was compensated for by the value of French, and especially of German, as a tool to be used in the advanced study of classical philology and other branches of learning. We have, therefore, that secondary, but scarcely less important use of the training in French and German, which is not recognized, or is scarcely recognized at all in these *proposed* advanced requisitions. The books which are there offered are unsuitable. There should have been historical subjects, for it is true of German in a much greater degree than in French, that a student trained only in the classical models of the language would be entirely unable to read, understandingly, a single line of any good historical writer. I have found students trained in that way who could not read the work of such a lucid writer and master of style as VON SYBEL. But, furthermore, there is the third purpose, it seems to me, in the training of modern languages, that the student should also become acquainted with the genius of the language which he is studying, and with the peculiarities of its people, as manifested in speech; and for that purpose he should not be instructed alone in the more precise classical modes of the language, but he should be offered some of the harder nuts to

crack, if I may say so. I should say, for instance, that in place of FREYTAG'S 'Die Journalisten' there should be offered something like the Prose in the present Harvard requisition for admission; namely, the chapter on Frederick the Great; and that no student be admitted to college on the advanced requisition, who was not able to read such a work as this of FREYTAG, as no student who was not able to do that could have a clear understanding of the true spirit of the German language, nor would he be competent to use the German text books which he should be able to make use of, if he is to be admitted upon the advanced German requisition.

In brief, I can best conclude by recommending to the "Commission" the present Harvard Requisition for admission, both elementary and advanced. I regard them, with the exception of one book, CHAMISSE'S 'Peter Schlemihl,' as admirably adapted to the ends in view. They are simple in statement, and the subjects offered for study are not only illustrative of all that is best in German life, speech and character, but they are also masterpieces of prose, poetry and drama.

Prof. H. S. WHITE (Cornell University):—It is evident that the details of this plan would be best adjusted by the local organization which has proposed it; but the members of this Association may be interested to learn that in New York, at this very time, a similar movement has been inaugurated by the associated Principals of that State. The day before yesterday that Association adopted a scheme of the same nature as the one here proposed, a scheme embracing elementary French and German, and advanced French and German, and based, not so much upon a requirement in *amount*, that is, upon an enumeration of authors, as upon a requirement in *time*, or an indication of the length of time necessary to complete the work, essentially a limit of three years for accomplishing the amount required for preparation. The subjects of French and German are intended to be an alternative for Greek and Latin in certain college courses. This scheme is of great importance for the study of French and German in New York, and, of course, incidentally in New England also, because many students come from New York to the New England colleges. The plan in New York is to establish a new Regents' Diploma in addition to those already in existence. At present an English Diploma is granted, based chiefly on a knowledge of mathematics, English studies and the sciences; and a classical Diploma, based chiefly on a knowledge of Greek and Latin.

It is now proposed to establish a modern language Diploma, based chiefly on a knowledge of French and German. In New York State, a large "literary fund" is distributed to the academies and high-schools in proportion to the number of Regents' examinations which the students of such institutions may pass during the year, so that each academy and high-school will have a certain financial interest, too, in promoting the study of French and German. This movement is regarded in New York as of great moment, and it seems fortunate that the same effort should be now underway in New England.

The question was asked a moment ago whether the academies and high-schools in New England could provide this instruction. The inquiry is pertinent, for one might fairly doubt whether a course so extensive as the one proposed would be feasible at once in the *average* school; but this, again, is only a matter of detail. To this Association, representing all sections of the country, the important feature in these two movements, is that they tend to foster and increase the study of the modern languages in the preparatory schools, and to advance and elevate the pursuit of those languages in the colleges accordingly.

Prof. COHN:—I wish only to say that as to the matter of time which is required for the elementary and advanced French together, we can do much more than that in our French department in this University in two years, three times a week.

Prof. VAN DAELL (Boston):—I simply wish to speak for one moment; I want to tell Prof. JOYNES that the requirements of the advanced French and German are not more than is regularly done in the Boston High and Latin Schools. I have directed for three years the modern language work in the Boston schools, and I can affirm that this advanced requirement is entirely filled by the work of the Boston schools, in four years. I think that the majority of the pupils of the fourth year class in the Boston High Schools would be fully capable of passing the examination as it is here stated in the advanced requirement.

Prof. THOMAS:—I simply wish to ask upon what basis this discussion is before the Association? Is it proposed to have the Association, either at this meeting or at some future meeting, endorse this scheme as an ideal scheme, or is it simply for an interchange of views?

President LOWELL:—I believe fully in the interchange of opinion, and for my own part I am very glad to have been entertained by that which has taken place. I was particularly glad to hear what has been said about grammar. When I taught, I always advised my pupils to study grammar if they liked, but that the way to learn a language was to get hold of a book that interested them, and read it. Then they would wish to know the grammar if the book was worth understanding; and I found this the most effectual way, for I sympathize heartily with HEINE who said that he always hated the Romans because they invented Latin Grammar. And because I put literature first, I think any advice we may give as to the choice of books of the greatest importance. It struck me, in reading over the tentative list, though some of the books are rather too modern for me, and I am not, perhaps, entitled to speak of them, that it was exceedingly weak, if you will pardon me for saying so. I must be frank; and to me the choice of the book is the most important part in learning the language. You get a student thoroughly interested, get him into a book which takes hold of him in some way, and I think you will have won half the battle. But many of those books struck me as more than secondary in literary and moral value.

Prof. FAY:—I might have explained a little more fully than I did the ground of any alleged weakness. If I had told you that the list was made up under pressure, in perhaps ten minutes, I think that would have been more definite. May I be allowed to read a note* that has just come in from the Pacific coast, handed to me since I began?

Prof. ALONZO WILLIAMS (Brown University):—May I ask one question? I came down here to listen to this report and to this discussion, and I am not yet quite certain that one of my inferences is correct. Is it intended that this body should endorse this report, with the view that this shall replace Greek in the preparation for college? I infer that this is the intention, and I have been waiting for some one to state it definitely. Prof. WHITE has said that this is the intention in New York State, to replace either Greek or Latin in college. I infer from what Prof. FAY said in regard to Tufts College, that this is the intention. If that is so, then this is a most radical change; of course, then, whatever we put in, to replace Greek should be prepared with the utmost care, as there is in the ancient classical department a learned faculty that has been growing up for many years with very valuable text-books. What we want to accomplish, of course, in the first place, is to educate our boys and girls in the best manner. Do I understand Prof. FAY that the committee contemplates what has been suggested in that regard?

Prof. FAY:—This is not at all an essential feature of the scheme. It may be said, however, that in preparing the advanced requisition, the representative of Smith College was very urgent, (speaking also in behalf of her colleagues) to secure such requirements as could properly be accepted as an equivalent for Greek. That was what was desired by Tufts College also; so far as Harvard College is concerned, a preparation for its advanced course was the desideratum. If the requirements should prove acceptable as an equivalent for Greek in any individual college, I suppose the Committee would feel gratified in having accomplished this result.

Prof. WILLIAMS:—I was going to ask, then, if you supposed that today we could secure this requisition in addition to what is already required?

Prof. FAY:—So far as some of the fitting schools connected with Tufts College are concerned, it was recognized that it would be necessary to revolutionize completely the preparatory work; that teachers of equal thoroughness, education, discipline, would be required for this department as for the department of the classics. It was hoped that we might thus secure just as thorough work in the modern languages as in the classics.

I would say with regard to any action on the part of this Association, that certainly nothing of the kind was expected by the Commission. It was simply hoped that a free, full discussion might be called out in the light of which further action should be taken.

* The note was from Prof. WESLEY B. SAWYER, of the University of the Pacific, stating as his opinion that the requirements of the scheme are expressive.

MISS LOUISE BOTH-HENDRIKSEN (Brooklyn, N. Y.):—I would like to endorse what has been said about the historical studies. The "advanced French" is the only thing I can speak about; it certainly bears not the slightest comparison to the Greek equivalent in any college I know anything about. The grammar is very diminutive indeed. Compare it with the required grammar in a Greek course in college. You have there not only the grammar including prosody, but also Greek prose; there is nothing of that kind required here: and my sad experience is that in preparing grammar for the advanced French, the smallest grammar is invariably taken, and the most elementary, so that pupils understand very little about the delicate points, or the logical points; and again in translation, the absurd translations that come up are simply due to their not knowing grammar. Then as regards the works that are suggested here; fifteen hundred pages are a good deal as regards quantity: they may not be as regards quality. There is nothing *national* in the advanced French, as far as equivalent is concerned. In the Greek course you have 'Xenophon,' which is emphatically a national book, and gives you an idea of Greek life and Greek action; you have also the 'Iliad,' which is emphatically Greek. But here you have as an equivalent, I take it, for 'Xenophon,' the 'Contes Choisis' of DAUDET, which relate, some of them, to the war of 1870; and 'Colomba' by MÉRI-MÉE, a secondary writer. I do not think that any one would dream of saying that 'Colomba' and the 'Contes Choisis' would equal 'Xenophon.' Yet we have in French many historical works which could be used without any greater expense. On the spur of the moment, I would suggest that we have various selections from historical writers of France adapted for French lessons in French; and among others the 'Jeanne Darc' of MARTIN which will give a good idea of a heroic episode of national life. We have, also, WALLON'S 'Life of Saint Louis, or Louis IX'; besides THIERRY'S 'Récits Mérovingiens,' some of which are already published with notes for students, and might suggest the idea of national prose. If you wish to keep the 'Contes Choisis,' with a historical work, keep it; the two might be the equivalent for 'Xenophon.' The only equivalent proposed for the 'Iliad' is the 'Horace' of CORNEILLE; but the 'Horace' is the easiest of CORNEILLE'S plays, and if you leave out the curse which Camille pronounces upon Rome, and leave out the much-quoted saying of the father about his son, there is little of interest. You have also the first book of the fables of LA FONTAINE. Mr. GRANDGENT said that pupils do not like it; in France we do like it. But there is no use to give people books which they do not like, if you wish them to like a language. The requirements say "fifteen hundred duodecimo pages, including one play each of Racine and Molière"; yet no play of MOLIÈRE is suggested. Why not require the 'Cid,' one of CORNEILLE'S greatest plays and, more than that, one which is the most French of all. The Théâtre Français, at Paris, is packed when MOLIÈRE is acted. Why not ask for 'L'Avare'; or,

'Les Précieuses Ridicules' and 'Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme'; or 'Le Misanthrope'; or 'Les Femmes Savantes.' The 'Cid' and a strong play of *MOLIÈRE* will yet give you not much more than one book of the 'Iliad.' Look back at the proposed equivalent,—a substitute to take the place of Greek. It is very weak in grammar; almost nothing as regards prose. The proposed equivalent in verse may, perhaps, get through with two-thirds of the first book of the 'Iliad.' What mental calibre would you get in your pupils at your colleges? It may be nice to hurry people through their college course in order to get them into a profession, but will you have as intelligent people in the profession when you get them there? (Applause). If you want good modern French verse, which is left out entirely, why not take from our best, our most thoroughly French writers? Put in a play of *VICTOR HUGO* for a part of another book of the 'Iliad'—say, that will call attention to the Romantic school. Or, if you wish, you can take some of the splendid lyric poems, the pride of the language, some written by *VICTOR HUGO*, some by *LAMARTINE*, some by *ALFRED DE MUSSET*, and you would get then sentences not at all of the kind that *COLERIDGE* speaks of, though *COLERIDGE* spoke as he did because he did not know much French.* The sentences in these lyrics are ringing, strong and terse, and are more like the Greek, I think, and so thought *GOETHE* when, as you perhaps remember, he said of "*Les deux Îles*" by *VICTOR HUGO*, that nothing of the kind equal to it had been written in Europe in modern times. I should, therefore, object emphatically, in behalf of the French language, to the proposed "advanced French." It is not a French equivalent for Greek; it is a selection of things which may be read in a second-rate seminary or boarding school. It gives no idea at all of the French nation, or of French intellect and literature. (Loud applause).

Prof. *POLAND* (Providence, R. I.), Secretary of the Commission:—Mr. President, I thank you for the opportunity which you have offered me. I scarcely think that I can add anything to the discussion. All that the Commission really desires has been well expressed by Prof. *FAY*. There is this point to be borne in mind, which, perhaps, may need a little emphasis; the Commission does not assume any direction in such matters, beyond this: it is charged with the duty of trying to secure uniformity in common requirements in the colleges represented in the Commission, which are fifteen in number; and our powers are only powers of recommendation. We have no power to insist; all that we have power to do is to recommend; and, therefore, we undertake to exercise no discretionary power in this matter. It has been represented to the Commission that there was a strong need of a reformation, or of an attempt, at least, to introduce a greater degree of uniformity into the requirements for admission to college in modern languages; and that is the task about which the Commission has set itself, and it has called in the aid of the gentlemen who

*This was in reply to a remark that *COLERIDGE* thought the French language had only short, tripping sentences.

have been represented here this afternoon by Prof. FAY, acting for his committee. The desire of the Commission at this particular time is to have the matter brought up for the fullest and freest discussion and criticism. I do not think that we have any desire to do anything more than that. I wrote to Prof. FAY, in behalf of the executive committee, asking him to bring up the matter at this time if possible, or to attempt to secure a discussion of it at this time for this purpose; and I wish to return thanks, in behalf of the Commission, to you, Mr. President, and to the Association for taking up the matter.

The Commission will continue its work of revision and construction, and finally, when it has completed its object, it will bring the scheme before a committee which will be made up of professors of modern languages, one from each of the fifteen colleges in the Commission. This committee will discuss the matter and will further elaborate the scheme and complete it, after which it will be brought back to the Commission to be recommended to the colleges. It is probable that the Commission will merely send the complete scheme to the colleges commending it to their attention; for, of course, after it has been through the hands of specialists, we who are of different fields of labor would not attempt to make any great changes.

Prof. BARTLETT (Harvard University):—May I ask a question? It seems to me that the present requisitions for admission in German in Harvard College are moderate. I think they have desirable qualities, if I may be allowed to read them: they are short. I do not think the Commission could have done better than to accept that.

Prof. FAY:—May I offer just one word in deprecation of the remarks concerning the weakness of this list. I have said that we did not regard it as ideal. It would be instructive, however, to compare it with the works that are read in the New England colleges themselves. I think it will be found that nearly all works here cited, except perhaps the first two, appear among works that are read, say in the sophomore or junior year, in college. Is not the condemnation of this list for the preparatory schools a much more emphatic condemnation of the works read in our New England colleges at large?

At this point in the discussion, the following telegram was received and read by the President:

December 28, 1889.

Columbus, Ohio.

Have organized Modern Language Association of Ohio: Greetings to Parent Association.

J. M. HART,
H. K. SCHILLING,
ERNST A. EGGERS.

A motion was made that the Secretary be authorized to send to the newly-formed association cordial greetings, expressive of the gratification of the older society, on the establishment of a sister organization.

Prof. THOMAS:—In view of the fact of the establishment of this Ohio Association, I should like to introduce the following motion,—that the committee on place of meeting, for next year, shall not be confined in their deliberations to a choice between Nashville and Chicago; but if it shall seem best, shall be authorized to fix upon some other point, perhaps Cleveland, Detroit or Ann Arbor,—any of which would be good places. I make this motion for, I suppose, obvious reasons; I won't stop to point them out. We have valuable and efficient members of the Association in Ohio; I don't know what their programme is, but we cannot afford to have them diverted entirely from this Association. My idea is, simply, that the committee of the Executive Council to whom the matter was left, shall confer with the Ohio Association, and in case it seems better to meet somewhere else than in Chicago or Nashville, shall arrange matters accordingly.

President LOWELL:—I had the impression that the matter was left with the committee: not merely a choice between the two places suggested, but literally a choice. That is my impression; I may be wrong.

Dr. BRIGHT:—The form of that motion does not please me. I think that the duty of conferring with the new organization is hardly necessary; I think that Prof. THOMAS might simply modify the former motion by saying that no restriction be put upon the Executive Committee in the selection of a place.

Prof. THOMAS:—Very well; that suits me. I urge not the form, but the substance of the motion.

Prof. COHN:—I would like to move that the Executive Committee be empowered to select some other time than the Christmas recess for our meeting. I have heard several of our members express themselves to the effect that some other time would be more conducive to a full meeting than the Christmas recess. I have no opinion on the subject myself, but if our Constitution does not prevent it, I wish it to be referred to the Committee.

Dr. BRIGHT:—The matter is left with the Association. The Executive Council has nothing to do with it, however, unless it be empowered to do so: they have no action whatever in the matter.

Prof. COHN:—Then, Mr. President, I move that the Executive Committee be requested to determine the time and place for the next annual session of the Association.

President LOWELL:—That motion should be corrected. The motion was made and passed as to the place. I think we ought to simplify that motion and say only time.

The motion thus amended was passed, after which, the Association adjourned to meet next year at such time and place as the Executive Council should determine upon.

APPENDIX I.—PROGRAMME.
SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
Modern Language Association of America,
TO BE HELD IN SEVER HALL,
HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE,
December 26, 27 and 28, 1889.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION:

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, President, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Secretary, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
HENRY ALFRED TODD, Treasurer, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

THE PRESIDENT,
THE SECRETARY,
THE TREASURER, } *Ex-Officio.*

FRANKLIN CARTER, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
W. T. HEWETT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr College, Pa.

R. E. BLACKWELL, Randolph Macon College, Va.
ROBERT SHARP, Tulane University of Louisiana.
CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, Vanderbilt University, Tenn.

J. M. HART, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
CALVIN THOMAS, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
H. C. G. von JAGEMANN, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

PHONETIC SECTION:

President, A. MELVILLE BELL,
Washington, D. C.

Secretary, GUSTAF KARSTEN, University of
Indiana, Bloomington.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

W. T. HEWETT, *First Vice-President*,
CALVIN THOMAS, *Second Vice-President*,
ROBERT SHARP, *Third Vice-President*.

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION:

President, G. STANLEY HALL,
Clark University, Mass.

Secretary, CHARLES E. FAY,
Tufts College, Mass.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:

T. W. HUNT, Princeton College, N. J.
P. B. MARCOU, Univ. of Michigan.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

FIRST SESSION.*

December 26 (THURSDAY).

8 p. m.

1. Address of Welcome by CHARLES W. ELIOT, President of Harvard University.
2. Address by JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, President of the Association.

SECOND SESSION.

December 27 (FRIDAY).

9.30 a. m. to 1 p. m.

- a. Reading of the Secretary's and Treasurer's Reports.
 - b. Appointment of Committees.
 - c. Reading of Papers.
1. The Relation of Shakespeare to 'The Taming of the Shrew.'
Professor A. H. TOLMAN, *Ripon College, Wis.*
 2. A Forerunner of Bunyan in the Twelfth Century.
Professor KUNO FRANCKE, *Harvard Univ., Mass.*
 3. Of the use of the Negative by Chaucer, with particular Reference to *ne (non)*.
Professor CHARLES W. KENT, *Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.*

THIRD SESSION.

2.30 p. m.

1. William Thornton, a Phonetic Pioneer.
Professor C. B. WRIGHT, *Middlebury College, Vermont.*
2. Scandinavian Lexicography.
Dr. DANIEL KILHAM DODGE, *Columbia College, N. Y.*
3. Pronunciation of Fredericksburg, Virginia.
Dr. SYLVESTER PRIMER, *Providence, R. I.*

*The attendance of Ladies at the Sessions of the Convention will be expected and welcomed.

The AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY will hold its regular meeting in Sever Hall on Monday, December 30th, at 10 a. m. All delegates to the Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION are cordially invited to attend.

FOURTH SESSION.

December 28 (SATURDAY).

9.30 a. m. to 1 p. m.

A. GENERAL MEETING.

1. Independent Literary Judgments.
Professor TH. W. HUNT, *Princeton College, N. J.*
2. The Saga of Walter of Aquitaine.
Dr. M. D. LEARNED, *Johns Hopkins Univ., Md.*
3. Russian Animal Folk-Lore compared with the Mediæval Animal Epics of the West.
Professor ADOLPH GERBER, *Earlham Coll., Ind.*

B. PHONETIC SECTION.

1. Address by Professor A. MELVILLE BELL, President of the Section.
2. Vowel Measurements.
Professor CHARLES H. GRANDGENT, *Boston, Mass.*
3. Influence of the Weakness of Accent-stress on Phonetic Change in French.
Dr. PHILIPPE B. MARCOU, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.*
4. Dialect Peculiarities in the development of *l mouillt* in Old French.
Dr. JOHN E. MATZKE, *Bowdoin College, Maine.*

FIFTH SESSION.

2.30 p. m.

- a.* Reports of Committees and other Business.
- b.* Papers before the

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION:

1. Reading in Modern Language Study.
Professor EDW. S. JOYNES, *University of South Carolina, Columbia.*
2. Requirements in German and French for Admission to College.—A Discussion.
Professor CHARLES E. FAY, *Tufts College, Mass.*

Papers prepared for publication:

1. Some Elizabethan Verse Critics.
Professor ELLIX E. SCHELLING, *University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.*
2. A Tyrolese Passion-play of the Middle Ages.
Professor H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG, *University of Deseret, Utah.*

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS.

The Local Committee have arranged for delegates to the Convention that the place of general rendezvous in Boston shall be the Revere House (Bowdoin Square) where rooms may be had for \$1.00 per day and upward. Cars on the electric railway leave Bowdoin Square about every ten minutes and reach Harvard Square, in front of the University buildings, Cambridge, in somewhat less than half an hour. Meals will be provided at Memorial Hall, on the Campus, at reasonable rates. It is particularly requested that all persons who intend to be present at the Convention should notify, as early as possible, Professor H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN, Secretary of the Local Committee, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

Reduced rates have been obtained for the Railways belonging to the "Trunk Line Association," the "Central Traffic Association," and for those Railways under the jurisdiction of the "New England Passenger Committee," via lines crossing the Hudson River north of New York City. For Trunk Line territory, concession is made from Niagara Falls, N. Y., Buffalo, N. Y., Salamanca, N. Y., Pittsburgh, Pa., Bellaire, O., Wheeling, W. Va., Parkersburg, W. Va. and points east thereof. The concession is a fare and a third on Committee's Certificate, and the following Railways are included in this arrangement:

Baltimore & Ohio (Parkersburg, Bellaire, and Wheeling, and east thereof), Baltimore & Potomac, Bennington & Rutland, Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh, Camden & Atlantic, Central of New Jersey, Central Vermont, Chesapeake & Ohio, Delaware & Hudson Canal Co., Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, Elmira, Cortland & Northern, Fall Brook Coal Co., Fitchburg, Grand Trunk, Lehigh Valley, New York Central & Hudson River, New York Lake Erie & Western, New York Ontario & Western, Northern Central, Pennsylvania (except locally between Philadelphia and New York), Philadelphia and Erie, Philadelphia & Reading (except locally between Philadelphia and New York), Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore, Rome, Watertown & Ogdensburg (except on Phoenix Line—stations between Syracuse and Oswego), Shenandoah Valley, Western New York & Pennsylvania, West Jersey, West Shore.

The Central Traffic Association covers the following lines:

Baltimore & Ohio (West of Ohio River), Chicago & Atlantic, Chicago, St. Louis & Pittsburgh, Chicago and Grand Trunk, Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis & Chicago, Cincinnati & Muskingum Valley, Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas, Pacific, Cincinnati, Wabash & Michigan, Cincinnati, Washington & Baltimore, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis, Cleveland, Akron & Columbus, Columbus & Cincinnati Midland, Dayton & Union, Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee, Evansville & Terre Haute, Fort Wayne, Cincinnati & Louisville, Grand Rapids & Indiana, Grand Trunk (West of Toronto), Indianapolis & St. Louis, Indiana, Bloomington & Western, Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis,

Lake Erie & Western, Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, Louisville & Nashville, Louisville, Evansville & St. Louis, Louisville, New Albany & Chicago, Michigan Central, New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio, Niagara Falls Short Line, Ohio & Mississippi, Pennsylvania Company, Peoria, Decatur & Evansville, Pittsburgh & Lake Erie, Pittsburgh & Western, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis, Sciota Valley, Terre Haute & Indianapolis (Vandalia Line), Valley, Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific (East of Mississippi River), Wheeling & Lake Erie.

All persons desiring to attend the Convention are requested to make application immediately to the Secretary of the Association, Prof. A. M. ELLIOTT, Johns Hopkins Univ., stating by what route they intend to come, so as to obtain from him necessary identification, or orders, entitling them to excursion rates on the basis of one and one-third fares for the round trip.

LOCAL COMMITTEE.

The following gentlemen have kindly consented to serve as a Local Committee, and will be glad to show the delegates any courtesies in their power :

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *Chairman*,
H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN, *Secretary*.

G. A. BARTLETT,	B. H. NASH,
G. BENDELARI,	R. SANDERSON,
F. J. CHILD,	E. S. SHELDON,
A. COHN,	F. C. SUMICHRAST,
K. FRANCKE,	J. C. TAUSSIG,
C. H. GRANDGENT,	B. WENDELL,
C. L. KITTREDGE.	

APPENDIX II.

SYLLABUS OF PAPERS

PRESENTED AT THE
SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION.

DODGE, DANIEL KILHAM: Rise of lexicography in Denmark; Danish dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only the early Latin dictionaries included, as throwing light on the Danish language of that period, while the later ones of value merely to students of the Classics.—MS. collections of dictionaries from the eighteenth century (MATH, *et alii*) *Videnskab. Selskabs*. 'Ordbog,' relation of— to preceding.—MOLBECH's 'Ordbog' and 'Glossarium.' KALKAR's 'Ordbog.'—*Retskrivning* (Orthography) from RASK to GRUNDTVIG. Present struggle. *Den Literaire Retskrivning*. Necessary for a compromise.—Technical dictionaries, including *Fremmedordböger*. HOLST and L. MEYER. L. MEYER's work especially considered. ALLIN's position.—Dialect dictionaries, Importance of—MOLBECH—Present work in; KEILBERG, THORSEN *et alii*.—International dictionaries. First 'Danish-English dicts. LARSEN and ROSING. Danish-Swedish dictionaries.—Future work in Danish lexicography. An Etymological dictionary needed. Dialect work.

FRANCKE, KUNO: Importance of the didactic poetry of the Middle Ages. Its humanistic antipapal, democratic character.—Some Latin specimens of this poetry in Germany, in France, in England.—The 'Architrenius' of Jean de Anville.

GERBER, ADOLPH: Russian animal folk-lore; its general characteristics as compared with the Æsopian fables, Indian productions and the Mediæval animal epics of the West; Indian influences; Western influences.—Relations to the folk-lore of other Slavic and neighboring peoples.—Some peculiarities: The marriage of the fox and the cat; The terror inspired in larger animals by the cat; The frequency of associations of animals in houses and attempts of other animals to force an entrance.—MOSCHAROWSKIJ's 'Reynard the Fox.'

GRANDGENT, CHAS. H.: Importance of an exact knowledge of the formation of vowel sounds.—Necessity of a more scientific method of determining tongue-positions.—The best system of vowel measurement.—The tongue-positions for some American vowels.—The difference between close and open vowels.

HUNT, TH. W.: Independent literary judgements, in a sense, dependent : a. On Literary Precedent; b. On History of Literary Opinion; c. On Literary Environment.—This conceded, Independent Judgments, demanded, a. By Self-Respect; b. By the increasing List of Open Questions; c. As a Protest against Mental and Literary Servility.

JOYNES, EDW. S.: The object will be to enforce the necessity of more and wider reading of the *literature*, as the chief factor in the culture to be derived from Modern Language Study. To this end it will be contended that some methods of study, now made prominent, should be subordinated, and others should be deferred for postgraduate, or university work.

KENT, CHARLES W.: The use of *ne* alone: (a) In Independent Sentences; (b) In Dependent Sentences.—Multiplied Negation.—Metrical Observations: (a) Elision; (b) Contraction; (c) Slurring; (d) Can *ne* (*non*) have the ictus? (e) Use of *ne* in construction of verse.

LEARNED, M. D.: Sources of the Saga of Walter of Aquitaine.—Relation of the 'Waltharius' of EKKEHARD, (a) To Walther von Spâne of the Nibelungenlied; (b) to Walther von Woskastein of the Wilkina saga; (c) to Walgiars of the Polish saga; (d) to Waldere of the A.-S. fragments.—Relation of the Walter-saga to the Dietrich-saga.—Interpretation of the saga.

MARCOU, PHILIPPE B.: Advantage of presenting the phonetic facts of a language in deductive order.—The strength of the tonic accent is the measure of the strength of the muscular effort exerted in speech.—Comparative strength of the tonic accent in Italian, Spanish and French.—Connection between the weakness of the tonic accent in French, and the French treatment of the Latin post-tonic syllables.—Some other phenomena in French phonetic change possibly deducible from the same cause.

MATZKE, JOHN E.: The orthography of *ȝ* in Norman, Picard, Wallonian, Lorraine and Champagne documents.—The pronunciation of vowel+*ȝ*, in these dialects. Does the *i* of *-ill* belong to the *ȝ* or to the preceding vowel?—The rise of *z* as flexional sign (for *s*) after *ȝ*. Dialectic differences play an important part here.

PRIMER, SYLVESTER: Early settlements in and about Fredericksburg, Va. [This includes an account of families and their descendants still living in and about Fredericksburg, Va.]—Extracts from original documents and writings of the Colony of Virginia, accompanied by phonetic transcription.—Tabular view of the vowel characters and their sounds of that period, as near as can be approximated at the present time.—Tabular view of the present vowel-characters and their sounds.—Remarks on the peculiarities in the pronunciation of Fredericksburg. The most important are: loss of *r* in words like *war*, *more*, etc.; the palatal *g*, etc., in *garden*, *cart* (*gʲarden*, *kʲart*); the (*ee*) in *care*, *there*, etc.

SCHELLING, FELIX E.: GASCOIGNE'S 'Certayne notes of Instruction.'—The Areopagus Club and Classic Metres in English Verse.—WEBBE and his Recognition of the New Poetry.—PUTTENHAM and subsequent Verse Critics.

SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG, H.: The manuscript of this Passion-play belongs to the collection of ex-President ANDREW D. WHITE, Ithaca, N.Y., who bought it from Sir FREDERIC MADDEN. The 3658 verses of the manuscript are distributed among three plays to be acted during Passion week—on Thursday, Friday and Easter Sunday. These plays were written and performed at Bozen, in the Tyrol, towards the end of the fifteenth century, and thus belong to the oldest cycle of Mediæval religious plays in that part of Europe. Although mentioned by Prof. W. H. CARPENTER in the Johns Hopkins University *Circulars*, 1882, this valuable manuscript has remained without further notice. When it shall have been published, it will prove indispensable for determining the relation of several other coeval plays which

are shortly to be edited in Europe, and will also throw light on the origin and development of the religious drama in that section of Germany to which it genetically belongs.

TOLMAN, A. H.: The relation of 'The Taming of a Shrew' to 'The Supposes,' a play translated from ARIOSTO by GASCOIGNE.—The relation of 'The Taming of the Shrew' to 'The Supposes.'—The relation of 'The Taming of the Shrew' to 'The Taming of a Shrew.'—The authorship of 'The Taming of a Shrew.'—The relation of SHAKESPEARE to 'The Taming of the Shrew' (TTS). Reasons are given for supposing that the following parts of TTS have SHAKESPEARE as their probable author.—Induction: Act. II, Sc. 1, 115-326; III, 2, 89-125; III, 2, 186-241; IV, Sc. 1; IV, 3; IV, 5; V, 2, 1-181. Reasons are given for considering the remaining parts of the play as probably non-Shakespearean.—Certain verbal correspondences between the non-Shakespearean parts of TTS and ROBERT GREENE'S 'Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay' are pointed out, and their possible bearing upon the question of authorship is discussed.

WRIGHT, C. B.: American phoneticians before 1800.—The scientific status of the times as shown by its philosophical journals.—Analysis of THORNTON'S 'Cadmus,' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. iii, pp. 262+. His arguments for spelling reform; their similarity to those of to-day. His universal alphabet and illustrative table. Personal and dialect peculiarities a standard with phoneticians.—Comparison of THORNTON'S vowel system with that of BELL.

APPENDIX III.

A PROPOSED SCHEME.

OF

UNIFORM ELEMENTARY AND ADVANCED

Requirements in German and French

FOR ADMISSION TO COLLEGE.

DRAFTED BY A COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE COMMISSION OF COLLEGES IN NEW ENGLAND ON ADMISSION EXAMINATIONS.

ELEMENTARY GERMAN.

1. Proficiency in the following topics of elementary grammar: declension of such nouns as are readily classified, of adjectives and pronouns; conjugation of weak, and of the more usual strong verbs; simple cases of word-order.
2. The candidate must have read not less than two hundred duodecimo pages of easy German—chiefly narrative prose, with a few lyric poems.
3. Ability to pronounce German, and to recognize German words and simple phrases when uttered.

ADVANCED GERMAN.

1. Proficiency in more advanced grammar. In addition to a thorough knowledge of accident (including the elements of word-formation), and of the principal values of prepositions and conjunctions, the candidate must be familiar with so much of German syntax as is necessary to an understanding of the use of modal auxiliaries, of the subjunctive and infinitive modes, and of word-order in connection discourse.
2. Ability to translate ordinary German, to be acquired by the reading, in addition to the elementary requisition, of the following works: 'Deutsche Liebe' (MÖLLER); 'Höher als die Kirche' (HILLERN); 'Die Journalisten' (FREYTAG); 'Peter Schlemihl' (CHAMISSO); 'Die Harzreise' (HEINE); 'Minna von Barnhelm' (LESSING); 'Die Jungfrau von Orleans' (SCHILLER); 'Egmont' (GÖTHE); and thirty pages of lyrics, including SCHILLER's "Lied von der Glocke."
3. Composition and conversation, presupposing a familiarity with the subject matter and vocabulary of 'Höher als die Kirche,' 'Die Journalisten' and 'Die Jungfrau von Orleans.'

It is supposed that the works assigned be changed, from time to time, by a committee to be appointed by the professors of modern languages in the colleges represented in the Commission.

ELEMENTARY FRENCH.

1. Proficiency in elementary grammar, implying a thorough familiarity with the following topics: Inflection of nouns and adjectives for gender and number, excepting unusual cases; the "pronominal adjectives"; the use of pronouns, especially the forms and positions of personal pronouns; the partitive constructions; the inflection of the regular, and the more usual irregular verbs; such as, *dire, faire* and the classes represented by *ouvrir, sentir, venir paraitre, conduire, and craindre*.
2. Ability to translate simple prose at sight, to be acquired by the reading of not less than four hundred duodecimo pages from at least three dissimilar works.
3. Ability to pronounce French, and to recognize French words and simple phrases when uttered.

ADVANCED FRENCH.

1. Proficiency in more advanced grammar. In addition to a knowledge of the accidents, and of the values of prepositions and conjunctions, the candidate must be familiar with the essentials of French syntax, especially the use of modes and tenses, and with the more frequently recurring idiomatic phrases.
2. Ability to translate at sight standard French of the classic and contemporary periods, to be acquired by reading, in all, of not less than fifteen hundred duodecimo pages, including one play each of RACINE and MOLIÈRE, and certain specified works, which will be taken as a basis for
3. Composition and conversation, presupposing a familiarity with their subject matter and vocabulary.

It is suggested that, for the present, the assigned works be the following: 'Contes Choisis' (DAUDET) as much as is contained in the Jenkins Edition; 'Colomba' (MÉRIMÉE); 'Horace' (CORNEILLE); 'Fables,' livre I. (LA FONTAINE)—subject to future changes in the manner provided for in the foregoing Advanced German requisition.

APPENDIX IV.

SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

— OF THE —

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

LOCAL COMMITTEE,
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Dec. 19, 1889.

The LOCAL COMMITTEE beg leave to announce that President ELIOT of Harvard University will give a reception to the members of the Association and their wives, at his home, 17 Quincy Street, on Thursday evening, December 26, after Mr. LOWELL's address.

The PRESIDENT and FELLOWS of Harvard College will give a luncheon to the members of the Association and their wives on Friday, December 27, in Sever Hall.

The St. Botolph Club of Boston has extended to the members of the Association an invitation to avail themselves, during their stay in Boston and Cambridge, of the hospitalities of the Club, excepting, however, the evening of Saturday, December 28th, which is the time of the annual meeting of the Club, when, under the rules of the Club, only members can be admitted.

The Hasty Pudding Club of Cambridge extends the privileges of the Club House to the members of the Association for the time of the Convention. Members of the Association wishing to avail themselves of the privileges offered by these Clubs will be supplied with cards of admission by the Secretary of the Local Committee.

Members of the Association who intend to be present at the meeting of the Association, and have not yet notified the undersigned Secretary of the Local Committee, are kindly requested to do so.

H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN,
Secretary.

APPENDIX V.

REPORT
OF
Prof. GUSTAF KARSTEN, Secretary
OF THE
PHONETIC SECTION.

(PRESENTED AT THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION, 1888).

At the fifth annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION, held at Philadelphia, December 29-30, 1887, it was resolved, on motion of Dr. BRIGHT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), that the Association recommend the formation of a Phonetic Section and suggest the names of A. M. BELL for President and G. KARSTEN for Secretary.* In accordance with this resolution the special Section was established, on the recommendation of a committee. Immediately after the Philadelphia meeting (1887), the undersigned entered into communication with Prof. BELL of Washington, and in an interview held later between the President and Secretary of the Phonetic Section, the following was agreed upon as representing the aims and character of this organization:—

The purpose of the Phonetic Section is to promote the study of Phonetics in this country; to develop, so far as circumstances will admit, the spirit for scientific phonetic research, and to put the instruction in Modern Languages, especially in our colleges, on a more scientific basis, by applying to practical language teaching the well established results of phonetic observation. This will be aimed at by establishing courses of lectures suitable to promulgate correct views on the subject, by arranging a system of exchanges in phonetic literature, and by giving to inquirers in phonetic matter such help, by correspondence, as may be feasible. In order to secure agreement as to the general mode of sound-notation, a committee will endeavor to select or formulate a standard system to be used by the Association. Equipped with this alphabet, young scholars over the country will be encouraged to record the various shadings of American speech, and to contribute to the study of dialect and speech mixture in this country. (Cf. MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. iii, pp. 54-55, and *Phonetische Studien* i, 206).

*Cf. *Proceedings*, vol. iii, pages 9 and 45.

In this connection we take pleasure in calling attention to the fact that the investigation of American dialects, as hinted at in this programme, has meanwhile been made the object of a newly-formed society. Cf. MOD. LANG. NOTES iv, cols. 223-234.

The committee on sound-notation, together with another committee regulating the question of membership, formed the nucleus of the Phonetic Section. The following are the members of the two committees; *Committee on Sound-Notation*: The President and Secretary of the Section *ex-officio*: H. C. G. BRANDT (Hamilton College); JAMES W. BRIGHT (Johns Hopkins Univ.); HERMANN COLLITZ (Bryn Mawr Coll.); A. M. ELLIOTT (Johns Hopkins Univ.); E. S. SHELDON (Harvard Univ.).—*Committee on Membership*: The President and Secretary *ex-officio*; A. M. ELLIOTT (Johns Hopkins Univ.); J. J. STÜRZINGER (Bryn Mawr Coll.).—The annual fee is one dollar, to be placed at the disposal of the Secretary for the expenses of current correspondence and eventually for the purchase of phonetic literature.

With regard to the system of sound-notation, it should be stated that it is not, at present, a practical spelling reform that we are aiming at, but as exact a phonetic system as may be practicable for scientific purposes in general linguistic investigations, in dialect research, and in the treatment of historical phonetics. This system, however, should also be suited, in a simplified form, to the requirements of practical language teaching; still more simplified and reduced to what is absolutely necessary in every-day-life orthography, it would also form the natural basis of a common alphabet and pave the way to a systematical spelling reform. It is hoped that the various attempts which are now being made in this direction both by competent and incompetent men on this and the other side of the Atlantic, and which to a great extent are counteracting one another, may be united and come to final success.

We wish here to give due credit to the continued and enthusiastic efforts of Mr. M. M. CAMPBELL (Topeka, Kansas), who, by his various open letters to teachers, writers and readers, is trying to arouse public interest in an eminently public question that can be definitely settled only by the common consent of a people who have been educated to realize the usefulness of spelling reform.

Conscious of the fact that the great variety of phonetic systems now in existence greatly injures the legitimate progress of pure and applied phonetics, as well as the study of linguistics in general, the secretary was desirous to make at least an attempt to secure the co-operation and consent of all active phoneticians in Europe and America and so to find out what kind of a system would have the best chance of being universally adopted. With this aim in view, the following circular was issued:

The PHONETIC SECTION of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA being now occupied with the arrangement of a standard system of scientific sound-notation, the following questions are brought before the Committee and before all those interested in the subject:

- Ia Should the standard system of sound-notation be a physiological one, the sign for each sound indicating as nearly as possible the position or movement of the organs of speech?
- IIa Or should at least a beginning be made in this direction by introducing some of the simplest and most suggestive physiological signs?
- IIIa Can we expect that authors, publishers and readers are prepared to adopt such a system at once?
 - Ib Would you prefer a system on the basis of the conventional alphabets of European languages?
 - IIb Should this system be founded on a combination of different alphabets or upon a single one with a liberal use of diacritic signs?
- IIIb Should there be a common system for all languages, or a separate one for each of the principal groups?
- IV. Do you favor the adoption of one of the existing systems? If so, which do you prefer?
- V. Would you adopt this system without change, or, if not, with what modifications?
- VI. Or do you wish an entirely new system to be arranged?

I am happy to say that this enterprise has met everywhere with a very favorable reception. Many of our leading phonetists have been kind enough to send more or less extended answers to the questions herein propounded, and certainly the need of a standard system is generally recognized. On the other hand, there is already satisfactory evidence of the regrettable fact that the various scholars differ considerably, almost hopelessly, in their views; all the extremes are strongly represented, and it will be difficult to reach a final conclusion which will satisfy all. However this may be, we may hope to be able at the next meeting of the Association to give a fair representation of the opinion of the scientific world on a standard system of sound-notation.

APPENDIX VI.

CONSTITUTION

— OF THE —

Modern Language Association of America.

I.

The name of this Society shall be THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

II.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

III.

The object of the Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures.

IV.

The officers of this Association shall be a President, Secretary, Treasurer and nine members, who shall together constitute the Executive Council, and these shall be elected annually by the Association.

V.

The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, such as the election of members, calling of meetings, selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-third vote at any annual meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Amendment adopted by the Baltimore Convention, Dec. 30, 1886.

1. The Executive Council shall annually elect from its own body three members who, with the President and Secretary, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association.

2. The three members thus elected shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Association.

3. To this Executive Committee shall be submitted, through the Secretary, at least one month in advance of meeting, all papers designed for the Association. The said Committee, or a majority thereof, shall have power to reject or accept such papers, and also among the papers thus accepted, to designate such as shall be read in full, and such as shall be read in brief, or by topics, for subsequent publication; and to prescribe a programme of proceedings, fixing the time to be allowed for each paper and for its discussion.

APPENDIX VII.

OFFICERS OF **THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.**

President:

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Secretary:

A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Treasurer:

HENRY ALFRED TODD,
Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

(in addition to the above-named officers).

G. A. BARTLETT,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

H. S. WHITE,
Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

ROSALIE SÉE,
Wellesley College, Mass.

E. S. JOYNES,
University of South Carolina.

ALCÉE FORTIER,
Tulane University of Louisiana.

CHARLES W. KENT,
University of Tennessee.

J. M. HART,
Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

M. B. ANDERSON,
State University of Iowa.

A. GERBER,
Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

J. M. HART,
First Vice-President.

ALCÉE FORTIER,
Second Vice-President.

C. W. KENT,
Third Vice-President.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:

CALVIN THOMAS,
University of Michigan.

P. B. MARCOU,
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PHONETIC SECTION:

President:

A. MELVILLE BELL,
Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

C. H. GRANDGENT,
Cambridge, Mass.

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION:

President:

CHARLES E. FAY,
Tufts College, Mass.

Secretary:

A. N. VAN DAELE,
Mass. Institute of Technology.

APPENDIX VIII.

MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

- Adler, Dr. Cyrus, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
Akers, Prof. J. T., Central Coll., Richmond, Ky.
Allen, Mr. Alfred, Alfred Centre, New York.
Allen, Prof. Edw. A., Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
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Anderson, Prof. M. B., State Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
Andrews, Prof. G. L., U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.
Armes, Prof. Wm. D., Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Armstrong, Prof. J. L., Trinity Coll., Randolph Co., N. C.
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- Babbitt, Prof. E. H., Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass.
Bacon, Mr. G. A., Syracuse, New York.
Bartlett, Mr. D. L., 16 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md.
Bartlett, Prof. G. A., Harvard Coll., Cambridge, Mass.
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Chase, Prof. G. C., Bates Coll., Lewiston, Maine.
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van Daell, Prof. A. N., 28 Atherton St., Roxbury, Mass.
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Dodge, Prof. P. D., Berea Coll., Berea, Ky.
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Elliott, Prof. A. Marshall, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

Fairfield, Rev. F. W., Tabor Coll., Tabor, Iowa.
Foulhaber, Dr. Oscar, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hamp.
Fay, Prof. C. E., Tufts Coll., College Hill, Mass.

Fay, Prof. E. A., National Deaf-Mute Coll., Kendall Green, Washington, D. C.

Fell, Mr. Thomas, St. John's Coll., Annapolis, Md.

Ficklen, Prof. Jno. R., Tulane Univ. of La., New Orleans, La.

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Loomis, Prof. A. F., Bucknell Univ., Lewisburg, Pa.
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McCabe, Prof. W. G., Petersburg, Va.

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 Nevin, Prof. Wm. M., 446 W. James St., Lancaster, Pa.

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Page, Prof. F. M., Univ. of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
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 Rice, Prof. R. A., Williams Coll., Williamstown, Mass.
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 Richardson, Prof. H. B., Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
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 Ripley, Prof. A. L., Andover, Mass.

- Rohde, Prof. J., Tulane Univ. of La., New Orleans, La.
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Stürzinger, Dr. J. J., Bryn Mawr Coll., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Super, Prof. O. B., Dickinson Coll., Carlisle, Pa.
- Tallichet, Prof. H., Univ. of Texas, Austin, Texas.
Taylor, Mr. J., Department of State, Washington, D. C.
Thomas, Prof. Calvin, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Thomas, Prof. M. Carey, Bryn Mawr Coll., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Thomas, Miss May, Grand Haven, Mich.

lxxxvi *The Modern Language Association of America,*

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Tolman, Prof. A. H., Ripon Coll., Ripon, Wis.

Toy, Prof. W. D., Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Tufts, Prof. J. A., Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.

Vail, Prof. C. D., Hobart Coll., Geneva, N. Y.

Van Marter, Dr. Jas. G., Jr., 87 Via Nazionale, Rome, Italy.

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Walter, Prof. E. L., Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Warren, Dr. F. M., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

Weaver, Prof. G. E. H., Swarthmore, Pa.

Wells, Prof. B. W., Friends School, Providence, R. I.

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Werner, Prof. A., Coll. of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.

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Wightman, Dr. J. R., Iowa Coll., Grinnell, Iowa.

Wilcox, Prof. C. P., Univ. of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

Wilson, Prof. S. T., Maryville Coll., Maryville, Tenn.

Wipprecht, Prof. R., Agricul. and Mechan. Coll. of Texas, College
Station, Texas.

Wood, Dr. Henry, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

Woodward, Prof. F. C., Univ. of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.

Wright, Prof. C. B., Middlebury Coll., Middlebury, Vt.

[Total 280].

APPENDIX IX.

PERSONS PRESENT AT THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

— OF THE —

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,

CAMBRIDGE, DECEMBER 26-28, 1889.

Ames, C. H., Newtonville, Mass.

Anderson, M. B., State Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City.

Bartlett, G. A., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

Bell, A. M., Washington, D. C.

Bendelari, G., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

Bevier, L., Jr., Rutgers Coll., New Brunswick, N. J.

Both-Hendriksen, Miss L., St. Catherine's Hall, Brooklyn, 166 Macon Street, N. Y.

Brandt, H. C. G., Hamilton Coll., Clinton, N. Y.

Bright, J. W., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

Bristol, E. W., 29 W. 23d St., New York City.

Cohn, A., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

van Daell, A. N., Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston.

Dodge, D. K., Columbia Coll., New York City., N. J.

Drennan, M. J., Vassar Coll., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Eliöt, Chas. W., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

Elliott, A. M., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

Elwell, L. H., Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.

Fay, C. E., Tufts Coll., College Hill, Mass.

Francke, K., Harvard Coll., Cambridge, Mass.

Gerber, A., Earlham Coll., Richmond, Ind.

Grandgent, C. H., Boston Schools, Boston, Mass.

Greene, H. E., Cathedral School of St. Paul, Garden City, Long Island, New York.

Gregor, L. R., High School, Montreal, Canada.

Grossmann, E. A., Master at the "Berkeley School," New York City.

Groth, P., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Hale, E. E. Jr., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.

Henneman, J. B., Hampden-Sidney Coll., Prince Edward Co., Va.

Higginson, T. W., Cambridge, Mass.

Hochdörfer, R., Cambridge, Mass.

von Jagemann, H. C. G., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

Johnson, H., Bowdoin Coll., Brunswick, Me.

Joynes, Edw. S., Univ. of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.

Kent, C. W., Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

Kittredge, G. L., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

Kuersteiner, A. F., Wabash Coll., Crawfordsville, Ind.

Learned, M. D., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

Lowell, James Russell, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

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Marcou, T. B., Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Matzke, J. E., Bowdoin Coll., Brunswick, Me.

McClumpha, C. F., Bryn Mawr Coll., Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Paton, J. M., Middlebury Coll., Middlebury, Vt.

Primer, S., Friend's School, Providence, R. I.

Richardson, H. B., Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.

Sanderson, R. L., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

Sheldon, Edw. S., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

Spanhoofd, E., St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.

Stoddard, F. H., Univ. of the City of New York, N. Y.

Sumichrast, F. C., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

Super, O. B., Dickinson Coll., Carlisle, Pa.

Thomas, Calvin, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Thompson, H. D., Princeton Coll., N. J.

Todd, H. A., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

Toy, W. D., Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Tufts, J. A., The Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.

Vogel, F., Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass.

Warren, F. M., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

Weaver, G. E. H., Swarthmore Coll., Pa.

Wendell, B., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

White, H. S., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.

Wood, H., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

Wright, C. B., Middlebury Coll., Middlebury, Vermont.

[Total, 62].

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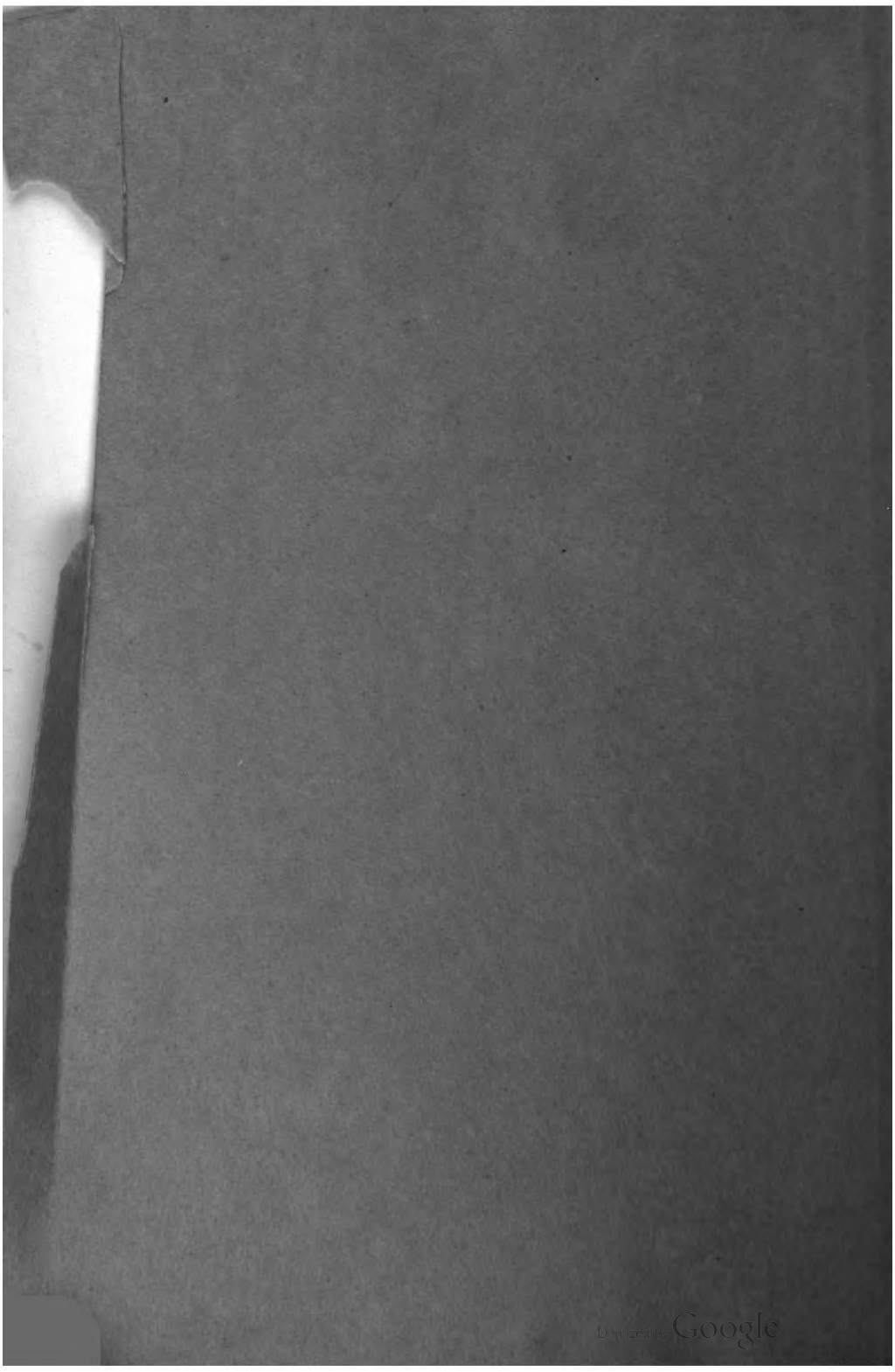
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